

Evangelical Missionaries in the Early Nineteenth-Century Highlands

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In the closing years of the eighteenth century, the Scottish Highlands and Islands began to be visited by itinerant missionaries whose methods and ecclesiastical affiliations differed markedly from what had previously been known in the area. The missionaries would usually come uninvited to a district, send round notice of their intention to preach, and preach to whatever audience was willing to listen. Even harvesters in the fields could be addressed by these strangers, whose sermons generally consisted of an exposition of a Bible text with a pointed application to unbelievers and an exhortation to repentance. Almost as mysteriously as they had come, the missionaries would depart to another township or parish. They were not restricted by parish boundaries, or by the requirements of kirk sessions or parish ministers. With what their opponents frequently regarded as an alarming distaste for recognised clerical authority, the missionaries would travel through many parts of the Highlands on preaching tours which might last as long as six months.¹

It is difficult to find a suitable generic term which covers the spectrum of belief and practice represented by such itinerant missionaries. Their opponents recognised that they were 'dissenters', in the sense that they had usually renounced any formal connection with the Established Church. Some, like the missionaries who were employed by the Relief Church, were the ordained ministers of a body which had seceded from the Church of Scotland many years previously (Struthers 1843: 393-407). The majority, however, were unordained laymen who were sent into the Highlands by societies which had an interest in Highland mission, but as their labours took effect, some of these men would be ordained as the pastors of individual congregations. The first itinerant society to be concerned with Highland mission was the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, founded in 1797 by Robert and James Haldane, who, while still lay members of the Church of Scotland, were promoting extensive preaching tours in the north and east of Scotland (Haldane 1798; *Proceedings* 1799). By 1798, the Haldanes had adopted a position of Congregational independency which was shared by their newly founded Society, but by 1808, they had become Baptists in a damaging dispute which led to the crippling of the Society (Escott 1960: 61-85). The early work of the Haldanes influenced other men who were to adopt Baptist principles before the Haldanes themselves. One of these was Christopher Anderson, who became the pastor of a Baptist congregation in

Edinburgh in 1808, but who had reached a Baptist position in 1801 (Anderson 1854: 10, 80). In 1808 also, with the assistance of George Barclay, a Baptist pastor in Kilwinning, Anderson began to itinerate in the Highlands, with the result that a small society for Highland mission was formed (Anderson 1854: 101). This society, originally nameless, was later known as the Scotch Itinerant Society (Anderson 1854: 127), or the Baptist Itinerant Society (Yuille 1926: 69-71). In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, several other societies were founded along similar lines, but individual churches could sometimes send missionaries into the Highlands. The Haldanes' Tabernacle in Edinburgh evidently supported missionaries in this way after 1808 (Yuille 1926: 72-3).

The itinerant missionaries who operated in the Highlands thus tended to be mainly of Congregational (Independent) or Baptist persuasion, although such bodies as the Relief and Secession Churches were also active. The work of Congregational and Baptist missionaries led to the formation of autonomous churches holding to the missionaries' principles, predominantly in Perthshire and Argyll, and in the Inner Hebrides. By 1805, Congregational churches were more numerous in Perthshire than in Argyll, where Baptist fellowships had begun to emerge (see Appendix B, fig. 1). The Haldanes' adoption of Baptist views in 1808 led to dissension in several of the Congregational churches in Perthshire and elsewhere in the Highlands, so that further Baptist churches were initiated. The Congregational thrust, although weakened after 1808, was maintained largely by individual pastors who formed the core of the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, founded in 1817. The influence of the various missionary societies and their associated churches was probably greatest from 1820 to about 1850 (see Appendix B, fig. 2).

While the most obvious results of the missionaries' activities were the churches which they helped to create, they also stimulated spiritual excitement in several districts. Revivals in Arran, Bute and neighbouring areas (1800-), Breadalbane (1800→), Skye (1805→) and Lewis (about 1823) can be linked, directly or indirectly, with the presence of itinerant missionaries. In Lewis, the awakening of 1823 owes much to the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society's schoolmasters stationed in the island, but, as will be demonstrated, there was a close connection between the Gaelic School Society and the dissenting movement represented by the itinerant evangelists. Indeed, they can both be regarded as part of the same missionary outreach to the Highlands.

Attitudes and Sources

The work of the itinerant missionaries has not yet been examined comprehensively or critically by church historians, although recent studies have drawn attention to their activities in the context of the social dislocation of the time (Hunter 1976: 89-106) and the spread of literacy in the Highlands (Durkacz 1983: 96-153). General accounts of their labours can be found in denominational histories of the Relief

Church and the United Secession Church (Struthers 1843: 393-407; Small 1904), the Baptists (Yuille 1926: 55-60, 66-75), and the Congregationalists (Escott 1960: 61-81). There are also important biographies of the leaders of the Congregational and Baptist dissenting movement in Scotland (Philip 1841; Haldane 1852; Anderson 1854).

One reason for the neglect of the dissenters by church historians lies, it would seem, in the changes which occurred in Highland religious life in the middle of the nineteenth century, represented principally by the Disruption of 1843. On the hither side of the Disruption, it is difficult to appreciate the significance of the missionaries who toured the Highlands and Islands arousing spiritual concern. The emergence of the Free Church, with its own distinguished leaders of lay and clerical evangelicalism (MacLeod 1965), has probably helped to erase the memory of the missionaries, who were, for the most part, a non-presbyterian dimension of the evangelical upsurge in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Another reason for the relatively low profile of the missionaries in the writing of Highland church history is probably the element of contentiousness which their appearance introduced to the religious life of their time. For the Established Church, the missionaries' activities were a painful indication of the dissatisfaction with clerical provision which was felt in many districts. This dissatisfaction arose mainly from the role of Moderate ministers (MacLeod 1983), and the missionaries achieved strong followings in areas where there were no Evangelical parish ministers. Contemporary observers were seldom neutral in their appraisal of the itinerants' methods, and the polemical nature of much surviving evidence has coloured subsequent analysis. In particular, the view that the missionaries were adversaries of the Established Church has obscured the areas of common ground and mutual influence which are sometimes detectable, especially in the relations between the missionaries and Evangelical clergy and laymen in the Church of Scotland. The polarisation of viewpoints has also retarded the examination of the origins and aims of the itinerant movement, and its relationship to dissent and itinerancy elsewhere in Britain.

Although historians have made, and will continue to make, extensive use of evidence which is polemical in intent, written by opponents or encouragers of dissent, a major source of valuable information is provided by the writings of the itinerants themselves. These usually take the form of journals compiled by the missionaries on a daily basis, and published by the societies responsible for their maintenance. While the journals may contain a marked element of spiritual autobiography, and are not always free from the prejudices of their writers, they are of great value in assessing the aims of the itinerant preachers, who frequently provide graphic accounts of the methods they employed, and the responses they evoked. An outstanding example of the genre is the surviving set of journals compiled between 1810 and 1815 by Dugald Sinclair of Bellanoch, who was an itinerant preacher with the Scotch Itinerant Society during those years, and who became the pastor of Lochgilphead Baptist Church in

1815 (Sinclair 1810-15; Yuille 1926: 116-17). Journals of the scale of Sinclair's work require to be analysed in their own right before any full appraisal of the itinerant movement can be made (Meek: forthcoming), but even the smaller journals are of importance. One can only regret that comparatively few specimens have survived. Generally printed as flimsy and insubstantial volumes for issue to the subscribers of missionary societies, they could be destroyed or lost easily. Those that do survive are often difficult to trace amongst the masses of ephemeral literature characteristic of the nineteenth century. Summaries of, and extracts from, itinerants' journals were sometimes included in the Annual Reports of the societies, which thus preserve further useful evidence. It may be that more journals of this kind will be discovered in the future, and that they will serve to enlarge, and even to modify, our understanding of the dissenting movement in Scotland, and particularly in the Highlands. Nevertheless, the number of journals currently known to survive is sufficient to provide detailed information about several localities, and to supply a broad general picture of the itinerants' methods.² This picture can be supplemented by the accounts of certain travellers in the Highlands in this period, some of whom were eager to visit those areas which had been affected by religious revival (*Letters* 1818).

Dissenters and the Established Church

It is important to emphasise at the outset of this paper that, before the coming of dissenting itinerant preachers, Highland people had had experiences of religious awakening, and that such experiences often created circumstances conducive to dissent. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several revivals had occurred as the result of consistent preaching by Evangelical ministers in different parishes. These were frequently associated with the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which was preceded by much spiritual preparation and accompanied by deep soul-searching (MacInnes 1951: 154-66).³ The importance of the Lord's Supper in this respect is attested in the nineteenth century: the climax of the Breadalbane revival occurred in 1816 and 1817 at two communion services conducted by the Rev. John MacDonald of Urquhart (*Dòmhnallach na Tòisidheachd*), and attended at Ardeonaig by upwards of eight thousand people. Dissenting itinerant missionaries had been active in Breadalbane since the early nineteenth century, and there was an itinerant minister of the Royal Bounty, the Rev. Robert Findlater, stationed at Ardeonaig since 1810 (*Letters* 1818: 6; MacInnes 1951: 209). In this area, therefore, itinerant preachers of both dissenting and Established bodies were in evidence, and one group seems to have reaped where the other sowed. A similar situation pertained in Argyll at the turn of the century, since soul-concern in the Cowal district had been excited initially by visits to the Gaelic communions in Glasgow and Greenock. Later dissenting missionaries were able to take advantage of the resulting spiritual hunger in parishes such as Kilmodan where there was a Moderate minister, and where the desire for an

Evangelical ministry was not satisfied (Douglas 1799: 121-4). In south Argyll, as in Breadalbane, it is noteworthy that dissent took root firmly from an early stage, following the visits of dissenting missionaries in the closing years of the eighteenth century. It seems likely that the general lack of Evangelical parish ministers in Argyll and Perthshire was a major reason (*Present State* 1827: 8). In the two counties, the doctrine of the dissenters was known as *an creideamh mór* ('the great faith'), while those who embraced it were evidently called *muinntir a' chreidimh mhóir* ('the people of the great faith') (Douglas 1799: 108; *Present State* 1827: 92).

