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THE GAELIC PARAPHRASES:  
THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY

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## THE GAELIC PARAPHRASES.

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IN the autumn of 1879 Dr Alexander Stewart of Nether Lochaber did me the honour of asking me to reply to the following letter, which had been addressed to him by one of his numerous clients:—

“May I ask if you have ever seen an early version of the Paraphrases in Gaelic, and if so, if you know anything of its origin? I found them bound up in a Gaelic Bible printed in 1837, but seemingly older than the book, which was larger in the page. Only 45 of our 67 Paraphrases are translated—in some cases only parts of them—and the order is entirely irregular. The 37th in the current collection is placed first, and the first of the ordinary version stands, curiously enough, 37th in the old one. The translators of the current version had evidently this one before them, as many of its phrases are copied from it. I should say that in every case in which I have compared the two, the modern is much the smoother and more rythmical.”

The letter was dated from a well-known Highland manse, and the writer, who thus addressed himself to Dr Stewart, was a man of wide reading in various walks of knowledge as well as in his own professional sphere of theology. I answered his letter as fully as time and circumstances would permit, and since then I have often intended going into the subject more exhaustively and more systematically than one could do in an off-hand letter.

At the time, indeed, I could not claim to have made any special research into what may be called the genesis and development of our Gaelic Paraphrases. But the subject was not new to me. In my father's house there was, from my earliest years, an old Gaelic Bible—one indeed much older than 1837—in which stood this old Gaelic version of the General Assembly's early collection of 45 Paraphrases. Their marked dissimilarity in number, order, literary character, and even in theological substance to the current version could not escape one's notice. And the Bible in which they stood was a favourite volume in the house. It had an interesting history. It was one of the Gaelic

Bibles presented by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge to those Highland soldiers who, returning to their native land crowned with the undying glory of Waterloo, were stationed in Edinburgh Castle after that glorious and decisive victory. On his death-bed the brave old soldier, whose pride and solace that Bible was for many a day, presented the old volume to my father. The Society's inscription, in the fine old autograph of Dr Campbell, then their secretary, was still legible on the book when, some years ago, I lent it to a forgetful and forgotten friend, whose eye, I hope, will catch these lines, reviving his sluggish memory, and quickening his conscience to the duty of restitution.

As stated above, the collection about which Dr Stewart's correspondent made inquiry contained only 45 Paraphrases. Every one knows that the current collection contains 67. In order also, as in texture, polish, and rhythm, the sacred poems in these two collections are widely different. The extent to which it is so will best appear if I here present to you one of our best known Paraphrases as it stands in both collections.

Here, for example, is the paraphrase of Genesis xxviii. 20-22, as given in the old collections. I quote from Macfarlane's Psalter, 1780 :—

Dhe bhete!, le d' laimh thoir-bheartaich  
 's tu bheathaich t Isr'el fein?  
 'S ar sins'reachd trid an oil'-thire,  
 's tu thcraich mar an ceadn'.

Ar moide umhal bheir sinn dhuit ;  
 is adhradh mar an ceadn' ;  
 Lain-earbaidh sinn gu muinghineach  
 re d' fhreasdal caomh sinn-fein.

Anns na garbh-rodaibh do-choiseachd,  
 ma threoraicheas tu sinn ;  
 Ar n aran laitheil 's trusgan cuirp,  
 ma dheonaicheas tu dhuinn' ;

Um-aiun ma sgaoileas tu do sgiath,  
 is sinn le seachran sgith ;  
 Gus an rig ar n anama teach,  
 ar n Athar chaoimh ann sibh :

Dhe ar choimh-cheangail, bheir sinn dhuit,  
 sinn-fein 's ar geill mar-aon ;  
 'S cho toir sinn 'mhain ar deachmhadh dhuit,  
 ach iom-laineachd ar maoin'.

Now compare with this the current version of our Psalters. I quote from Smith's first edition, 1787 :—

Dhe Bheteil ! le d' laimh thoirbheartaich  
 's tu bheathaich t Isra'l fein ;  
 'S a threoraich feadh an turais sgith  
 ar sinnseara gu leir ;

Ar moid 's ar n urnaigh 'nis a ta  
 aig la'ir do chathair ghrais ;  
 Bi leimn, O Dhia ar n' aithrichean !  
 's na diobair sinn gu brath.

