

The Highland Clearances

[View Online](#)

The Highland Clearances are regarded as a landmark in Scottish history. The controversy they inspired in their own day has continued into the present, particularly in the Highlands and Islands themselves, where the legacy is still immediate and bitter. Historiographically, there is a stark division between 'popular' condemnation of landlord action, and 'academic' emphases upon impersonal yet inescapable economic and demographic forces. Yet whether 'popular' or 'academic', conventionally the debate has been set within a political and economic framework which sees the Clearances as a particular local variation on the themes of the transition from subsistence to capitalism, the forging of class identity, and class confrontation.

□

This course will seek to avoid conventional approaches to the Highland Clearances. Instead, the focus will be upon ideologies: the intellectual, cultural and religious systems of belief which, we shall argue, were vital in shaping the process of political and economic change in the Scottish Highlands between 1745 and 1886. The major themes will be the changing identity of the Highland elite; the inherited value-system of society as a whole, particularly kinship, conservatism and the attitude to the land; Gaels and Gaelic in the Lowlands; external cultural and racial perceptions of the Highlands; the role of religion, particularly evangelicalism, both as panacea and as providing the basis of an ideology of liberation; official attitudes to the Gaelic language and to Highland education, and ideas of popular 'passivity' and resistance.

1.

Aitchison P, Cassell A. The Lowland Clearances: Scotland's Silent Revolution, 1760-1830. TannerRitchie Publishing under license from Birlinn Ltd; 2021.
https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://scotlandshistoryonline.com/browser.php?item_id=65

2.

Oxford University Press. The Oxford Companion to Scottish History. (Michael Lynch, ed.).

Oxford University Press; 2007.

<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199234820.001.0001/acref-9780199234820?rskey=KKTm8Z&result=1&q=Oxford%20companion%20to%20Scottish%20history>

3.

Devine TM. Clanship to Crofter's War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands. Manchester University Press; 1994.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=5405949>

4.

Devine, T. M. Exploring the Scottish past: themes in the history of Scottish society. In: Tuckwell Press; 1995.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=c89f0002-64ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

5.

Devine TM, Lee CH, Peden GC. The Transformation of Scotland: The Economy since 1700. Edinburgh University Press; 2005.

<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748614325.001.0001>

6.

Gray, Malcolm. The Highland Economy, 1750-1850. Oliver & Boyd; 1957.

7.

Hunter J. The Making of the Crofting Community. New edition. Birlinn Origin; 2018.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=5523267>

8.

Hunter J. On the Other Side of Sorrow: Nature and People in the Scottish Highlands. [New edition]. TannerRitchie Publishing under license from Birlinn Ltd; 2022.

https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://scotlandshistoryonline.com/browser.php?item_id=74

9.

Mackenzie, Alexander, Macleod, Donald. The History of the Highland Clearances; Containing a Reprint of Donald Macleod's 'Gloomy Memories of the Highlands'; Isle of Skye in 1882; and a Verbatim Report of Trial of the Braes Crofters. Mackenzie; 1883.

10.

M'Leod, Donald, Stowe, Harriet Beecher. Gloomy Memories in the Highlands of Scotland: Versus Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's Sunny Memories in (England) a Foreign Land: Or a Faithful Picture of the Extirpation of the Celtic Race from the Highlands of Scotland. 4th ed. Sinclair; 1892.

11.

Prebble, John. The Highland Clearances. Penguin; 1969.

12.

Richards, Eric. A History of the Highland Clearances: Vol. 1: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886. Croom Helm; 1982.

13.

Richards E, Taylor & Francis Group. A History of the Highland Clearances: Volume 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons. Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group; 2021.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781003053910>

14.

E. Richards. Fate and Culpability in the Highland Clearances. The Yearbook of the Scottish History Teachers' Association. Published online 1989:17-42.

15.

Richards E, Ebooks Corporation Limited. The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil. Birlinn; 2012.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=1076718>

16.

Richards E. Debating the Highland Clearances. Vol Debates and documents in Scottish history. Edinburgh University Press; 2007.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748621828.001.0001>

17.

Whatley, Christopher A. Scottish Society, 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards Industrialisation. Manchester University Press; 2000.

18.

Withers, Charles W. J. Highland Communities in Dundee and Perth, 1787-1891: A Study in the Social History of Migrant Highlanders. Vol Publication (Abertay Historical Society). Abertay Historical Society; 1986.

19.

Withers, Charles W. J. Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900. Tuckwell; 1998.

20.

Withers CWJ. Landscape, memory, history: and the 19th-century Scottish highlands. Scottish Geographical Journal. 2005;121(1):29-44.
doi:10.1080/00369220518737219

21.

Askews & Holts Library Services. The Invention of Tradition. Vol Canto classics. (Hobsbawm EJ, Ranger TO, eds.). Cambridge University Press; 2012.
<https://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9781139893923>

22.