If communion seasons were of significance in creating circumstances which aided the emergence of dissent in the Highlands, it is also highly likely that the ground was further prepared by the 'little army' of lay catechists, licensed preachers and ordained itinerant ministers who operated within Highland parishes with the support of the Royal Bounty and the S.S.P.C.K. (Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge) (MacInnes 1951: 198-211). The methods of these agents at the very least would have made some of the people familiar with itinerancy. Some would also have experienced field-preaching and the use of houses and barns as places of assembly where other more suitable buildings did not exist. A striking feature of the work of the itinerant dissenters is the readiness with which they were able to find responsive audiences in most parts of the Highlands, and we must suppose that the cause was not always disaffection to the local minister, but quite simply the willingness of the people to listen to any itinerant representative of a religious body. An itinerant dissenter would often talk to individuals about the state of their souls (Sinclair 1810: 11-12). Such conversations must have been paralleled in the earlier (and continuing) practice of examining the people in their knowledge of the catechism. It is noteworthy that the first itinerant agent sent to the Highlands by the Haldanes, Hugh Ross, was appointed as a Gaelic catechist for Dunkeld and its neighbourhood (*Proceedings* 1799: 16).

The itinerant agents of the Established Church attempted to overcome the very real difficulty of bringing a knowledge of the Reformed presbyterian faith to distant quarters of many vast Highland parishes. Itinerancy of this or any other sort was not normally associated with the clergy. There is, however, one conspicuous example of an Evangelical minister who became a roving evangelist of major importance, and whose methods resembled those of the dissenters, with whom he had a very obvious sympathy. This was the Rev. John MacDonald of Urquhart, who had been instrumental in the Breadalbane revival of 1816-17. MacDonald's father, James MacDonald, had been a catechist in Reay, and this may have predisposed his son to make itinerancy a part of his own ministry. Even so, MacDonald's itinerant endeavours took him beyond the bounds of his appointed parish, and he would frequently preach as a matter of course in any parish through which he happened to pass. In 1817, while travelling through the parish of Strathbogie, MacDonald preached in a meeting-house which belonged to dissenters who were active in the

area. The parishes of Strathbogie and Aberlour made representations to the General Assembly with the intention of obtaining MacDonald's censure. On 30 May 1818, the Assembly, which failed to find adequate grounds to censure the minister, passed an obliquely worded motion which declared that 'the performance of divine service, or any part of public worship or service, by members of this Church in meeting-houses of dissenters, is irregular and unconstitutional' and that 'the conduct of any minister of the Church, who exercises his pastoral functions in a vagrant manner, preaching, during his journeys from place to place, in the open air, in other parishes than his own . . . is disorderly and unbecoming the character of a member of this Church'. Several ministers and laymen, however, recorded their dissatisfaction with the motion, and strongly worded pamphlets in support of MacDonald were published (Kennedy 1978: 57-65; Kerr 1819). MacDonald continued to itinerate thereafter, reaching places as far apart as the south of Ireland and St Kilda, and recording his activities in journals (Kennedy 1978: 66-148). MacDonald's ministry was of great significance in the stimulating of evangelical interest, and it is noteworthy that he joined the Free Church in 1843.

The General Assembly motion of 1818, in its hostility to dissenters, recalls the Pastoral Admonition which the Assembly issued in 1799, when dissenting itinerants had first begun to attract attention following the constitution of the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home by the Haldane brothers in 1797. The Assembly on this occasion warned against

a set of men whose proceedings threaten no small disorder in the country. We mean those who, assuming the name of missionaries from what they call the Society for the Propagation (*sic*) of the Gospel at Home, as if they had some special commission from Heaven, are at present going through the land, not confining themselves to particular stations, but acting as universal and itinerant teachers and superintendents of those who are established the teachers of religion by the church, intruding themselves into their parishes without any call, erecting in several places Sunday schools without any countenance from the Presbytery of the bounds, the ministers, or the heritors of the parish, committing in those schools the religious instruction of youth to ignorant persons altogether unfit for so important a charge, who presume not only to catechise but also to expound the Scriptures, or to persons notoriously disaffected to the civil constitution of the country . . . (Ross 1900: 279-80).

Like the motion of 1818, this admonition reflects the influence of the Moderate ascendancy within the Assembly, but throughout the first quarter of the nineteenth century there is evidence that there was a certain degree of warmth towards the dissenters within some parts of the Established Church. In 1824, for example, a charge of indolence which was levelled against the Highland clergy by one of the main itinerant societies active in the area was firmly rebuffed by no less a person than the Rev. Dr Norman MacLeod (*Caraid nan Gàidheal*). MacLeod, however, was countered in his turn by a Lay Member of the Established Church, who published (anonymously) a pamphlet entitled *An Account of the Present State of Religion throughout the Highlands of Scotland* in 1827 (*Present State* 1827). The writer of the pamphlet was

not only favourably inclined towards the dissenters, but he had evidently made a general study of the progress of dissent in the Highlands. His work, indeed, constitutes a major source of information about dissenters in this period, since it draws on itinerants' journals which have since perished, as well as on other records.

The anonymous Lay Member who broke a lance with *Caraid nan Gàidheal* appears to have had Baptist sympathies, and he was particularly well informed about the progress of dissent in Skye and Perthshire. In Perthshire, he claimed, dissenters 'may now be considered to be firmly established in almost every corner. Every year they are acquiring additional strength, and they are very likely to acquire more' (*Present State* 1827: 92). The Established Church, nevertheless, had other lay members whose viewpoint reflected that of the Moderates. One such was Dr John MacLachlan of Rahoy (1804-74). As a poet he chose Gaelic verse as the medium to express his thoughts about the itinerants (*triallairean*) and their activities:

Tha triallairean Albainn ri aimhreit an tràths'—
 Ach 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
 A' siubhal gach dùthcha, 'gan dùsgadh gu fearg—
 Ach 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
 Fadadh-cruaidh air an gruaidh shuas anns na crannagan,
 Sùil chlaon air gach taobh a' glaodhaich gu farumach,
 "Mur aontaich sibh leinne, bidh sibh sgrioste gun dàil!"—
 Ach 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad.

Aig an Athair tha brath air an aidmheil as fheàrr—
 Ged 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
 Cò'n t-aon a tha ceart, no cò e a tha ceàrr—
 Ged 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad.
 'Sann their luchd-aidmheil ri chéile,
 "Chan eil stéidh ann ad theagasg;
 Tha sgriobtur 'sa Bhìobull ag innse gun teagamh
 Gur mise tha ceart, agus thusa tha ceàrr"—
 Ach 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad.

'Se m'athchuing 'sa mhadainn air Athair nan gràs—
 Ged 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
 E chumail mo chridhe gun smal air gu bràth—
 Ged 's beag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad—
 Le seirc is truas, iochd do'n t-sluagh, 's a bhith gun
 uail spioradail,
 Dùilean breidit' a tha fo leòn fheadraich 'nan trioblaid.
 Ged theireadh gach fear dhiubh gun robh mi gun ghràs,
 Gur béag is mò leamsa ciod a their iad.

(Mac-Lachlan 1869: 25-6)

The itinerants of Scotland are making trouble just now—
 but I care little for what they say—
 traversing every district, rousing it to anger—
 but I care little for what they say—
 a dog-tooth rainbow shows on their cheeks up there in the pulpits,
 they squint to each side as they shout noisily,
 "If you don't agree with us, you'll be damned without delay!"—
 but I care little for what they say.

It is the Father who knows which creed is the best—
 although I care little for what they say—
 which one is right, or which one is wrong—
 although I care little for what they say.
 Those making profession say to one another,
 "There is no basis to your teaching;
 there is a scripture in the Bible which tells without doubt
 that it is I who am right, and you who are wrong"—
 although I care little for what they say.

It is my prayer in the morning to the Father of grace—
 although I care little for what they say—
 that He will keep my heart unspotted forever—
 although I care little for what they say—
 with affection and pity, compassion for the people, and no spiritual pride,
 that I may ask after sick and sore in their trouble.
 Although every one of them should say that I lacked (saving) grace,
 I care little for what they say.

Highland Missionary Societies

MacLachlan of Rahoy's poem gives a vivid picture of the earnestness of the dissenting itinerants who had come to the Highlands, and of the reaction which they could provoke in those who did not join the ranks of the movement to which they belonged. We must now consider why they should have come to the Highlands in the first place, and what their aims were.

There can be little doubt that the penetration of the Highlands by the dissenters was stimulated primarily by a powerful interest in foreign mission which became apparent throughout Britain in the last decade of the eighteenth century. This interest is evident in the formation of missionary societies which supported the work of missionaries in foreign fields (Walls 1977), and frequently encouraged the co-operation of churchmen of Evangelical sympathy from different denominations. In 1792, a group of Baptists from the English Midlands formed the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (later known as the Baptist Missionary Society) which sent William Carey to India in the following year (Stanley 1984). Carey's self-sacrifice and untiring devotion generated considerable enthusiasm for his

labours among his supporters in Britain, and contributed to the founding of other missionary organisations such as the London Missionary Society, established in 1795 (Wallis 1977: 550-1). The London Missionary Society acted as a model for the formation of further societies (for example, the Edinburgh Missionary Society of 1796), and Carey's mission to India was given prominence throughout Britain by the Rev. Andrew Fuller, the first secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, who visited Scotland on several occasions (Anderson 1854: 19-21; Reeves 1973: 23-43).

In Scotland itself, the refusal of the Established Church to promote an official Church mission encouraged those in sympathy with foreign mission to take an interest in the inter-denominational or Congregational ventures represented by the London Missionary Society (Drummond and Bulloch 1975: 139-77; Walls 1977: 551). As early as 1796 plans were being promoted for the erection of supporting prayer societies (Pringle 1796). This enthusiasm for foreign mission influenced all the major promoters of dissenting missionary activity in the Highlands. Robert Haldane was moved to plan a missionary expedition to India by his reading of the first number of the periodical accounts of the Baptist mission to India, and he had enrolled as a member of the London Missionary Society by 1796 (Haldane 1852: 95-101). The plan was foiled by the opposition of the East India Company, and it was largely for this reason that the Haldanes turned their attention to home mission in Scotland. Similarly, Christopher Anderson, who had been influenced by Fuller's first visit to Scotland in 1799, wished to join Carey in India, but his poor health forced him to return to Edinburgh after his training in England (Anderson 1854: 19, 32-80). 'I was an accepted missionary,' he later wrote, 'and as I could not go abroad, I must prove myself to be of the same mind at home' (Anderson 1854: 99). In undertaking home mission in the Highlands, the Haldanes and Anderson owed a considerable debt to John Campbell, an Edinburgh ironmonger and tireless itinerant who conducted two exploratory expeditions to South Africa on behalf of the London Missionary Society after he had become pastor of Kingsland Chapel, London, in 1802 (Philip 1841). Like the Haldanes, Campbell had close links with Perthshire through his father who was a native of Killin, and his life was influenced to some small extent by his admiration for the poet and itinerant catechist of Kinloch Rannoch, Dugald Buchanan, who was well remembered by older men (Philip 1841: 40-3). As further evidence of the link between foreign mission and Highland home mission, we may note that the incorrigible promoter of ministerial itinerancy in the Established Church, the Rev. John MacDonald of Urquhart, preached an Anniversary Sermon before the London Missionary Society in 1823. His son, also named John, became a missionary in India (Kennedy 1978: 82, 149-72).