Trid ceuma dorch' ar beatha bhos,  
 O treoruich thusa sim ;  
 'S o la gu la ar n eideadh cuirp  
 's or teachdantir thoir dhuinn.

Fo sgail do sge, O dean ar dion  
 gu crich ar seachrain sgith,  
 Is thoir d' ar n anama fois fálheoidh  
 ad chomuidh shuas an sith.

Na tiolaca so, Dhe nan gras,  
 thoir dhuinn o d' laimh gu fial,  
 'S a nis agus a ris gu brath  
 is tu do ghna ar Dia.

This paraphrase stood forty-fourth in the early collection. It stands second, as we all know, in the enlarged and more recent collection. A glance at the two renderings will show how widely they differ. It is not merely that the later version is smoother and more polished than the earlier. There is a material difference—a difference not merely in form and finish, but in substance, and even in doctrine. The old version is distinctly the one side of a bargain, with due, deliberate consideration for value received—“if thou, Lord, wilt do for us as we pray, then we shall consecrate to Thee not merely our *tithe* but our all.”

Cha toir sinn 'mhain ar deachmhadh dhuit,  
 ach iomlanachd ar maoin.

The new version has no trace of this bargaining with Providence, the source and elimination of which will reveal themselves further on. From first to last the new version is a prayer, and an uncon-

ditional consecration of him who breathes that prayer with the heart—a prayer pulsating with the life-blood of pious, chastened, filial trustfulness—a prayer, too, the simplest, the most touching that I know, next to the Prayer that teacheth to pray. How is the difference between the two Gaelic versions to be explained? Dr Smith, the translator of the later collection of sacred songs, was undoubtedly a man of great ability, as of rare taste and culture; and moreover, so far as the forty-five earlier paraphrases are concerned, he had Macfarlane's previous version to work upon in the way of emendation. But when the utmost allowance is made for Smith's literary superiority to Macfarlane, we must still admit that this consideration can help us but little in explaining the very remarkable difference which everywhere meets the eye in comparing the old version with the new. The explanation of that difference is not to be found in the Gaelic versions themselves, or in any critical examination of their respective merits or demerits. Both versions were but translations from the English. Smith is not so much the reviser of Macfarlane as a maker up of new material, working from a new point of view. In order, therefore, to explain intelligibly the difference between the old version and the new, of which the parallel specimens above given form a fair general example, it will now be necessary to turn aside for a moment and glance with some care at the history of the English Paraphrases, of which, as has been said, the Gaelic, in the old collection and in the new, is no more than a translation.

Now, as there were reformers before the Reformation, so were there pioneers not a few before the day of the Paraphrases, who earnestly endeavoured to enlarge and enrich the service of song in the Reformed Presbyterian Church. The name of Patrick Simson and "The gude and godlie Ballates" of the Wedderburns will, in this connection, occur to you all. But the work of these men was not an easy one: for then among the many all over the Church, even as to-day among our pious Highlanders, there was much tenderness of conscience, and not a little of stubborn implacable opposition, as to the reception into the Church's public worship of any element of "uninspired human hymns." At last, however, in 1742, the forward movement so far prevailed as to secure the appointment of a committee of the General Assembly to prepare a collection of "Sacred Songs" "in the form of translations of suitable portions of Holy Scripture." Accordingly, in 1745, the first collection of forty-five Paraphrases was printed, and submitted to the General Assembly. Though never formally authorised by the

Church, this collection of sacred song seems to have rapidly passed into popular favour and popular use. Edition after edition of the booklet, some of them pirated, were issued from the press. Through the favour of Mr James Thin, the founder of the widely-known firm of Edinburgh booksellers and publishers, I have been enabled to examine no fewer than eleven re-issues, dating from 1745 to 1780. And these re-issues were, for the most part, really new editions. The Assembly's Committee on Paraphrases, including the most cultured men in the Church, were continually engaged in the work of revision and emendation, as from time to time they submitted new editions of their work to the Supreme Court, only to have again and again their work sent back to them for still farther revision and improvement. This process of revision was so searching and severe that not only were many of the original forty-five Paraphrases pruned and trimmed and editorially boiled down and remodelled, but one of them was not merely recast; it was literally cast out entirely, bodily removed from the book, and another new Paraphrase put in its place. This was the Paraphrase of Habak. iii. 17-18, which now stands as xxxii. in the Psalter. This Paraphrase was displaced by another in 1751; in 1754 the new rival kept its place, but it was rejected in 1770 to make room for the original occupant, which had yet again to give place to its rival in 1776. But it was again restored, with some emendations, in the final collection of 1781.