Margaret I. Adam. The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803. *The Scottish Historical Review*. 1920;17(66):73-89.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/25519212>

23.

Bumsted, J. M. *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America, 1770-1815*. Edinburgh University Press; 1982.

24.

Caird JB. The creation of crofts and new settlement patterns in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. 1987;103(2):67-75.
doi:10.1080/00369228718736698

25.

Dodgshon, R. A. *From Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands, c.1493-1820*. Edinburgh University Press; 1998.

26.

Dunlop, Jean. *The British Fisheries Society, 1786-1893*. [New ed.]. Donald; 2003.

27.

MacDonald, I. S. *Glencoe and beyond: The Sheep-Farming Years, 1780-1830*. John Donald; 2005.

28.

Macinnes, Allan I. *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788*. Tuckwell Press; 1996.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=5ac702ce-1730-ec11-ae72-0050f2f0d45d>

29.

Mackillop A. *More Fruitful than the Soil: Army, Empire, and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815*. Tuckwell; 2000.

https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://scotlandshistoryonline.com/browser.php?item_id=168

30.

McLean, Marianne. *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820*. Vol. McGill-Queen's studies in ethnic history. McGill-Queen's University Press; 1991.

31.

Nenadic, Stana. *Lairds and Luxury: The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth Century Scotland*. John Donald; 2007.

32.

Smith, Annette M. *Jacobite Estates of the Forty-Five*. John Donald; 1982.

33.

Youngson, Alexander John. *After the Forty-Five: The Economic Impact on the Scottish Highlands*. Edinburgh University Press; 1973.

34.

Gaelic Society of Inverness. *Transactions*. Published online 1871.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=98045345-f724-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

35.

Devine TM, Orr W. *The Great Highland Famine: Hunger, Emigration, and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century*. TannerRitchie Publishing under license from Birlinn Ltd; 2022.
https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://scotlandshistoryonline.com/browser.php?item_id=178

36.

Devine, T. M. *Improvement and enlightenment: proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar University of Strathclyde 1987-1988*. In: John Donald; 1989.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=7e8d6b67-62ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

37.

Orr, Willie. *Deer Forests, Landlords and Crofters: The Western Highlands in Victorian and Edwardian Times*. J. Donald; 1982.

38.

Cameron, Ewen A. *Land for the People?: The British Government and the Scottish Highlands, c.1880-1925*. Vol Scottish Historical Review monographs series. Tuckwell Press; 1996.

39.

Cameron, Ewen A. *The Life and Times of Fraser Mackintosh, Crofter MP*. Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen; 2000.

40.

Cameron EA. Communication or Separation? Reactions to Irish Land Agitation and Legislation in the Highlands of Scotland, c.1870-1910. *The English Historical Review*. 2005;120(487):633-666. doi:10.1093/ehr/cei124

41.

Ewen A. Cameron. Journalism in the Late Victorian Scottish Highlands: John Murdoch, Duncan Campbell, and the 'Northern Chronicle'. *Victorian Periodicals Review*. 2007;40(4):281-306.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/20084210>

42.

Grigor, Iain Fraser. *Mightier than a Lord: The Highland Crofters' Struggle for the Land*. Acair; 1979.

43.

James Hunter. The Politics of Highland Land Reform, 1873-1895. *The Scottish Historical Review*. 1974;53(155):45-68.

<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/25529057>

44.

James Hunter. The Gaelic Connection: The Highlands, Ireland and Nationalism, 1873-1922. *The Scottish Historical Review*. 1975;54(158):178-204.

<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/25529128>

45.

University of Aberdeen. *Scottish Gaelic Studies*. 2008;24.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=66b1aa03-f624-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

46.

MacPhail, I. M. M. *The Crofters' War*. Acair; 1989.

47.

Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. Published online 1871.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=9c9f955a-52ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

48.

Scottish Local History. Published online 1983.

49.

Irish Economic and Social History: Journal of the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland. Published online 1974.

50.

Newby, Andrew G. *The Life and Times of Edward McHugh (1853-1915), Land Reformer, Trade Unionist, and Labour Activist*. Vol Series: *Studies in British history*. E. Mellen; 2005.

51.

Newby AG. Ireland, Radicalism, and the Scottish Highlands, c. 1870-1912. Vol no. 15. Edinburgh University Press; 2007.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748623754.001.0001>

52.

Taylor A. 'Pig-Sticking Princes': Royal Hunting, Moral Outrage, and the Republican Opposition to Animal Abuse in Nineteenth-and Early Twentieth-Century Britain. *History*. 2004;89(293):30-48. doi:10.1111/j.0018-2648.2004.00286.x

53.