Just as the impetus to send missionaries into the Highlands was influenced by an interest in foreign mission, so also was the practical strategy for training and maintaining Highland missionaries. This depended largely on the erection of bodies such as the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, which was constituted by the

Haldanes at the end of 1797 and began its work early in 1798. A further influence in the founding of these Scottish societies was the example of the numerous dissenting itinerant societies which were to be found in England from the 1770s onwards (Ward 1972: 48-53; Reeves 1973: 106-7; Lovegrove 1979). The creation of the Haldanes' society occurred soon after the founding of the Hampshire Association by the Rev. David Bogue, a friend of the Haldanes, and an assiduous supporter of home and foreign mission (Haldane 1852: 191-2). Further connections between English and Scottish dissenters were formed in the training of certain itinerants, particularly those of Baptist persuasion. Christopher Anderson studied at a dissenting academy in Olney, Buckinghamshire, and subsequently at Bristol Baptist College, where he received practical experience in itinerancy (Anderson 1854: 32-61). Dugald Sinclair, who later became an itinerant in Anderson's Scotch Itinerant Society, was trained at Bradford Academy (now merged in the Northern Baptist College) in 1806-10, as were four other candidates from Lochgilphead in the period 1818-25, when Sinclair was pastor of Lochgilphead Baptist Church (Northern Education Society Reports 1804-25). Congregational itinerants were usually trained at Haldane classes in Edinburgh, Dundee and Glasgow, and from 1811 at Glasgow Theological Academy (Escott 1960: 76-8; 90-3).

By 1820, at least five influential societies had been formed by Scottish dissenters to promote home mission with a specific interest in the Highlands. Besides the societies associated with the Haldanes and with Anderson, there was the Baptist Highland Mission (founded in 1816), whose members were based in Perthshire; the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, *i.e.* the Society in Paisley and its Vicinity for Gaelic Missions to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (founded in 1817); and the Highland Missionary Society (founded in Edinburgh in 1819). The Highland Missionary Society, which provided financial backing for missionaries and students enrolled with other societies and churches, was professedly interdenominational; so, too, was the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, but the specifically Congregational and presbyterian sympathies of both societies are evident. In addition to the work of these societies, the secession churches of Scotland had an interest in Highland mission. Indeed, the Relief Church had sent a preacher, Niel Douglas, to the islands of Luing and Seil about 1784 at the instance of Lady Glenorchy who had petitioned the Glasgow presbytery (Douglas 1799: 139-40), and in 1796 it formed a committee for Highland mission which sent Daniel McNaught and Niel Douglas to Kintyre in 1797 (Douglas 1799: 173-4). Although the enthusiasm of the Relief Church had cooled somewhat by 1799 (Douglas 1799: 169-70), the United Secession Church was latterly very active, with the warm support of the Highland Missionary Society (Highland Missionary Society Reports 1820-4).⁴

The number of dissenting bodies which had espoused the spiritual welfare of the Highlander by 1820 guaranteed that most parts of the Highlands and Islands had been visited by evangelical missionaries by 1830, although scarcely with the regularity

that the societies would have wished. In 1824, the secretary of the Baptist Highland Mission appealed for more missionaries to work in the Highlands, and, in so doing, he invoked the parallel between foreign mission and Highland mission which lay at the heart of the dissenters' efforts:

We have heard the cry of the Otaheitans, the Hindoos, and the Hottentots, 'Come over and help us'; or rather we went uninvited, knowing their need of help, and feeling in some measure our obligation to impart it; and shall the hills and glens of our native land, though actually re-echoing with the cry—'Come—come and help us', be unvisited? (Baptist Highland Mission Report 1822-3).

Methods and Men

Notwithstanding the despondency of the secretary of the Baptist Highland Mission, a great deal had been achieved by the members of his own society and other evangelists by that date. By 1827, there were no less than six Baptist churches in Perthshire (*Present State* 1827: 95), while Lewis and Harris had been visited by missionaries from the Baptist Highland Mission (*Present State* 1827: 75), the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, and the United Secession Church (Highland Missionary Society Report 1824: 7-8). The Inner Hebrides had been extensively covered, and in Tiree by 1838, the islanders had formed Baptist and Congregational fellowships, and a lone Seceder was seeking to establish a following (*Letter* 1838). In virtually all the areas where dissenting evangelists are known to have been active, there are reports of spiritual awakenings of varying degrees of intensity.

One of the most striking aspects of the time is the enthusiasm of the missionaries themselves. Surviving journals indicate that they were men of outstanding commitment, who were not deterred by poor roads, rough seas, or indifferent health. Summer afforded the best opportunities for their work and the so-called 'long tours' would then take place. In winter, the itinerants tended to operate nearer home, although the pattern is by no means invariable. Much depended on the status of the itinerant, and whether he had other responsibilities such as the care of a congregation, or whether he was a full-time missionary. James Kennedy of Aberfeldy, for example, was pastor of a Congregational church, and itinerated when he was able to obtain the services of a visiting preacher (*Letters* 1818: 13-14). It seems likely, however, that Kennedy had begun as a full-time itinerant, and that he later assumed a pastoral charge; this was certainly the case with Dugald Sinclair of Bellanoch, whose more extensive expeditions to the islands may have been curtailed when he became the pastor of Lochgilphead Baptist Church, although he evidently continued to itinerate thereafter (Highland Missionary Society Report 1824: 8). The missionaries would frequently travel in pairs, although they sometimes went alone. Services were held whenever and wherever a suitable audience could be found; only seasonal or communal labour, such as harvesting or kelping, made it generally difficult to

summon the people. The itinerants preached in barns, cottages, and tents, or commonly in the open air. In choosing texts for their sermons, they would often focus on a passage of Scripture which was relevant to the immediate circumstances of their audience.

Itinerants' journals give many descriptions of the content and manner of their preaching. The following account is provided by a visiting preacher who addressed a congregation in Glenlyon in 1817. He himself was a Lowlander, and not a Gaelic speaker, but James Kennedy of Aberfeldy, who normally preached to this congregation, acted as his interpreter:

After the discourse in English [he writes], Mr K[ennedy] gave the substance of it in Gaelic, chiefly for the sake of the old people who understood little English; for those of middle age, as one of them told me, understood me pretty well. During the whole time, they heard with grave attention; but I could not help observing the difference when Mr K[ennedy] began to speak in Gaelic. Every eye beamed with intelligence and interest; and the very children, who had been comparatively listless before, were all alive the moment they heard the sound of their own dear language of the mountains. I never spoke in a more interesting and melting situation.—The gloomy grandeur of the surrounding mountains—the rich verdure of the vallies—the winding of a copious stream—the numerous patches of corn awaiting the sickle—and the multitude of sheep on the hills, suggested the subject of discourse, which was the last five verses of the 65th psalm, and which I endeavoured to improve by directing the attention of the people to the abundance of spiritual blessings exhibited to sinners by the gospel (*Letters* 1818: 8).

The idyllic autumnal setting of Glenlyon is not wholly representative of the circumstances in which itinerants operated. While their journals often show a lively response to the beauty of nature in its gentler moods, they also describe situations of extreme danger and discomfort. In 1802, John Campbell of Edinburgh narrowly escaped shipwreck when crossing from Arran to Kintyre in a storm:

. . . the greatest difficulty was when we got within a hundred yards of the shore, which was strewn over with huge rocks, and foaming billows dashing over them. The sailors of course had taken down the sail, after which they paused for some time till a large wave had retired past us, when all immediately exerted their utmost strength at the oars, and the helmsman steered the boat in a serpentine course among rocks before the succeeding wave overtook us.

Undaunted, Campbell preached on landing to a congregation of about four hundred (Haldane 1852: 289). For those missionaries who did not venture to the islands, wind and rain were no less disconcerting, as John McEwen of the Baptist Highland Mission graphically records in his journal for 1822, when he and William Hutchison tramped northwards from Kingussie:

The rain was pouring heavy upon us crossing the hill, and the wind blowing hard on our sides . . . so by the time we arrived, we were wet to the skin, and the first house into which

we entered, they had neither peats nor sticks, nor any material to make a fire thereof, except wet heather which would not burn, but filled the house with smoke; stayed here for a few minutes, then went against the rain and the wind to the place of meeting; there got for our accommodation an old broken and torn barn, which was little better than the open fields; during the sermon, we could not keep ourselves from trembling, particularly the one who was sitting, and there was no Inn where we might be accommodated; the rough weather was much against us, and against gathering, for the rivers and rivulets were so extremely high, that there is no way to get across (Baptist Highland Mission Report 1822-3: 7).

Inclement weather was not the only form of hardship which the itinerants had to face. When such preachers entered certain districts for the first time, there was often some degree of hostility from the local minister, if he happened to be a Moderate, or from the landlord who held the right of presentation to the parish church. The missionaries' converts and sympathisers were also liable to be treated harshly. Stiff opposition of this kind is evident in the early days of the dissenting movement in Argyll, for example. Niel Douglas, who was sent to Luing and Seil by the Relief Church about 1784, and subsequently to Kintyre in 1797, records numerous instances of the hostility of Moderate ministers, and as a minister of the Relief Church, he has much to say about the evils of patronage. On the other hand, he does note the interest shown by sympathetic lairds in such areas as Cowal (Douglas 1799: 117). James Haldane and John Campbell were apprehended at Whitehouse in Kintyre when itinerating there in 1800, but they were released by the Sheriff at Lochgilphead under the Toleration Act, and resumed their preaching activities (Haldane 1852: 283-7). Dugald Sinclair was opposed by the laird of Coll when preaching in the island, but he and the laird subsequently became good friends (McNeill 1914: 10-11). Further examples of initial opposition can be given almost at random, and there is at least one instance of the imprisonment of an itinerant, which occurred when John Farquharson was preaching in Braemar in 1802 (Haldane 1852: 316-17). Farquharson, who was responsible for an awakening in Breadalbane in this period, was later active in Skye (MacCowan 1902: 2-3).