The first collection of only forty-five paraphrases was translated into Gaelic as early as 1751 by the Rev. Alexander Macfarlane, of Kilinver and Kilmelfort. He must, therefore, have worked from the first edition of the English Paraphrases—a fact which should be remembered to his credit in estimating the relative merit of his work.

In 1781 the Committee on the Paraphrases (English) were enabled to complete—one may even say to perfect—their work. Within the few years preceding this date, there was a rich infusion of new blood into the Committee—Morison, Cameron, Logan, and others, of whom, seeing that they were all more or less closely connected with the Highlands, I must say a word farther on. With the help and inspiration of this new blood, the new collection of sixty-seven paraphrases was ready in 1781. Besides twenty-two new paraphrases, the collection was enriched with greatly improved renderings of the forty-five sacred songs contained in the old collection. This new and finally perfected collection of sixty-seven paraphrases, completed in 1781, and now to the

Scottish people enshrined in the traditions and pious memories of more than a hundred years, was translated into Gaelic by Dr John Smith, of Campbeltown, in 1783. In comparing his work with the previous work of Mr Macfarlane, we must remember that he had the advantage of working on the perfected English version, as we now sing it. He had the advantage of being able to serve up to us, in the old mother-tongue of the Gael, the ripe fruits of that gradual growth and development through which the English version had been slowly and patiently polished, and elaborated, and perfected by some of the most cultured minds of a cultured age. Pray remember this in regard to the specimens respectively of Macfarlane's and Smith's work, which have been submitted to you. Macfarlane translated, so to speak, from the first draft of what is now our Second English Paraphrase; Smith from the final English version, which was the work not of one hand but of many—a growth, a pious evolution, to whose present perfectness the pains and pious care and sanctified genius of many minds have contributed their best endeavours. In the whole circle of sacred literature I know of no study so deeply interesting as to trace the “growth” of this paraphrase. You can watch the growth as, with touch on touch by one great poet-sculptor after another, and with here a little and there a little, it is moulded, and polished, and perfected up to that living luminous image of ideal transfigured Christian devotion, which is to-day in many lands the joy and the strength of the best and purest hearts of the English race.

To enable you in some measure to trace for yourselves the gradual process of emendation by many hands through which this paraphrase in English reached its perfect form, I give here a few of the most important versions of it, in the order, so to speak, of its historical development. It should be mentioned that there exist two manuscript versions, going back some years anterior to its first printed publication. One is in the handwriting of Doddridge, and bears, also in his handwriting, the date of 1736; the other, in the handwriting of Ridson Darracot, is dated five years later, in 1741. There can be no doubt that the first draft of the hymn reached the Committee from Doddridge, and in all probability it came to them through the Rev. Robert Blair, of Athelstaneford, the author of “The Grave.” He is known to have corresponded on friendly terms with Doddridge and with Watts, and there is good reason to believe that he was the medium through whom so many also of the hymns of the latter found their way into our Paraphrases. Be that, however, as it may, there can

be no doubt that Doddridge's first draft of what is now our Second Paraphrase was first printed in our first collection. In the order of their dates, the more important versions are as follows :—

## DODDRIDGE.

## I.

O God of *Jacob*, by whose Hand  
Thine *Israel* still is fed,  
Who thro' this weary Pilgrimage  
Hast all our Fathers led.

## II.

To Thee our humble vows we raise,  
To Thee address our Pray'r,  
And in thy kind and faithful Breast  
Deposit all our Care.

## III.

If Thou thro' each perplexing path,  
Wilt be our constant Guide ;  
If Thou wilt daily Bread supply,  
And Raiment wilt provide ;

## IV.

If Thou wilt spread thy Shield  
around,  
Till these our Wand'rings cease,  
And at our Father's lov'd Abode  
Our Souls arrive in Peace.

## V.

To Thee, as to our Cov'nant-God,  
We'll our whole selves resign ;  
And count, that not our *Tenth* alone,  
But all we have is thine.

## DARRACOTT.

## I.

O God of Bethel, whose kind hand  
Has all our fathers led,  
And in this desert howling land  
Has still their table spread.