Wallace S. John Stuart Blackie: Scottish Scholar and Patriot. Edinburgh University Press; 2006. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=313195>

54.

John D. Wood. Transatlantic Land Reform: America and the Crofters' Revolt 1878-1888. *The Scottish Historical Review*. 1984;63(175):79-104.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/25530079>

55.

Bangor-Jones, Malcolm. The Assynt Clearances. Assynt Press; 1998.

56.

Gaskell P. Morvern Transformed: A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century. First paperback edition. Cambridge University Press; 1980.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511561139>

57.

Little JI. 'Agricultural Improvement and Highland Clearance: The Isle of Arran, 1766-1829'. *Scottish Economic & Social History*. 1999;19(2):132-154. doi:10.3366/sesh.1999.19.2.132

58.

Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. Published online 1871.

59.

Richards E, Taylor & Francis Group. The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution. Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group; 2007.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9780203707296>

60.

Richards E, ProQuest (Firm). Patrick Sellar and the Highland Clearances: Homicide, Eviction and the Price of Progress. Polygon at Edinburgh; 1999.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=6141789>

61.

Tindley A, Askews & Holts Library Services. The Sutherland Estate, 1850-1920: Aristocratic Decline, Estate Management and Land Reform. Vol Scottish Historical Review Monographs. Edinburgh University Press; 2010.
<https://www.vlebooks.com/vleweb/product/openreader?id=GlasgowUni&isbn=9780748642670>

62.

Maciver E. Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman: Being the Reminiscences of Evander Maciver of Scourie. (Henderson G, ed.). Printed by T. and A. Constable; 1905.

63.

Grimble, Ian. The Trial of Patrick Sellar: The Tragedy of Highland Evictions. Routledge

64.

Maciver E. Memoirs of a Highland Gentleman: Being the Reminiscences of Evander Maciver of Scourie. (Henderson G, ed.). Printed by T. and A. Constable; 1905.

65.

Munro, R. W., Macquarrie, Alan. *Clan MacQuarrie: A History*. Bruce McQuarrie; 1996.

66.

Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. Published online 1871.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=6e4ea2b2-52ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

67.

Tindley A. 'They sow the wind, they reap the whirlwind': Estate Management in the Post-clearance Highlands, c. 1815-c. 1900. Northern Scotland. 2012;3(1):66-85.

doi:10.3366/nor.2012.0024

68.

Grant JS. *A Shilling for Your Scowl: The History of a Scottish Legal Mafia*. Acair Ltd; 1992.

69.

Lodge C. *The Clearers and the Cleared: Women, Economy and Land in the Scottish Highlands, 1800-1900*. 1996. <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/819/>

70.

Stana Nenadic. Experience and Expectations in the Transformation of the Highland Gentlewoman, 1680 to 1820. *The Scottish Historical Review*. 2001;80(210):201-220.

<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/25531045>

71.

Robertson IJM. The role of women in social protest in the Highlands of Scotland, c.1880-1939. *Journal of Historical Geography*. 1997;23(2):187-200.

doi:10.1006/jhge.1996.0048

72.

Adam, Robert James. Papers on Sutherland Estate Management (2 Vols.). Vol Series: Scottish History Society. Scottish History Society; 1972.

73.

Bruce, James. Destitution in the Highlands: Letters on the Present Condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.; 1847.

74.

Campbell, Dugald. The Land Question in the Highlands and Islands with Observations on the Administration of Scotch Affairs. J. and R. Parlane

75.

Fenyaõ, Krisztina. Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the Famine Years, 1845-1855. Tuckwell Press; 2000.

76.

Scottish Gaelic Studies. Published online 1926.

77.

Murdoch, John & Hunter, James. For the People's Cause: From the Writings of John Murdoch. Published for the Crofters Commission [by] H.M.S.O.; 1986.

78.

Loch, James. An Account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquess of Stafford, in the Counties of Stafford and Salop, and on the Estate of Sutherland. Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row; 1820.

79.

Scottish Studies. Published online 1957.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=0ac1b4a3-a9c9-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

80.

Meek, Donald E. Tuath Is Tighearna =: Tenants and Landlords : An Anthology of Gaelic Poetry of Social and Political Protest from the Clearances to the Land Agitation. Vol Series: Scottish Gaelic Texts. Published by Scottish Academic Press for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society; 1995.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=d19ebbb0-723b-ee11-8457-0050f2f06092>

81.

Nic a' Phearsain, Mairi & Meek, Donald E., ed. Mairi Mhor Nan Oran: Taghadh de a h-Áorain Le Eachdraudh a Beatha Is Notaichean. Scottish Academic Press; 1998.

82.

Meek, Donald E., ed. Caran an T-Saoghail =: The Wiles of the World : Anthology of 19th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse. Birlinn; 2003.

83.