Colonel David Stewart of Garth claims that dissenting preachers were prone to 'intermix their spiritual instructions with reflections on the incapacity and negligence of the clergymen of the Established Church, and on the conduct of landlords, whom they compare to the taskmasters of Egypt' (Stewart 1885: 165). It is highly probable that this could happen, but it needs also to be said that the majority of itinerants sought to avoid direct and unnecessary confrontation with those in spiritual or secular authority. Sometimes their preaching could be misinterpreted, or applied more pointedly than they would have wished, particularly if they were developing typological or apocalyptic themes. An interest in typology and the apocalyptic, which frequently sought to construct parallels between the contemporary situation and that foreshadowed in the Book of Revelation or pertaining to the days of the minor prophets of the Old Testament, becomes increasingly evident in dissenting circles as the nineteenth century progresses. In 1817, Niel Douglas appeared before the High

Court in Edinburgh on a charge of sedition arising from his application of a passage in the Book of Daniel while preaching in Glasgow (Douglas 1817). By 1831, when he departed for Canada with seventy members of his congregation, Dugald Sinclair of Lochgilphead had come to embrace strongly apocalyptic views (Yuille 1926: 117). In an age when many people in the Highlands must have longed for a new heaven and a new earth, free from the turmoils which they were experiencing as the old social order collapsed, the preaching of the dissenters offered powerful glimpses of divine possibilities, to be realised in this world or the next.

Language and Literacy

When individuals experienced evangelical conversion under the preaching or influence of the Highland missionaries, they would often become literate in order to read the Bible. In 1818, it was reported that a particularly quarrelsome man known as 'the lion of Glenlyon' had become 'as quiet as a lamb', and that he had been seen 'driving along in his peat cart reading his Bible' (*Letters* 1818: 9). When he visited Kintyre in June 1810 and was leaving the vicinity of Clachan, Dugald Sinclair met a former associate. 'About four years back,' writes Sinclair, 'he did not know a letter of the alphabet, but now has the pleasure, not to say the profit, of being able to read the New Testament with facility, though he is past fifty' (Sinclair 1810:8). In both instances, we can assume that the men were reading the Scriptures in Scottish Gaelic.

The missionaries were well aware that literacy need not always be dependent on, or follow as a result of, conversion. They were quick to appreciate that the ability to read appropriate literature could be a means of spiritual awakening, especially if that literature were in the mother tongue. In 1796, when the Relief Church drew up its 'Plan and Instructions' for Highland missionaries, it was resolved 'That, as soon as the funds admit, a number of proper books in the Gaelic language shall be purchased, and distributed *gratis* by the Missionaries' (Douglas 1799: 174). The Relief Church may have been encouraged to see a link between the availability of such books and spiritual awakening by the earlier experience of Niel Douglas when he visited Luìng and Seil about 1784. There Douglas found that soul-concern had been aroused by the translating into Gaelic of Joseph Alleine's *Alarm to the Unconverted* by the assistant minister of the parish of Kilbrandon and Kilchattan, the Rev. John Smith, at the request of Lady Glenorchy. Smith was accustomed to reading his translation from the pulpit as he proceeded, and when the book was published in 1781 (MacLean 1915: 2), every family in the parish acquired a copy. According to Douglas, the translation was condemned by Moderate ministers after Smith had left the parish (Douglas 1799: 144-6). There is no evidence that the people's acquisition of copies of the book led to their becoming literate, but it is not inconceivable that, if they were familiar with the text through public reading, some at least may have tried to read it for themselves. At any rate, the general connection between the availability of sacred literature in Gaelic

and the creation of spiritual excitement was obvious. It is significant, also, that the awakening in Kilbrandon and Kilchattan led to dissent, some of it extreme, after Smith had moved to Campbeltown (Douglas 1799: 140-1).

In 1801, the translation of a book which overshadowed all others was at last completed. This was, of course, the Bible, which now became available in Scottish Gaelic. There can be little doubt that the publication of the entire Gaelic Bible provided a major stimulus for the emergent missionary movement. As is well known, it led to the formation of the Gaelic School Society in Edinburgh in 1810. The principles and influence of this society, which taught the reading of the Gaelic Bible in its schools throughout the Highlands, have been the subject of several recent studies (Harding 1979; MacLeod 1981; Durkacz 1983: 96-153; Withers 1984: 116-60). Here it suffices to observe the relationship of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society to the dissenting itinerant movement, with which it was very closely associated, both in its foundation and its operation. While it is true that the ultimate model for the circulating schools of the Society lay in Wales, and that several individuals appear to have conceived simultaneously of the appropriateness of such a method of teaching in the Highland context (Durkacz 1983: 111-12), the initiative in founding the Society undoubtedly lay with the Edinburgh Baptist pastor, Christopher Anderson.⁹ In June 1810, Anderson's Scotch Itinerant Society enlisted Dugald Sinclair as a full-time itinerant, and he was immediately dispatched on a long tour of the West Highland mainland which took him as far as Wester Ross, before proceeding southwards *via* Inverness. At Beaulieu, Sinclair *rendezvous*-ed with Christopher Anderson who had come up by the east coast, and who later travelled homewards through Perthshire. Sinclair's comments in the course of his first—and longest—tour indicate that he was eager to discover the extent of, and desire for, education in the Highlands. He discovered an 'indifference' which, he wrote, 'is never likely to be removed, unless by means of diffusing the knowledge of letters among them . . . If they were taught in their *mother tongue*, they would soon find the pleasure of reading, and they are likely to learn very easily' (Sinclair 1810: 16-17). Anderson's expedition similarly reinforced in his mind the need for Highlanders to be taught to read their own language, and this, together with his strong interest in Bible distribution, provided a major impetus towards the formation of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society in November 1810 (Anderson 1854: 105-16; 125-7). Thereafter, a considerable proportion of Anderson's time and energy was spent in administering the Gaelic schools, and in tramping through the Highlands to vet or discipline schoolmasters in his capacity as principal Secretary to the Society (Anderson 1854: 128-34).

The Committee of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society represented a wide spectrum of Evangelicalism which crossed denominational boundaries, and included representatives of the Established Church (Edinburgh Gaelic School Society Report 1811). This helped to ensure its acceptability within the Highlands, as did its

restrictions on the expository role of its teachers. Within the dissenting missionary movement, the work of the Gaelic School Society provided an important focal point, and it gave some degree of cohesion to the several missionary societies, each with its own minor doctrinal distinctions. The Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, for example, greatly aided the Gaelic School Society by distributing Gaelic Bibles at reduced prices, or entirely free, in areas like Lewis, Gigha and Kintyre (Highland Missionary Society Report 1824: 12; Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society Report 1827: 5-6, 8-9). The missionary societies were also able to build on the religious enthusiasm generated by the schoolmasters, as happened in Lewis in 1823: 'One of the Schoolmasters in the Lewis, while teaching the old and the young to read the Scriptures in Gaelic, offered some explanatory observations. Attention was excited . . . Two of the Itinerants of the Society in Paisley . . . visited the Lewis last summer. Many of the inhabitants flocked to hear the word of salvation, and appeared to hunger and thirst after righteousness. The Bible is the companion of the old and young—in the house, in the field, by the way' (Highland Missionary Society Report 1824: 11-12). Itinerants were, in addition, well placed to monitor the progress and effect of the Gaelic schools (Sinclair 1814: 12; *Letters* 1818: 24), and some, such as Alexander Grant and Duncan MacDougall, had begun their missionary careers as Gaelic schoolmasters (see Appendix A).

The development of literacy in the Highlands was supported not only by the distribution of Bibles, but by the availability of Gaelic tracts. Tracts were, of course, more easily portable, and supplies were carried by itinerants and sympathetic travellers. In 1798, the Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home published translations into Gaelic of four English tracts, *The Friendly Advice*, *Address from a Stranger*, *Plain Truths* and *Address to Children*, each with a print-run of 5,000 copies, to be given out free of charge (*Proceedings* 1799: 60). At the same time, the Society produced 5,000 copies of the General Assembly's *Shorter Catechism* in Gaelic, since knowledge of the catechism was initially one of its priorities (*Proceedings* 1799: 16). It is difficult to know to what extent such literature would have been read in the period preceding the foundation of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society, but there is some evidence to suggest that the Gaelic school movement soon began to create an appetite for pamphlets of this kind which supplemented the Scriptures. When in Tobermory, Mull, in 1812, Dugald Sinclair and a fellow itinerant, Alexander MacKay, were approached by two 'gentlemen' who wanted Gaelic tracts, and who complained of the lack of such material to encourage deeper reading of the Bible. 'Having only a duplicate of four Gaelic tracts,' writes Sinclair, 'viz. The Great Question Answered; A Friendly Advice; Poor Joseph; and Select Portions of Sacred Scriptures; I presented the gentlemen with one of each kind, which they kindly received. They seemed particularly delighted to find we had been dispensing what they thought so valuable, and wished so much for the people's benefit' (Sinclair 1812: 30-1). Again, when visiting Tobermory in 1814, Sinclair found an enthusiasm

for Gaelic tracts among a group of people 'employed in cutting and peeling wood by the road-side'. Several of the group could read, but even those who were unable to read wished to have copies. Sinclair notes that 'in this company of hard labourers, some were from the extremities of Mull; some from Bunaw, Mederloch, Morven &c', and he writes, 'On this occasion, as often before, I was convinced of the propriety, and even necessity, of having a large proportion of tracts in Gaelic, if good is to be expected by distributing tracts in the Highlands. Often have I also desired to have a little leisure for the work of translation' (Sinclair 1814: 7-8). Sinclair, on the same tour, left further tracts with the S.S.P.C.K. schoolmaster in Coll, Ebenezer Davidson, so that a Circulating Library of tracts could be formed in the island (Sinclair 1814: 16).

Dugald Sinclair's desire to translate religious works into Gaelic is indicative of the literary talent which the missionaries frequently possessed. Generally literate in both Gaelic and English, they were well equipped to engage in translation and in original composition when their busy itineraries allowed. Malcolm McLaurin, one of the most active members of the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society, translated three English works into Gaelic (McLaurin 1817; 1822b; 1825), and composed some Gaelic verse (1822a). Archibald Farquharson, the Congregational pastor of Tiree, published several collections of his own hymns (Farquharson 1866; 1868; 1870), some original doctrinal writing (1843), pamphlets promoting the Gaelic language and its use in schools (1868; 1877), and polemical pieces (1875). The composition of Gaelic hymns by the missionaries (and their converts) was common. Baptist composers whose hymns were published include Duncan MacDougall of Tiree (MacDougall 1841; 1853), Daniel Grant of Tullymet (Grant 1842), and pre-eminently Peter Grant of Strathspey (Grant 1815; 1926). The hymns of Peter Grant achieved a remarkable popularity in his own time and later, passing through twenty editions between 1815 and 1912 (Ferguson and Matheson 1984: 74-5), and retaining their interest to the present day.