## II.

To thee our humble vows we raise,  
To thee address our prayer ;  
And trust ourselves in all thy ways  
To thy indulgent care.

## III.

If thou, thro' every path we go,  
Wilt be our constant guide ;  
If thou our food and raiment too  
Wilt graciously provide :

## IV.

If thou, as we press on our way,  
Wilt cheer us with thy love,  
And ne'er permit our feet to stray  
Till reach'd thy house above :

## V.

Thee will we choose to be our God,  
To thee ourselves resign ;  
With all we are and have, O Lord,  
We will be ever thine.

## VI.

For if, O Lord, thou ours wilt be,  
We can give up the rest ;  
Our souls possess'd alone of thee,  
Are infinitely blest.

1745.

I.

O God of Bethel ! by whose Hand  
thine Isr'el still is fed !  
Who thro' this weary Pilgrimage  
hast all our Fathers' led.

II.

To thee our humble Vows we raise ;  
to thee address our Pray'r ;  
And in thy kind and faithful Breast  
deposit all our care.

III.

If thou, thro' each perplexing Path,  
wilt be our constant Guide ;  
If thou wilt daily Bread supply,  
and Raiment wilt provide ;

IV.

If thou wilt spread thy Wings around,  
till these our Wand'rings cease,  
And at our Father's lov'd Abode,  
our Souls arrive in Peace ;

V.

To thee as to our cov'nant GOD,  
we'll our whole Selves resign ;  
And count that not our Tenth alone,  
but all we have is thine.

1781.

I.

O God of Bethel ! by whose hand  
thy people still are fed ;  
Who thro' this weary pilgrimage,  
hast all our fathers' led.

II.

Our vows, our pray'rs, we now present  
before thy throne of grace ;  
God of our fathers ! be the God  
of their succeeding race.

III.

Through each perplexing path of life  
our wand'ring footsteps guide ;  
Give us each day our daily bread,  
and raiment fit provide.

IV.

O spread thy cov'ring wings around,  
till all our wand'rings cease,  
And at our Father's lov'd abode,  
our souls arrive in peace.

V.

Such blessings from thy gracious hand  
our humble pray'rs implore ;  
And thou shalt be our chosen God,  
and portion evermore.

[*V. B.*—1751 is practically the same as 1745.]

LOGAN'S POEMS, 1782 : HYMN I.—THE PRAYER OF JACOB.

O God of Abraham ! by whose hand  
Thy people still are fed ;  
Who, thro' this weary pilgrimage,  
Hast all our fathers' led.

Our vows, our prayers, we now present  
Before thy throne of grace ;  
God of our Fathers, be the God  
Of their succeeding race.

Thro' each perplexing path of life  
Our wandering footsteps guide,

Give us by day our daily bread,  
And raiment fit provide.

O spread thy covering wings around,  
Till all our wanderings cease,  
And at our Father's loved abode,  
Our feet arrive in peace.

Now with the humble voice of prayer  
Thy mercy we implore ;  
Then with the grateful voice of praise  
Thy goodness we'll adore !

To say that every one of the original 45 Paraphrases, before reaching its present form in the enlarged collection of 67, had been pruned and trimmed and polished by a similar process of elaboration at the hand of different experts, would no doubt be an



exaggeration. But there can be no doubt that every one of them passed through the ordeal of severe and critical editing by a band of cultured men, whose literary instinct has never since been matched in any Scottish Church. If time permits I shall farther on give some account of these men, especially such of them, and they were many, as were closely associated with the Highlands; but at present it is more pertinent to ask if our Gaelic Paraphrases have passed through any process of continuous elaboration and editing such as has made the English Paraphrases what they are?