Murdoch, John. The Land Question Answered from the Bible =: Iubile Nan Gáaidheal : Fuasgladh an Fhearainn a Reir a Biobhuill.; 1883.

84.

Napier and Ettrick. The Highland Crofters: a vindication of the report of the Crofters' Commission. The Nineteenth century. 17(97):437-463.

<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/2642430/140E8A465B224BB5EA8/4?accountid=14540>

85.

McNeil SJ. Report to the Board of Supervision on the Western Highlands and Islands.

<http://www.ambaile.org.uk/detail/en/8921/1/EN8921-report-to-the-board.htm>

86.

Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Published online 1884.

<http://www.whc.uhi.ac.uk/research/napier-commission>

87.

Broun, Dauvit., Finlay, Richard. J. & Lynch, Michael, ed. Image and Identity: The Making and Re-Making of Scotland through the Ages. John Donald Publishers Ltd; 1998.

https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://scotlandshistoryonline.com/browser.php?item_id=125

88.

Broun, Dauvit. & MacGregor, Martin, ed. Máiorun Máor Nan Gall, 'The Great ill-Will of the Lowlander?': Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern. Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow; 2007.

<https://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/scottishstudies/ebooks/miorunmor.htm>

89.

Chapman M, ProQuest (Firm). The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture. Croom Helm; 1978.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=4560240>

90.

Chapman M, ProQuest (Firm). The Celts: The Construction of a Myth. The Macmillan Press; 1992.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=6581042>

91.

Clyde, Robert Donald. From Rebel to Hero: Image of the Highlander, 1745-1830. Tuckwell Press; 1995.

92.

Collinson, Susan. Robert Knox's Anatomy of Race. History Today. 40(12):44-49.

<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1299029019/140E8E3068860C666AF/14?accountid=14540>

93.

Dewey C. Celtic Agrarian Legislation and the Celtic Revival. Past and Present. 1974;64(1):30-70. doi:10.1093/past/64.1.30

94.

Kidd C. Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition, 1780–1880. Scottish Historical Review. 1995;74(1):45-68. doi:10.3366/shr.1995.74.1.45

95.

Leneman, Leah & Mitchison, Rosalind, ed. Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in Honour of Rosalind Mitchison. Aberdeen University Press; 1988.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=e0238e4a-5fca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

96.

Broun, D. & MacGregor, M., ed. Mìorun Mór Nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern.; 2007.
<https://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/scottishstudies/ebooks/miorunmor.htm>

97.

Macleod, Anne Margaret. From an Antique Land: Visual Representations of the Highlands and Islands 1700-1880. John Donald; 2012.

98.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. 2001;131.
<https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/psas/contents.cfm?vol=131&CFID=31570&CFTOKEN=CC588D7B-0C82-4E34-81970A87BA182018>

99.

Gaskill H, ProQuest (Firm). The Reception of Ossian in Europe. Vol v. 5. Thoemmes

Continuum; 2004. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=436477>

100.

Biagini EF, ed. *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals, and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931*. First paperback edition. Cambridge University Press; 2002. <https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511522475>

101.

Smout C. *Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries*1. Northern Scotland. 1982;5 (First Series(1):99-121. doi:10.3366/nor.1982.0017

102.

Carmichael A. *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations : With Illustrative Notes on Words, Rites and Customs, Dying and Obsolete*. [New ed.]. Floris Books; 2006. <https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=98a2f110-65ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

103.

Stiáubhart, Domhnall Uilleam, ed. *The Life & Legacy of Alexander Carmichael*. Islands Book Trust; 2008.

104.

Streets, Heather. *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture, 1857-1914*. Manchester University Press; 2004.

105.

Whatley, Christopher A. & Donnachie, Ian L., ed. *The manufacture of Scottish history*. In: Polygon; 1992. <https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=b7ba368f-61ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

106.

Womack, Peter. *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands*. Vol Language, discourse, society. Macmillan; 1988.

107.

Ansdell, Douglas. The People of the Great Faith: The Highland Church, 1690-1900. Acair; 1998.

108.

Scottish Church History Society. Records of the Scottish Church History Society. Published online 1923.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=d36bde98-f124-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

109.

Scottish Church History Society. Records of the Scottish Church History Society. Published online 1923.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=d36bde98-f124-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

110.

University of Edinburgh. Scottish studies. Published online 1957.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=6a367687-f624-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

111.

Gaelic Society of Inverness. Transactions. Published online 1871.

112.

University of Aberdeen. Scottish Gaelic studies. Published online 1926.

<https://eprints.gla.ac.uk/4585/>

113.

Kidd SM. Caraid nan Gaidheal and 'Friend of Emigration': Gaelic Emigration Literature of the 1840s. Scottish Historical Review. 2002;81(1):52-69. doi:10.3366/shr.2002.81.1.52

114.