General Conclusions

There can be no doubt that the religious movement spear-headed by dissenting itinerant preachers in the Highlands was stimulated by foreign missionary interest in England and in the Lowlands. Yet we need to resist the view that it was a wholly new intrusion into the religious life of the area, and that it was mainly a matter of conflict between Evangelical dissenters and the Established Church. The picture is more complex. Not only was there sympathy for the dissenters within certain parts of the Established Church, but the dissenters were developing patterns of evangelism which were already known in the Highlands, principally through the work of the Royal Bounty agents and the S.S.P.C.K. Indeed, the new missionary societies were fully informed about the S.S.P.C.K., and admired its general aims. The example of the S.S.P.C.K., and the statistics produced by it, were often in the minds of the societies and their missionaries (*Proceedings* 1799: 5; Sinclair 1810: 15-16; Paisley Gaelic

Missionary Society Report 1820: 12; Edinburgh Gaelic School Society Report for January 1811: 3). We may, in fact, conclude that the dissenting missionaries saw themselves as continuing the programme initiated by the S.S.P.C.K. It is possible that they benefited from the previous work of the S.S.P.C.K., and it may be significant that the distribution of Baptist and Congregational churches in the Highlands is comparable with that of earlier S.S.P.C.K. schools (see Appendix B, fig. 2; Withers 1984: 129-32).

There were, however, some major differences of method and emphasis between the S.S.P.C.K. and the dissenting movement. Dissenting itinerancy, by not being restricted to parish boundaries, was a more flexible force for the evangelism of the Highlands, since it allowed maximum use to be made of a sizeable number of men who could travel the length and breadth of the land. It was this apparent lack of restriction on the missionaries' activities which provoked the greatest alarm in the General Assembly in 1799 and again in 1818. In addition, the dissenters were prepared to countenance the use of Gaelic, and the teaching of Gaelic reading, to a far greater extent than the S.S.P.C.K., at least in the earlier period of its campaign. This is evident in the policy of the Gaelic school movement, with its strong links with dissent, although it needs to be noted that the S.S.P.C.K. was responsible for the translation of the key text, the Gaelic Bible. In their attitude to the vernacular language, the promoters of the Gaelic schools, and particularly Christopher Anderson, may have been influenced by the approach to indigenous languages and culture which was characteristic of William Carey's mission to India. Carey embarked on an ambitious programme of Bible translation involving the major Indian languages, and he and his companions studied Hindu literature (Stanley 1984: 81-2). Like Carey, Anderson appreciated the importance of the mother tongue in evangelising a people, and it is in this context that we should see his commitment to Gaelic, and the work of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society. In creating a body of Highlanders who could at least read their own language, the Gaelic schools also produced a strong desire for literature in English (*Letters* 1818: 24), a result which was anticipated from the beginning of the Society (Edinburgh Gaelic School Society First Report 1811: 32). In this way, the dissenting movement and the Gaelic School Society helped to fulfil some of the initial aims of the S.S.P.C.K.

Like the S.S.P.C.K., the dissenting missionaries tried to achieve the conversion of the Gaelic people to evangelical protestantism. The dissenters, however, made markedly less use of catechisms, perhaps because such writings were linked firmly with the Established Church. The Haldanes' interest in catechising comes, significantly, at the beginning of their career. Instead, the dissenters laid greater emphasis on preaching, and particularly on the evidence of personal faith in individual lives. Dr John MacLachlan, in the poem quoted earlier in this paper, highlights the dissenters' interest in *gràs*, the Gaelic for 'grace' in the sense of 'saving grace', and their appeal to the Bible as the sole ground of their arguments. These

characteristics are very clear in the surviving journals of itinerants. In presenting evangelical commitment as a personal knowledge of the faith, rather than an adherence to doctrinal statements, the dissenters promoted a type of evangelicalism which involved the emotions as well as the intellect. This often produced a strong element of secular renunciation, as Colonel David Stewart observed in Perthshire (Stewart 1885: 163-4).

Perhaps the greatest single difference between the S.S.P.C.K. and the dissenting movement lay in the fact that the new missionaries were separatists, who were able to promote their ideas through schoolmasters and itinerants. The challenge which they presented to heritors and Moderate ministers, and their insistence on personal salvation, foreshadowed and doubtless accelerated the events of 1843.

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My greatest debt, however, is to my own family, and particularly to the life and work of my father, Hector MacDonald Meek, formerly Baptist pastor of Colonsay, Port Ellen (Islay), and Tiree. As he was not spared to see the completion of this paper, I dedicate it to his memory.

NOTES

- 1 The timing of the itinerants' appearance in the Highlands is probably significant in terms of the earlier activity of the Established Church from c.1690. In the eighteenth century, the Church of Scotland had been mainly concerned to overcome the hostility to presbyterianism which was evident in the Highlands, and it fought hard to convert people either from Episcopacy or from Catholicism. The task had been largely accomplished by the 1790s, and this left room for dissent to emerge and take root. On the role of the Established Church, see Ferguson 1969.
- 2 In addition to Sinclair's journals, the following sources (listed at the end of this article) are of key importance for the Gaelic-speaking Highlands: Douglas 1799; *Proceedings* 1799; Campbell 1805; and the Annual Reports of the Baptist Highland Mission, the Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland, the Highland Missionary Society, and the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society. Excerpts from

the journals of John Campbell, James Haldane, and Christopher Anderson are contained in Philip 1841, Haldane 1852, and Anderson 1854.

- 3 Revivals associated with communion services were stock features of eighteenth-century Scottish presbyterianism generally. The famous revival at Cambuslang in Lanarkshire in 1742 was closely linked with fervent evangelical preaching at two communions (Fawcett 1971: 113-23; Drummond and Bulloch 1973: 53-6). These revivals were becoming common in the Highlands c.1800, when they were beginning to lose appeal in the Lowlands.
- 4 The missionary activity of the Relief Church in Argyll in 1784, and especially in 1797, was doubtless of significance in making the area initially responsive to dissenting preachers. The Relief Church, which had congregations at Campbeltown and Southend, conducted two more missions to Kintyre in 1798 and 1799. The curtailment of its missionary activity after 1799 was caused essentially by a lack of Gaelic-speaking missionaries; only G. Buchanan, N. Douglas, J. McDermid, and D. McNaught are on record. Further negative factors were an awareness of the hostility of the Established Church to itinerancy, and, allegedly, the political radicalism of N. Douglas (Douglas 1799: 169-70; Struthers 1843: 399-400). The effect of Douglas's radicalism has probably been exaggerated, but he was nevertheless a figure of considerable political importance (see Appendix A), and his later career was likely to have been an embarrassment to the Relief Church. The interest of the Relief Church in Highland missions continued tenuously in the person of J. McDermid, who became a secretary of the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society.
The first minister of the United Secession Church to undertake regular itinerant preaching in the Highlands was evidently Samuel McNab of the Antiburgher church in Rothesay, who operated initially through the Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society (see Appendix A). The United Secession Church had strong followings in Argyll, especially in the Lochgilphead area, and around the Moray Firth (see the entries for USC ministers in Appendix A). It aimed at employing fully trained missionaries, and eschewed the use of 'a secondary class of Itinerants' (Highland Missionary Society Report 1822: 9).
- 5 I know of no firm evidence to support the contention (MacLeod 1976: 129; Harding 1983: 16) that Dr Charles Stuart of Dunearn was the founder of the Edinburgh Gaelic School Society, although he did serve on the Committee of the Society.

APPENDIX A

This Appendix provides a provisional check-list of evangelical missionaries known to have been active, or likely to have been active, in the Highlands (including the Islands) from c.1790 to c.1850. It excludes parish missionaries of the Established Church, the S.S.P.C.K., and the Royal Bounty. Missionaries of the following persuasions and denominations are included, and distinguished by the appropriate abbreviations:

B	Baptist
C	Congregational
R	Relief Church
USC	United Secession Church (and its earlier components)

Specific reference is made to allegiances to missionary bodies, which can be identified as follows:

B.H.M.	Baptist Highland Mission
B.H.M.S.	Baptist Home Missionary Society for Scotland (formed essentially by the merging of B.H.M., S.I.S., and Haldane interests after 1823)
E.G.S.S.	Edinburgh Gaelic School Society
H.M.S.	Highland Missionary Society
P.G.M.S.	Paisley Gaelic Missionary Society (<i>i.e.</i> the Society in Paisley and its Vicinity for Gaelic Missions to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland)
S.I.S.	Scotch Itinerant Society
S.P.G.H.	Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home

When an allegiance to a missionary society is probable but unconfirmed by available evidence, the initials of the society are placed in square brackets [].

As far as the available evidence allows, the list provides brief biographical details about each missionary, including offices held (whether pastor (p.) of a church holding to congregational order, or minister (m.) of a church following presbyterian order), and years of birth (b.) and death (d.). The areas covered by the missionaries in their itineraries are also noted where known. Sources of information are given at the end of each entry. It is anticipated that the list will be extended and modified as further information comes to light.

**Anderson, Christopher* B; b. Edinburgh (1782-1852); p. Richmond Court (now Charlotte Baptist Chapel), Edinburgh 1808-51; founder with G. Barclay (*q.v.*) of S.I.S. 1808; principal founding member of E.G.S.S. 1810; attended constitution of Bellanoch B Church 1805; active in Highlands 1808 onwards (Anderson 1854; Yuille 1926: 69-71; Whyte n.d.: 1-25; Durkacz 1983: 103, 111-12).

Anderson, John C > B; p. Tullymet C church -1808; p. Tullymet B church 1808-22; B.H.M.; d. 1822 (B.H.M. Report 1822-3; Yuille 1926: 168).

**Barclay, George* C > B; b. Kilwinning; p. Kilwinning B church (later at Irvine) 1803-38; itinerated with C. Anderson (*q.v.*); d. 1838 (Anderson 1854: 101-2, 106; Yuille 1926: 207-8).

Blue, Malcolm B; b. Colonsay; p. Colonsay B church c.1815-58; d. 1858 (McNeill 1914: 15-17, 20-1; Yuille 1926: 115-16).

Buchanan, George R; b. Perthshire; active in Kintyre with J. McDermid (*q.v.*) and D. McNaught (*q.v.*) 1798; m. at Strathkinness 1800-8 and Kirkcaldy; emigr. Beckwith, Upper Canada 1822; d. 1835 (H.M.S. Report 1822: 7; Struthers 1843: 400; Small 1904: I.205).

Cameron, Archibald B; p. Killin B church 1808- (Yuille 1926: 284).

Cameron, Duncan B; schoolmaster at Lawers 1826-37; p. Lawers B church 1837-57; [B.H.M.S.]; active in Breadalbane, Glenlyon, Rannoch; emigr. Canada 1857; d. 1867, aged 67 (Yuille 1926: 268).

* An asterisk preceding names denotes non-Gaelic-speaking itinerants who usually made use of interpreters when their audiences had little familiarity with English.