Gaelic Society of Inverness. Transactions. Published online 1871.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=2e08860e-53ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

115.

MacColl AW. Land, Faith and the Crofting Community: Christianity and Social Criticism in the Highlands of Scotland 1843-1893. Vol Scottish historical review monographs series. Edinburgh University Press; 2006.

<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748623822.001.0001>

116.

McGuire, Nancy R., âO Baoill, Colm, Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig. Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 2000: Papers Read at the Conference Scottish Gaelic Studies 2000 Held at the University of Aberdeen 2-4 August 2000. An Cláo Gaidhealach; 2002.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=312dc070-63ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

117.

Walker, Graham, Gallagher, Tom. Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland. Edinburgh University Press; 1990.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=1f7c5126-61ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

118.

MacInnes, John. The Evangelical Movement in the Highlands of Scotland, 1688-1800. Aberdeen U.P; 1951.

119.

MacLeod, James Lachlan. The Second Disruption: The Free Church in Victorian Scotland and the Origins of the Free Presbyterian Church. Tuckwell; 2000.

120.

Scottish Church History Society. Records of the Scottish Church History Society. Published online 1923.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=ea2cc6fc-f124-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

121.

Meek DE. The land question answered from the Bible'; the land issue and the development of a Highland theology of Liberation. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. 1987;103(2):84-89. doi:10.1080/00369228718736700

122.

University of Edinburgh. *Scottish studies*. Published online 1957.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=1e181eed-f624-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

123.

University of Edinburgh. *Scottish studies*. Published online 1957.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=6555abb4-f624-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

124.

Wright, David F., Campbell, Ian, Gibson, John C. L. *The Bible in Scottish Life and Literature*. Saint Andrew Press; 1988.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=c039606e-64ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

125.

MacLennan, Gordon W., North American Congress of Celtic Studies. *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies, Held at Ottawa from 26th - 30th March, 1986*. Chair of Celtic Studies, University of Ottawa; 1988.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=b296ed76-f224-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

126.

University of Aberdeen. *Scottish Gaelic studies*. Published online 1926.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=8cb32ce7-abc9-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

127.

Paton, David M. M. *The Clergy and the Clearances*. John Donald; 2006.

128.

Smith, Donald C. Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church, 1830-1945. Vol American university studies. Lang; 1987.

129.

Cheape H. A Song on the Lowland shepherds: Popular Reactions to the Highland Clearances. Scottish Economic & Social History. 1995;15(1):85-100.
doi:10.3366/sesh.1995.15.15.85

130.

Durkacz VE. The Decline of the Celtic Languages: A Study of Linguistic and Cultural Conflict in Scotland, Wales and Ireland from the Reformation to the Twentieth Century. New (paperback) ed. John Donald; 1983.

131.

MacGill-Eain, Somhairle, Gillies, William. Ris a' Bhruthaich: Criticism and Prose Writings. Acair; 1985.

132.

Craig C, Jack RDS, Hook A, Gifford D. The History of Scottish Literature. Aberdeen University Press; 1987.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=c740d8e2-5eca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

133.

Gaelic Society of Inverness. Transactions. Published online 1871.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=4b5cb716-50ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

134.

Gaelic Society of Inverness. Transactions. Published online 1871.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=2baac37a-f724-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

135.

University of Aberdeen. Scottish Gaelic studies. Published online 1926.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=37e2de41-f624-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

136.

McClure, J. Derrick, Kirk, John M., Storrie, Margaret C. A Land That Lies Westward: Language and Culture in Islay and Argyll. John Donald; 2009.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=9c9000e0-66ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

137.

McClure, J. Derrick, Kirk, John M., Storrie, Margaret C. A Land That Lies Westward: Language and Culture in Islay and Argyll. John Donald; 2009.

138.

Thomson, Derick S. An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry. 2nd ed. Edinburgh University Press; 1989.

139.

Gaelic Society of Inverness. Transactions. Published online 1871.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=0d11b4cc-f724-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

140.

Withers CWJ. Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1981: The Geographical History of a Language. J. Donald; 1984.

https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://scotlandshistoryonline.com/browser.php?item_id=122

141.

Withers CWJ, Taylor & Francis Group. Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region. Vol Volume 19. Routledge; 2016.

<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315659022>

142.

D. J. Withrington. The S.P.C.K. and Highland Schools in Mid-Eighteenth Century. The Scottish historical review. 41(132, Part 2):89-99.
<http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/stable/25526694>

143.

Devine, T. M., Mitchison, Rosalind, Fraser, W. Hamish, Economic and Social History Society of Scotland. People and Society in Scotland. John Donald in association with The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland Society; 1988.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=9df5a308-62ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

144.

Cameron EA, Newby A. 'Alas, Skyemen are imitating the Irish': A note on Alexander Nicolson's 'Little Leaflet' concerning the Crofters' Agitation. Innes Review. 2004;55(1):83-92. doi:10.3366/inr.2004.55.1.83

145.

Hanham HJ. The Problem of Highland Discontent, 1880-1885. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. 1969;19. doi:10.2307/3678739

146.

University of Edinburgh. Scottish studies. Published online 1957.
<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=83334f19-f724-ec11-ae72-a04a5e5d2f8d>

147.

Eric Richards. Problems on the Cromartie Estate, 1851-3. The Scottish Historical Review. 1973;52(154):149-164.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/25529018>

148.

Taylor & Francis Group. Popular Protest and Public Order: Six Studies in British History, 1790-1920. Vol Volume 17. (Quinault RE, Stevenson J, eds.). Routledge; 2021.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781003186892>

149.

Connolly, S. J., Houston, R. A., Morris, R. J. Conflict, identity and economic development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1939. In: Carnegie Publishing; 1995.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=cf99ba08-63ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

150.

Byrne M. Chan e Chleachd Bhith an Cabhsair Chlach: Am Bàrd Gàidhlig 's Am Baile Mòr Bhon 17mh Linn Chun an 20mh.; 2007. <https://eprints.gla.ac.uk/4598/>

151.

Gouriévidis L. The Dynamics of Heritage: History, Memory and the Highland Clearances. Vol Heritage, culture and identity. Ashgate; 2010.

152.

Jonsson, Fredrik Albritton. Enlightenment's Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism. Vol The Lewis Walpole series in eighteenth-century culture and history. Yale University Press; 2013.

153.

D. E. Meek. Tuath Is Tighearna =: Tenants and Landlords : An Anthology of Gaelic Poetry of Social and Political Protest from the Clearances to the Land Agitation. Vol Series: Scottish Gaelic texts. Published by Scottish Academic Press for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society; 1995.

154.

Eric Richards. A History of the Highland Clearances: Vol. 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons. Croom Helm; 1985.

155.

Grimble I. The Trial of Patrick Sellar: The Tragedy of Highland Evictions. Routledge; 1962.

156.

University of Aberdeen. Celtic Dept. Scottish Gaelic studies. Published online 1926.

157.

University of Edinburgh. School of Scottish Studies. Scottish studies. Published online 1957. <http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5644afc1714bd2e34500002e>

158.

Nic a' Phearsain M, Meek DE, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society. Mairi Mhor Nan Oran: Taghadh de a h-Àrain Le Eachdraudh a Beatha Is Notaichean. Scottish Academic Press; 1998.

159.

Meek DE. Caran an T-Saoghail =: The Wiles of the World : Anthology of 19th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse. Birlinn; 2003.

160.

Cheape H. A song on the Lowlands Shephards: Popular reaction to the Highland Clearances. Scottish Economic & Social History. 1995;15(1):85-100.
doi:10.3366/sesh.1995.15.15.85

161.

MacGill-Eain S, Gillies W. Ris a' Bhruthaich: Criticism and Prose Writings. Acair; 1985.

162.

Craig C, Jack RDS, Hook A, Gifford D. The History of Scottish Literature. Aberdeen University Press; 1987.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645b238714bd2752100000d>

163.

Transactions Gaelic Society of Inverness. Published online 1871.

<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645cd4becae6ae26d000015>

164.

University of Aberdeen. Celtic Dept. Scottish Gaelic studies. Published online 1926.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5644ad44714bd21274000015>

165.

McClure JD, Kirk JM, Storrie MC. A Land That Lies Westward: Language and Culture in Islay and Argyll. John Donald; 2009.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645cb70ecae6ae26d000010>

166.

McClure JD, Kirk JM, Storrie MC. A Land That Lies Westward: Language and Culture in Islay and Argyll. John Donald; 2009.

167.

Thomson DS. An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry. 2nd ed. Edinburgh University Press; 1989.

168.

Gaelic Society of Inverness. Transactions. Published online 1871.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645c172ecae6ae76d00000b>

169.

Grant JS. A Shilling for Your Scowl: The History of a Scottish Legal Mafia. Acair Ltd; 1992.

170.

Francis Napier. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland: With Appendices. Neill; 1884. <http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/fulltext/fulltext.do?id=1884-060426&DurUrl=Yes>

171.

T. M. Devine. *Clanship to Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*. Manchester University Press; 1994.

172.

James Hunter. *The Making of the Crofting Community*. Birlinn; 2010.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645b403714bd27521000012>

173.

Eric Richards. *A History of the Highland Clearances: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886: Vol. 1*. Croom Helm; 1982.

174.

Richards E, Taylor & Francis Group. *A History of the Highland Clearances: Volume 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons*. Routledge, an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group; 2021.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781003053910>

175.

The Yearbook of the Scottish History Teachers' Association. Published online 1989.