Cameron, John B; p. Fortingall B church 1845- (Yuille 1926: 280).

Campbell, James B; assoc. with Grantown-on-Spey B church; active in Skye 1828 (B.H.M.S. Report 1828).

Campbell, John USC; b. Lochgilphead; m. Jamaica St, Glasgow; active in mainland Argyll 1821, 1822; d. 1828, aged 59 (H.M.S. Report 1821: 12; H.M.S. Report 1822: 9; Small 1904: II. 61-2).

**Campbell, John* C; b. Edinburgh (1766-1840); father from Killin; ironmonger and city-missionary, Edinburgh; p. Kingsland Chapel, London 1802-40; encourager of Haldanes, esp. J.A. Haldane (*q.v.*) whom he accompanied on several Highland tours; visited S. Africa 1812, 1818 (Campbell 1805; Philip 1841; Haldane 1852: 122-8; Drummond and Bulloch 1975: 157-60).

Campbell, John C; [S.P.G.H.]; active in Breadalbane before 1811; p. Oban C church 1811-53; P.G.M.S.; active in Oban area and adjacent islands (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; Escott 1960: 324-5, 368).

Dewar, Alexander C; [S.P.G.H.]; active in Breadalbane before 1808; p. Avoch C church 1808-49; P.G.M.S.; active in Inverness-shire, Ross and Sutherland; d. 1849 (P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 12-13; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Escott 1960: 263-4, 282-3, 341).

Dewar, James C; [S.P.G.H.]; brother of A. Dewar (*q.v.*); active in Perthshire and Argyll before 1804; p. Nairn C church 1806-43; P.G.M.S.; active from Lochaber to Cape Wrath, including Mull and Skye (P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 12-13; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Escott 1960: 262-3, 282).

Douglas, Niel R; b. Glendaruel (c.1750-1823); licensed 1783; m. Cupar 1785-92, Dundee 1793-8; active in Luing and Seil c.1784, and in Kintyre, the Lochgilphead area, and Cowal with D. McNaught (*q.v.*) 1797; left Relief body c.1800, becoming Universalist preacher in Greenock and Glasgow; political activist and pamphleteer (Douglas 1799; Douglas 1817; Struthers 1843: 396-400, 572-3; Small 1904: II. 181-2, 296-7; Short 1963: 58-64).

Farquharson, Archibald C; b. Perthshire; entered C Hall 1829; p. Tiree C church 1835-78; d. 1878 (Ross 1900: 239, 257; Escott 1960: 325, 373).

Farquharson, John C; S.P.G.H.; key figure in Breadalbane and Loch Tay-side revival c.1800-4; founder of C churches at Killin 1801, and Acharn; p. Acharn C church 1802-4; active in Skye c.1805; emigr. Canada 1806 or 1807 (Haldane 1852: 316-17; *Letters* 1818: 11; *Present State* 1827: 59; 59; MacCowan 1902: 2-3; Escott 1960: 282, 339).

Ferguson, Angus B; b. Ross of Mull; p. Uig B church 1836-42; d. 1842 (Yuille 1926: 114, 119, 289).

Ferguson, Duncan B; b. Ross of Mull; p. Bunessan B church 1835-63, with D. McIntyre (*q.v.*) and C. McQuarie (*q.v.*); B.H.M.S.; d. 1882 (McNeill 1914: 7-8; Yuille 1926: 113).

Ferguson, John C; active in Breadalbane at same time as J. Farquharson (*q.v.*) (Escott 1960: 282).

Fisher, Peter C > B; [S.P.G.H.]; at Aberfeldy 1805; B by 1808; B.H.M.; based at Ardeonaig by 1822; active in Perthshire, Skye, and other islands (Campbell 1805: 19; H.M.S. Report 1820: 16; B.H.M. Report 1822-3; Yuille 1926: 71-113).

**Fraser, Donald* USC; m. of Associate Synod at Kennoway; active in 1820 with A. Kennedy (*q.v.*) in Deeside, Braemar, Glenlyon, and Moray Firth area (H.M.S. Report 1820: 13-18).

Fraser, William B; p. Uig B church 1820-30; emigr. Breadalbane, Glengarry Co., Ontario 1830 (Yuille 1926: 114, 268-9, 289; Ivison and Rosser 1963: 95).

Grant, Alexander B; b. Kingussie; E.G.S.S. teacher based Kilninian par., Mull 1816; allegedly dismissed from Scarba; became missionary; influential in founding of Tobermory B church; active in Inner Hebrides; d. 1874, aged 90 (E.G.S.S. Report 1816: 36; Yuille 1926: 113, 118-20, 269).

Grant, Daniel B; p. Tullymet B church 1839-84; [B.H.M.S.] (Yuille 1926: 168, 289).

Grant, Peter B; b. Strathspey (1783-1867); p. Grantown-on-Spey B church 1826-67; B.H.M.S.; active in 1828 with W. Hutchison (*q.v.*) on tour extending from Loch Ness to Moray Firth (B.H.M.S. Report 1828; Grant 1926; Yuille 1926: 95-6, 283).

**Haldane, James Alexander* C > B; b. Dundee (1768-1851); in naval service, latterly as captain 1785-94; major figure in home missionary movement; a founder of S.P.G.H. 1797; p. independent (C) church in Edinburgh 1799-; made several important tours of Highlands, mainly north and east, but in Arran and Kintyre with J. Campbell of Edinburgh (*q.v.*) in 1800; became B 1808; maintained B missionary interest through his church and B.H.M.S.; supported by his brother, Robert (1764-1842) of Airthrey, financier of 'Tabernacle' churches and seminaries (Haldane 1852; Yuille 1926: 55-60, 72-3; Escott 1960: 45-85).

**Haldane, Robert* See previous entry.

Hutchison, William B; p. Kingussie B church 1808-50; B.H.M., later B.H.M.S.; accompanied W. Tulloch (*q.v.*) and P. Grant (*q.v.*) on tours; active in northern Highlands and Hebrides (B.H.M. Report 1822-3; B.H.M.S. Report 1828; Yuille 1926: 72, 284).

**Kennedy, Andrew* USC; b. Leadhills; m. of Associate Synod at Keith; accompanied D. Fraser (*q.v.*) on 1820 tour; emigr. Canada 1841; d. London, Ontario 1882, aged 93 (H.M.S. Report 1820; Small 1904: I. 122-3).

Kennedy, James C; [S.P.G.H.]; p. Aberfeldy C church 1806-25, Inverness C church 1825-58; P.G.M.S.; active throughout Perthshire, mainland Argyll and Lorn (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; Escott 1960: 279-80, 339, 361).

MacArthur, Archibald B; p. Glenlyon B church 1808-41 (Yuille 1926: 282).

McArthur, Donald B; b. Colintrave (?); active in Cowal and Firth of Clyde; key figure in founding of early B churches in this area, Strachur 1801, Port Bannatyne 1804, Dunoon c.1805, Orangefield (Greenock) 1806; seized and given to press-gang 1805; emigr. America (*i.e.* Canada?) c.1812 (*Present State* 1827: 46, 90; Yuille 1926: 63, 193, 195, 287).

McCallum, Archibald C; b. Kintyre; S.P.G.H.; based at Clachan, Kintyre, and active in Kintyre and Arran 1800-30; founder of four C churches in Kintyre, the earliest (possibly Whitehouse) in 1802; moved to Greenock 1830; later emigr. New Brunswick (Campbell 1805: 7; *Present State* 1827: 46; Haldane 1852: 288-90; Ross 1900: 238-9; Escott 1960: 323-4).

McDermid, John R; b. Kilbrandon; ordained at Banff 1796; active in Kintyre 1798; m. Canal St, Paisley 1802-34; a secretary of P.G.M.S.; active in Lorn and Lochgilphead area 1819; d. 1834, aged 71 (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; Struthers 1843: 400; Small 1904: I. 124; II. 520).

MacDougall, Duncan B; b. Ross of Mull; Gaelic schoolmaster in Tiree 1824-; p. Tiree B church 1838-50; B.H.M.S.; active in Inner Hebrides; d. 1850 (McNeill 1914: 17-18; Yuille 1926: 118-19, 289).

McEwan, Archibald C; b. Islay; entered C Hall 1822; p. Callander C church 1826-35, Rothesay C church 1837-8; P.G.M.S.; active in Knapdale, Arrochar, Glenorchy, Glencoe, Lochaber, Badenoch 1827-8; d. c.1838 (P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5, 11; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Ross 1900: 257; Escott 1960: 282, 325, 344, 370).

McEwan, Dugald C; founder, with J. Reid (*q.v.*) of Oban C church 1805; p. Oban C church 1805-7 (Escott 1960: 324).

McEwan, John B; p. Tullymet B church 1822-39; B.H.M.; accompanied W. Hutchison (*q.v.*) and W. Tulloch (*q.v.*) on their tours; active from Kingussie northwards to Skye 1822 (B.H.M. Report 1822-3).

MacFarlane, John ?C; at Saddell, and in contact with P.G.M.S., 1828 (P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 10).

McGill, Anthony C; p. Rothesay C church 1839-48; probably same as 'Rev. Mr McGill' who was active in Cowal in 1824 with 16 preaching stations on Sundays and 12 on week-days (H.M.S. Report 1824: 8; Ross 1900: 240; Escott 1960: 325).

McGregor, Dugald C; p. Clachan C church -1848 (Escott 1960: 324).

McIntyre, Duncan B; p. Bunessan B church 1835-63, with D. Ferguson (*q.v.*) and C. McQuarie (*q.v.*); visited Colonsay (McNeill 1914: 18; Yuille 1926: 113).

MacKay, Alexander C; [S.P.G.H.]; p. Sannox C church 1806-56; accompanied D. Sinclair (*q.v.*) on tours after 1812; P.G.M.S. 1817-; active throughout Argyll (including Islay, Jura, Mull, Lismore) and in parts of Perthshire (Sinclair 1812: 16; P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 12; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Escott 1960: 325, 341).

MacKay, Edward C > B; [S.P.G.H.]; became B 1805; p. Thurso B church 1805-40; supported initially by Old Scotch Baptist itinerant fund; d. 1845 (Yuille 1926: 43-4, 53, 68, 289).

McKechnie, Neil C; entered C Hall 1816; p. Woodside C church, Aberdeen 1821-38; active in Ross and Cromarty (Ross 1900: 257; Escott 1960: 263).

McKeich, Daniel C; entered C Hall 1820; p. Campbeltown C church 1829-36; P.G.M.S.; active in Kintyre and adjacent islands, including Mull, 1827 (P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Ross 1900: 256; Escott 1960: 344).

MacKenzie, Alexander C; S.P.G.H.; active in northern Highlands and Western Isles 1798 (*Proceedings* 1799: 59-60).

McKillican (first name unknown) C; [S.P.G.H.]; p. Acharn C church 1804-; active in Breadalbane; accompanied J.A. Haldane (*q.v.*) and J. Campbell of Edinburgh (*q.v.*) to Sutherland in 1805; emigr. Canada 1816 (Campbell 1805: 19-20, 31; Escott 1960: 282-3).

Mackintosh, John B; p. Lochgilphead B church 1831-69; B.H.M.S. (Yuille 1926: 73, 117, 286).

Mackintosh, Lachlan C > B; S.P.G.H.; p. Rothiemurchus C church; became B by 1807; moved to Grantown-on-Spey, and founded B church of which he was pastor 1808-26; B.H.M.S.; p. Orangefield B church, Greenock 1829-32 (Haldane 1852: 319; Yuille 1926: 94-5, 283; Escott 1960: 263).

McLaren, John C; P.G.M.S.; in 1819-20 based at Ardtalnaig, and active in Breadalbane, Atholl, Strathardle, Braemar, Isla Water, Glen Brerachan; ? same as John McLaren, p. Killin C church 1818-20 (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; Escott 1960: 362).

McLaren, John C; b. Aberfeldy; entered C Hall 1827; p. Aberfeldy C church 1836-70; served over a dozen preaching stations (Ross 1900: 257; Escott 1960: 280).

McLaren, Peter C; p. Callander C church 1808-26; P.G.M.S.; active in Lochaber, Appin, Lismore by 1820, in Lewis and Harris 1826, and Perthshire 1827 (with another society); latterly in Islay as p. Port Ellen C church -1843 (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5-6, 8-9; Escott 1960: 282, 324).

McLaurin, Malcolm C; b. Ardchattan (1785-1859); trained Rotherham Independent Academy; full-time itinerant with P.G.M.S. 1818-; p. Port Charlotte C church 1822-59; in

1819-20 active in Lochgilphead, Inveraray, Benderloch, Appin, Fort William, Skye, Uist, Harris, Lewis, St Kilda, Inner Hebrides, Kintyre, Arran; visited Lewis and Harris again 1827, 1828 (P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 12-13; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 6; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; C.M. 1823: 721; C.Y.B. 1861: 224; MacLean 1915: 257; Escott 1960: 324).

McLean, James C; p. Port Charlotte C church - 1843 (Escott 1960: 324).

McLean, Malcolm C; b. Tiree; entered C Hall 1822; p. Aberfeldy C church 1825-36; P.G.M.S.; in 1827 active in Ballachulish, Glencoe, Tiree and other islands, and throughout Perthshire (P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Ross 1900: 257; Escott 1960: 339).

McLellan, Donald B; p. Glenlyon B church 1841-91 (Yuille 1926: 282).

McLeod, Alexander B; S.I.S.; based at Perth 1808, and at Crieff 1810; active in Perthshire; p. South Portland St, Glasgow 1820-69 (Anderson 1854: 101-2, 115-16; Yuille 1926: 62, 165).

McMillan, John B; b. Colonsay; assoc. with Lochgilphead B church; trained Bradford Academy 1822-5; based at Inveraray 1825-9/30; d. 1829/30 (Northern Education Society Reports 1804-25; McNeill 1914: 6; Yuille 1926: 115).

McNab, Samuel USC; b. Comrie (1791-1866); m. Rothesay Antiburgher church 1815-66; P.G.M.S.; active in Argyll 1819, Ross and Sutherland 1822 (P.G.M.S. Report 1818: 13-14; P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; H.M.S. Report 1822: 10; Small 1904: II. 184-5).

McNaught, Daniel R; b. Southend, Kintyre; m. at Bridgend, Dumbarton; ordained 1795; active in Kintyre with N. Douglas (*q.v.*) 1797, and with J. McDermid (*q.v.*) and G. Buchanan (*q.v.*) 1798 (Douglas 1799: 56, 173; Struthers 1843: 397, 400; Small 1904: I. 228).

McNaughton, Angus B; p. Bowmore B church 1819-54; active in Islay and Colonsay; emigr. Canada (Bowmore MS 1869; McNeill 1914: 18; Yuille 1926: 112).

McPherson, Duncan C; p. Campbeltown C church 1805- (Ross 1900: 239, 247; Escott 1960: 344).

McPherson, John B; p. Lawers B church 1829-36 (Yuille 1926: 285).

McQuarie, Charles B; p. Bunessan B church 1842-61, with D. Ferguson (*q.v.*) and D. McIntyre (*q.v.*) (Yuille 1926: 113).

McQueen, James B; p. Broadford B church c.1827-; active elsewhere in the Highlands (Yuille 1926: 114).

MacRae (or Rae), David C > B; (1779-1862); [S.P.G.H.]; p. Fortrose C church c.1802-5; became B by 1805; p. Fortrose B church 1805-12; supported initially by Old Scotch Baptist itinerant fund (Yuille 1926: 68, 280, 304; Escott: 263-4).

McVicar, Donald C > B; S.P.G.H.; became B by 1805; p. Bellanoch B church 1805-14; emigr. Ontario (Anderson 1854: 25-7; Yuille 1926: 116; Whitehead 1981: 24).

Miller (or Millar), James B; p. Bowmore B church 1854-68; B.H.M.S.; active in Islay and Colonsay; probably same as James Millar, p. Rannoch B church 1826-30, and Oban B church 1834-42 (Bowmore MS 1869; McNeill 1914: 18; Yuille 1926: 112, 286, 287).

Morrison, John B; p. Campbeltown (?Ardersier) B church 1840-2 (Yuille 1926: 277).

Munro, Alexander USC; b. Farr; active as student in Lochgilphead and Crinan area and in Easdale 1824; licensed in Edinburgh 1824; continued at Lochgilphead 1824-; transferred northern Highlands; m. in Inverness 1842-54; d. 1854, aged 68 (H.M.S. Report 1824: 5-8, 10; Small 1904: I. 645).

Munro, John C; p. Knockando C church 1804-53; d. 1853 (Escott 1960: 262).

Munro, John USC; m. of General Associate Synod at Nigg; active in Sutherland, Wester and Easter Ross 1820-4; sometimes accompanied S. Somerville (*q.v.*) (H.M.S. Report 1820: 18-21; H.M.S. Report 1824: 8-9).

Munro, Walter B; p. Fortrose B church 1813-20, Inverness B church 18(? 20)-36; B.H.M.S.; active in Inner Hebrides 1824 (Yuille 1926: 118, 280, 283).

Murray, George C; P.G.M.S.; in 1819-27 based at Clachan, Kintyre, and active in Knapdale, Caolas-side, Gigha, Jura and other islands; sometime p. Port Charlotte C church; p. Skipness C church -1861; d. 1861 (P.G.M.S. Report 1820: 7-8; P.G.M.S. Report 1827: 5; P.G.M.S. Report 1828: 5; Ross 1900: 239; Escott 1960: 324-5).

Reid, John C; [S.P.G.H.]; founder, with D. McEwan (*q.v.*), of Oban C church 1805 (Escott 1960: 324).

Ross, Hugh C; S.P.G.H.; catechist; active in Perthshire, mainly around Dunkeld, and in Argyll 1798- (*Proceedings* 1799: 16-19).

Sinclair, Dugald B; b. Mid Argyll (1777-1870); assoc. initially with Bellanoch B church; S.I.S. 1810-23; B.H.M.S. 1823-31; p. Lochgilphead B church 1815-31; active in mainland Argyll, Inner Hebrides, Firth of Clyde, Perthshire and northern Highlands; emigr. Lobo, Ontario 1831 (Sinclair 1810-15; Anderson 1854: 115-16; Yuille 1926: 70, 116-17; Whitehead 1981: 24).

Sinclair, John USC; sent as student to Lewis c.1824 by the United Associate Synod (H.M.S. Report 1824: 12).

**Somerville, Simon* USC; m. of General Associate Synod in Elgin; active in Easter Ross with J. Munro (*q.v.*) 1820 (H.M.S. Report 1820: 18-21).

Stewart, John B; p. Aberfeldy B church c.1846 (Yuille 1926: 275).

Tulloch, William C > B; b. Strathspey (1776-1861); S.P.G.H.; p. Killin C church 1801-3, and later p. Lawers C church; became B 1808; continued as p. Lawers B church 1808-14; removed to Renfrew; returned to Perthshire by 1816, becoming p. Aberfeldy B church -1819; removed to Kilmavionaig (Blair Atholl) 1819-61; B.H.M.; later B.H.M.S.; active throughout Perthshire, Argyll, Inner Hebrides, Inverness-shire, Ross-shire and Aberdeenshire (B.H.M. Report 1822-3; Yuille 1926: 71-2, 113, 119, 276, 285, 312; Escott 1960: 362).

Whyte, Charles C; p. Appin C church 1844-54; supported by Miss Rose Downie's Trust (Ross 1900: 239; Escott 1960: 340).

APPENDIX B

The following maps show the growth and distribution of Congregational and Baptist churches in the Highlands up to 1850. Figure 1 relates to the early formative period, which began with the founding of the S.P.G.H. in 1797, and was probably complete by 1805. Within this period, the main bases for further penetration of the Highlands were established, primarily in Argyll and Perthshire. It is noticeable that in Perthshire, where the principal evangelist was John Farquharson, there are no Baptist churches by 1805. In mainland Argyll and Bute, however, four Baptist churches are attested by this stage. Three of these (nos. 17, 19, 21) can be attributed to the work of

Donald McArthur, while the fourth (no. 16) may have emerged from Congregational activity in north Kintyre. The appearance of these Baptist churches, together with similar churches in the Black Isle and Caithness, owes much to the embracing of Baptist principles by itinerants like D. McVicar of Bellanoch who were trained at Haldane classes.

Figure 2 demonstrates the extension of Baptists and Congregationalists into other parts of the Highlands by 1850. It is evident that further Congregational churches appear chiefly in Kintyre and the Inner Hebrides (mainly Islay and Tiree). In Perthshire, Baptist churches emerge from most of the earlier Congregational churches following the adoption of Baptist principles by the Haldanes themselves in 1808, and the Congregational impetus diminishes. Congregational activity thus moves more noticeably westwards after 1808, and itinerants such as Peter McLaren and Malcolm McLaurin operate extensively in the islands before settling there (see Appendix A). Figure 2 further indicates that distinct groups or families of Congregational and Baptist churches can be identified (the Moray Firth group, the Strathspey group, the Perthshire group, and the Argyll and the Isles group).