176.

Richards E, Ebooks Corporation Limited. *The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil*. Birlinn; 2012.
<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=1076718>

177.

Cameron EA. *Land for the People?: The British Government and the Scottish Highlands, c.1880-1925*. Vol Scottish Historical Review monographs series. Tuckwell Press; 1996.

178.

Cameron EA. The Life and Times of Fraser Mackintosh, Crofter MP. Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen; 2000.

179.

Grigor IF. Mightier than a Lord: The Highland Crofters' Struggle for the Land. Acair; 1979.

180.

MacPhail IMM. The Crofters' War. Acair; 1989.

181.

Newby AG. Ireland, Radicalism, and the Scottish Highlands, c. 1870-1912. Vol Scottish historical review monographs series. Edinburgh University Press; 2007.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748623754.001.0001>

182.

Grimble I. The Trial of Patrick Sellar: The Tragedy of Highland Evictions. Routledge; 1962.

183.

Murdoch J, Hunter J. For the People's Cause: From the Writings of John Murdoch. Published for the Crofters Commission [by] H.M.S.O.; 1986.

184.

Napier; Ettrick. The Highland Crofters: The Nineteenth century: a monthly review, Mar 1877-Dec 1900. 17(97):437-463.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/2642430/627DA16E77D444FFPQ/4?accountid=14540>

185.

Broun D, MacGregor M, University of Glasgow. Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies. Mìorun Mòr Nan Gall, 'The Great ill-Will of the Lowlander?': Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern. Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow; 2007. <https://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/scottishstudies/ebooks/miorunmor.htm>

186.

C. Dewey. Celtic agrarian legislation and the Celtic revival: historicist implications of Gladstone's Irish and Scottish Land Acts, 1870-1886. *Past and Present*. 1974;64. doi:10.1093/past/64.1.30

187.

Biagini EF. *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals, and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931*. Cambridge University Press; 1996. <http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/56448971714bd20e07000001>

188.

MacColl AW. Religion and the Land Question: The Clerical Evidence to the Napier Commission. *Transactions*. 1871;62:374-403. <http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645d6af5859fcc26d00000f>

189.

Meek DE. The land question answered from the Bible'; the land issue and the development of a Highland theology of Liberation. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. 1987;103(2):84-89. doi:10.1080/00369228718736700

190.

Cameron EA, Newby A. Alas, Skyemen are imitating the Irish : A note on Alexander Nicolson's Little Leaflet concerning the Crofters' Agitation. *Innes Review*. 2004;55(1):83-92. doi:10.3366/inr.2004.55.1.83

191.

H. J. Hanham. The Problem of Highland Discontent, 1880-1885. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. 1969;19:21-65.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.jstor.org/stable/3678739>

192.

Connolly SJ, Houston RA, Morris RJ. Conflict, Identity and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1939. Carnegie Publishing; 1995.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/56448a64714bd2fe6400001f>

193.

John Murdoch. The Land Question Answered from the Bible. [s.n.]; 1883.

194.

Dugald Campbell. The Land Question in the Highlands and Islands with Observations on the Administration of Scotch Affairs. J. and R. Parlane

195.

T. M. Devine. Clanship to Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands. Manchester University Press; 1994.

196.

James Hunter. The Making of the Crofting Community. Birlinn; 2010.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645b403714bd27521000012>

197.

Eric Richards. A History of the Highland Clearances: Agrarian Transformation and the Evictions 1746-1886: Vol. 1. Croom Helm; 1982.

198.

Eric Richards. A History of the Highland Clearances: Vol. 2: Emigration, Protest, Reasons. Croom Helm; 1985.

199.

The Yearbook of the Scottish History Teachers' Association. Published online 1989.

200.

Richards E, Ebooks Corporation Limited. The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil. Birlinn; 2012.

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=1076718>

201.

Murdoch J, Hunter J. For the People's Cause: From the Writings of John Murdoch. Published for the Crofters Commission [by] H.M.S.O.; 1986.

202.

Meek DE. Tuath Is Tighearna =: Tenants and Landlords : An Anthology of Gaelic Poetry of Social and Political Protest from the Clearances to the Land Agitation. Vol Scottish Gaelic texts. Published by Scottish Academic Press for the Scottish Gaelic Texts Society; 1995.

203.

MacColl AW. Religion and the land question: the clerical evidence to the Napier Commission. Transaction of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. 2000;(62):374-403.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645d6af5859fcc26d00000f>

204.

MacColl AW. Land, Faith and the Crofting Community: Christianity and Social Criticism in the Highlands of Scotland 1843-1893. Vol Scottish historical review monographs series. Edinburgh University Press; 2006.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748623822.001.0001>

205.

Meek DE. The land question answered from the Bible'; the land issue and the development of a Highland theology of Liberation. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*. 1987;103(2):84-89. doi:10.1080/00369228718736700

206.