The only churches of lasting significance generated by this movement in the north-west Highlands are found in Skye, where Baptists were able to build on the earlier work of John Farquharson and his most distinguished convert, Donald Munro (MacCowan 1902: 1–30). The absence of Congregational or Baptist churches from other parts of the north-west Highlands is to be explained by several factors, including geographical remoteness, the presence of Evangelical ministers in some strategic mainland parishes (*e.g.* Lachlan MacKenzie in Lochcarron, Donald MacGillivray in Kilmallie, John MacDonald in Urquhart, and Alexander Stewart in Dingwall), and the timely introduction of Evangelical ministers to areas which were being affected by the dissenting movement (*e.g.* the settlement of Alexander MacLeod in Uig, Lewis, in 1824 (MacLeod 1976: 197)).

It is to be noted, finally, that some of the churches which appear first in Figure 2 may have originated earlier than 1805, although they were not formally constituted until after that date. Thus, it seems likely that the Congregational church at Sannox in Arran (no. 46) derives from missionary activity initiated by James Haldane and John Campbell of Edinburgh as early as 1800. Its formal constitution, however, seems to have been in 1806, when Alexander MacKay became its pastor. At the same time, it is to be appreciated that not all churches shown in Figure 2 actually survived until 1850. The Strachur congregation (no. 17), for example, was absorbed by Port Bannatyne (no. 21) before 1805, and the latter was still in existence in 1827 (*Present State* 1827: 90), although it probably did not continue much beyond 1830.

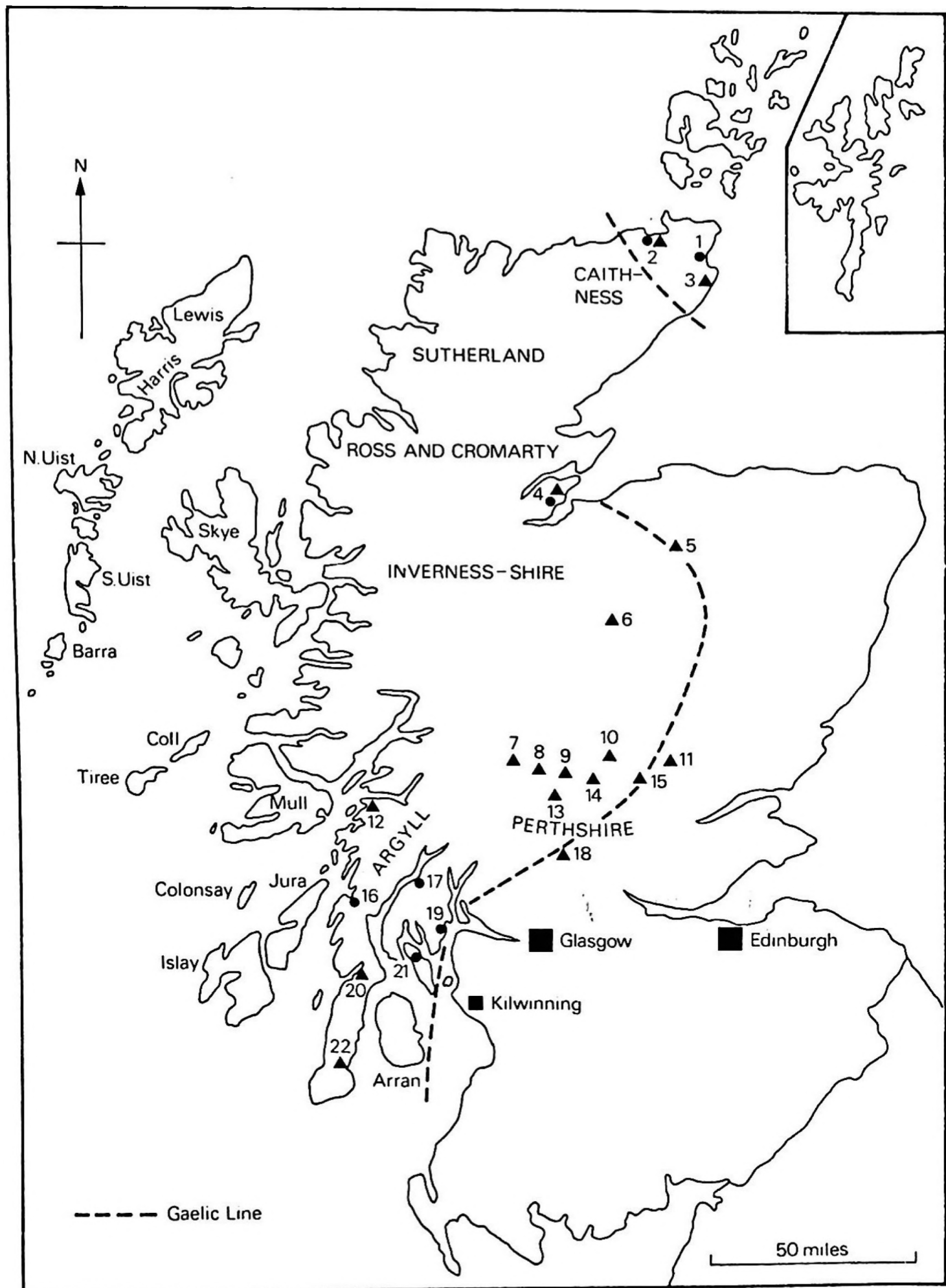


Fig. 1 Baptist and Congregational churches in the Highlands by 1805.

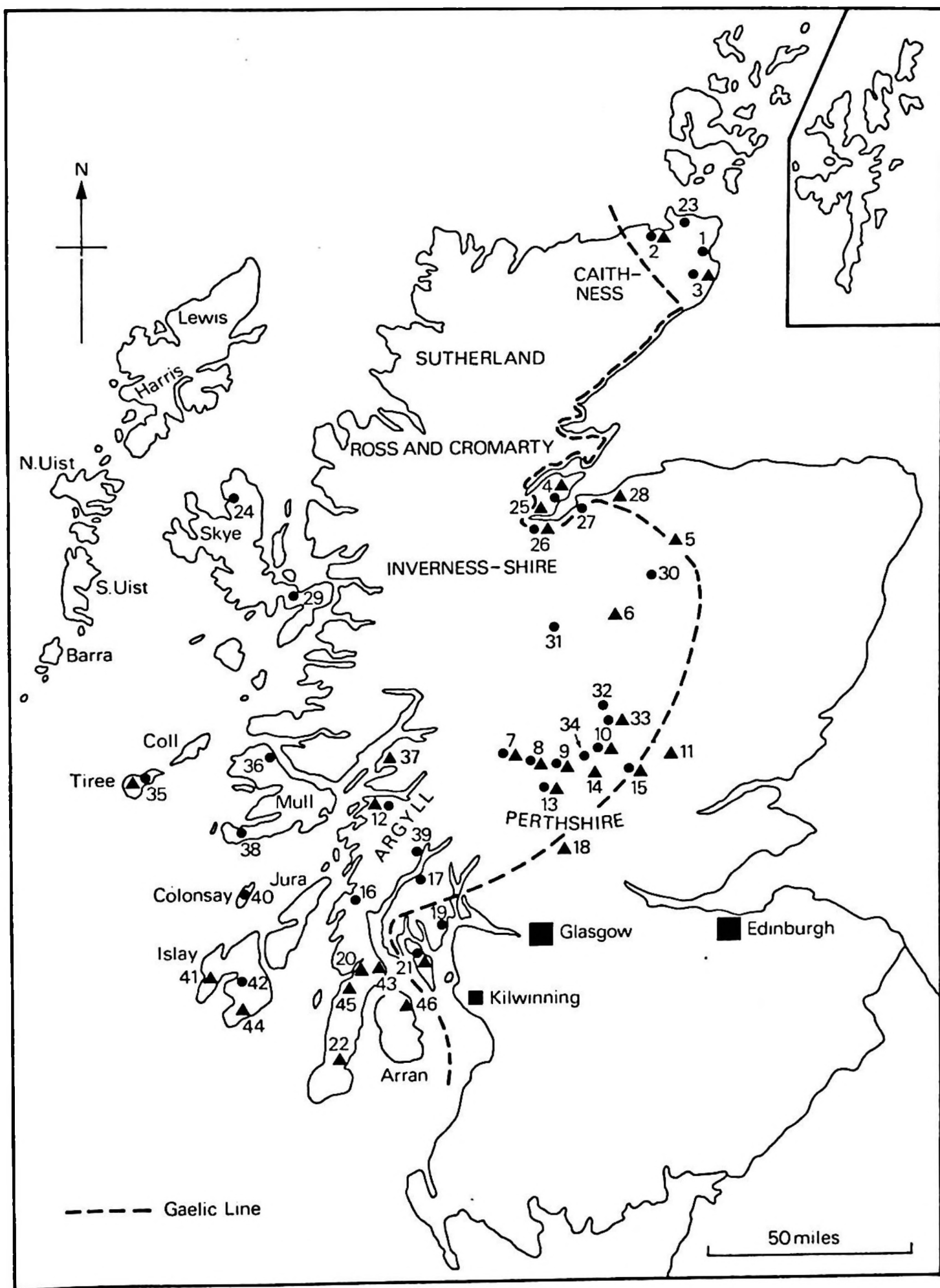


Fig. 2 Baptist and Congregational churches in the Highlands by 1850.

Key to Maps

- Baptist church
▲ Congregational church

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Keiss | 23 Scarfskerry |
| 2 Thurso | 24 Uig |
| 3 Wick | 25 Avoch |
| 4 Fortrose | 26 Inverness |
| 5 Knockando | 27 Ardersier (Campbelltown)* |
| 6 Rothiemurchus | 28 Nairn |
| 7 Rannoch | 29 Broadford |
| 8 Glenlyon | 30 Grantown-on-Spey |
| 9 Lawers | 31 Kingussie |
| 10 Aberfeldy | 32 Blair Atholl |
| 11 Blairgowrie | 33 Tullymet |
| 12 Oban | 34 Fortingall |
| 13 Killin | 35 Tiree |
| 14 Acharn | 36 Tobermory |
| 15 Dunkeld | 37 Appin |
| 16 Bellanoch (later at Lochgilphead) | 38 Bunessan |
| 17 Strachur | 39 Inveraray |
| 18 Callander | 40 Colonsay |
| 19 Dunoon | 41 Port Charlotte |
| 20 Whitehouse | 42 Bowmore |
| 21 Port Bannatyne (Baptist) | 43 Skipness |
| Rothesay (Congregational) | 44 Port Ellen |
| 22 Campbeltown | 45 Clachan |
| | 46 Sannox |

*It is possible that Campbelltown, here identified as Ardersier, should be identified as Campbeltown, Argyll.

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1868 *Hymns.* Glasgow.
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