Wright DF, Campbell I, Gibson JCL. *The Bible in Scottish Life and Literature*. Saint Andrew Press; 1988. <http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5644bff2714bd25413000013>

207.

University of Aberdeen. Celtic Dept. Scottish Gaelic studies. Published online 1926. <http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5644ad44714bd21274000015>

208.

Kristina Fenyô. *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the Famine Years, 1845-1855*. Tuckwell Press; 2000. <https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=1ed6642b-fc2f-ec11-ae72-0050f2f0d45d>

209.

J. Bruce. *Destitution in the Highlands: Letters on the Present Condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*.; 1847.

210.

T. M. Devine. *Clanship to Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*. Manchester University Press; 1994.

211.

James Hunter. *The Making of the Crofting Community*. Birlinn; 2010. <http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645b403714bd27521000012>

212.

Devine TM, Orr W. The Great Highland Famine: Hunger, Emigration, and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century. TannerRitchie Publishing under license from Birlinn Ltd; 2022.

https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://scotlandshistoryonline.com/browser.php?item_id=178

213.

Chapman M. The Celts: The Construction of a Myth. Macmillan; 1992.

214.

Kidd C. Teutonic Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition, 1780-1880. Scottish Historical Review. 1995;74(1):45-68. doi:10.3366/shr.1995.74.1.45

215.

McGuire NR, Æ Baoill C, Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig. Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 2000: Papers Read at the Conference Scottish Gaelic Studies 2000 Held at the University of Aberdeen 2-4 August 2000. An Clò Gaidhealach; 2002.

<https://contentstore.cla.co.uk/secure/link?id=312dc070-63ca-e911-80cd-005056af4099>

216.

MacLeod JL. The Second Disruption: The Free Church in Victorian Scotland and the Origins of the Free Presbyterian Church. Tuckwell; 2000.

217.

McNeill SJ. Report to the Board of Supervision by Sir John McNeill on the Western Highlands and Islands (1851).

http://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?url_ver=Z39.88-2004&res_dat=xri:hc&rft_dat=xri:hc:fulltext:1851-027498

218.

Francis Napier. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland: With Appendices. Neill; 1884.

<http://parlipapers.chadwyck.co.uk/fulltext/fulltext.do?id=1884-060426&DurUrl=Yes>

219.

T. M. Devine. *Clanship to Crofters' War: The Social Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*. Manchester University Press; 1994.

220.

James Hunter. *The Making of the Crofting Community*. Birlinn; 2010.
<http://content.talisaspire.com/glasgow/bundles/5645b403714bd27521000012>

221.

Devine TM, Orr W. *The Great Highland Famine: Hunger, Emigration, and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century*. TannerRitchie Publishing under license from Birlinn Ltd; 2022.
https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://scotlandshistoryonline.com/browser.php?item_id=178

222.

Cameron EA. *Land for the People?: The British Government and the Scottish Highlands, c.1880-1925*. Vol Scottish Historical Review monographs series. Tuckwell Press; 1996.

223.

Cameron EA. *The Life and Times of Fraser Mackintosh, Crofter MP*. Centre for Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen; 2000.

224.

MacPhail IMM. *The Crofters' War*. Acair; 1989.

225.

Newby AG. *Ireland, Radicalism, and the Scottish Highlands, c. 1870-1912*. Vol Scottish historical review monographs series. Edinburgh University Press; 2007.

<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748623754.001.0001>

226.

Fenyô K. Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the Famine Years, 1845-1855. Tuckwell Press; 2000.

227.

Murdoch J, Hunter J. For the People's Cause: From the Writings of John Murdoch. Published for the Crofters Commission [by] H.M.S.O.; 1986.

228.

Napier; Ettrick. The Highland Crofters: The Nineteenth century: a monthly review, Mar 1877-Dec 1900. 17(97):437-463.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/2642430/15F823EBFF914DA2PQ/4?accountid=14540>

229.

Broun D, MacGregor M, University of Glasgow. Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies. Mìorun Mòr Nan Gall, 'The Great ill-Will of the Lowlander?': Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern. Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies, University of Glasgow; 2007. <https://www.arts.gla.ac.uk/scottishstudies/ebooks/miorunmor.htm>

230.

C. Dewey. Celtic agrarian legislation and the Celtic revival: historicist implications of Gladstone's Irish and Scottish Land Acts, 1870-1886. Past and Present. 1974;64.
doi:10.1093/past/64.1.30

231.

MacColl AW. Land, Faith and the Crofting Community: Christianity and Social Criticism in the Highlands of Scotland 1843-1893. Vol Scottish historical review monographs series. Edinburgh University Press; 2006.
<https://ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/login?url=https://dx.doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9780748623822.001.0001>