At first blush one would be prompt to answer, "nothing, absolutely nothing of the kind." Macfarlane translated the first collection of 45 Paraphrases, and, with only a few changes of orthography, his translation was just mechanically reproduced in our Psalters down to the Inverness reprint of 1813. In the same way Dr John Smith's translation, published in 1787, of the enlarged English collection of 1781, is practically reprinted in our Psalters down to the present day. But such a statement, if for the most part true to the letter, is not the whole literal truth. It is true as regards our Psalm Books, which are simply a mechanical reprint one of another. But that broad fact, so discreditable to the Highland Church, notwithstanding, there have been revisions, and there exist, in print, very creditable revised versions, both of Macfarlane's Gaelic Paraphrases and of Dr Smith's. They have to be searched for, but the searcher will not search carefully in vain. Bound up with my copy of the Gaelic Testament of 1796—John Stuart's first revision of his father's original work—there is an edition of the Psalms and Paraphrases, dated four years later, which shows considerable improvement on Macfarlane's translation. I produce the two editions, and you can compare them for yourselves. But I may cite and compare the following passages, taken at random, as specimens of what I assert:—

In the Paraphrase of Genesis, xxviii. 20-22—No. 44 of the first collection—Macfarlane has, verse 3, line 1—

Ann na garbh-rodaibh do-choiseachd.

The version of 1800,\* printed for the second edition of the N.T.—shall I say John Stuart's revision?—we have—

Ann na garbh-rodaibh *fasaich so*.

\* This is the date of the Psalms and Paraphrases in the Gaelic New Testament of 1796.

In the same way, in No. 31 (Hab. iii. 17-18), Macfarlane has :—

Choidheh' ge nach tilg crann fige blàth,  
ge d' dhiultas fion chrann bladh ;  
Ge d' chaillear sathair a' chraim ol',  
is toradh trom a' mhàigh.

The revised version above quoted gives :—

Chaoidh ge nach tilg crann fige blath,  
ged dhiultas fion-chrann *meas* ;  
Ged chaillear saothair a chraim ol,  
us toradh trom *nan leas*.

One more example in this connection must suffice. In No. 10—Matt. vi. 9-14—Macfarlane, verse 4, has :—

Ar lòn saoghalt' deonich a Dhe,

of which the revised rendering is a distinct improvement :—

Ar teachd-an-tir thoir dhuinn, a Dhe.

In like manner Dr Smith's translation of the enlarged collection of 67 paraphrases, excellent as it is, was materially improved in the version which forms part of the great quarto Bible of 1826.

In the second Paraphrase—No. 44, in the first collection—Smith has “ar beath bhos” in verse 2, which in the quarto becomes “ar beath ann so”; in verse 5, “'sa nis agus a ris gu brath” becomes “'s nis 's o so a mach gu brath.” Similarly in Paraphrase xvii., verse 3, Smith has :—

Dh' fhalbh an cuimhne 's dh' fhalabh an ainm.

The quarto renders the line :—

An cuimhne dh' fhalbh is dh' fhalbh an ainm.

In Paraphrase xxxv., verse 4, first version—the Communion Paraphrase—Smith has “So seula cumhnainte nan gras,” which the quarto renders, “So seula cumhnaint slaint is gras.”

It is not irrelevant to observe here that the quarto Gaelic paraphrases of 1826 stand alone in having the sanction of the Supreme Court of the Church. No English version is thus authorised, and no other Gaelic version. But the preface to the quarto Gaelic Bible has these words :—“This edition of the Bible, with a revised metrical version of the Psalms and Paraphrases

subjoined to it, was completed in 1826. It was then submitted to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who were pleased to approve of it, and to authorise that it be exclusively used in the churches and chapels within their bounds, in which public worship is conducted in the Gaelic language." But so far as the public worship of the Church is concerned, this "authorised" revision is, down to this day, a dead letter. It is unknown to our psalters. It is in my pulpit Bible; but if, following the general use and wont of the Church, I use a Psalm-book, I ignore what the Church has "authorised," using in preference what, at a previous date, the Church did no more than "recommend" or "permit." In point of fact, the Bible of the Highlander and his Psalter are at issue on this point. Of the Gaelic Bible, the text has more or less carefully been looked after. But the Psalter in the hands of irresponsible publishers and printers has been propagated, edition after edition, without let or hindrance, each after its kind; and it seems to be the business of no man and of no Church authority to bring Bible and Psalter into the bonds of unity. This is not as it should be. It seems to me that a revised and properly supervised edition of the Gaelic Psalter is much more urgently needed in our day than yet another revision of the Gaelic Bible.

Among the unnumbered literary labours of the late Very Reverend Principal Dewar of Aberdeen—unnumbered and, I fear to a great extent, unremembered—there is one which will ever be dear to the Gael. His collection of Gaelic hymns contains a good many of our Gaelic Paraphrases, in appropriating which he has edited and improved them with a free hand. Sometimes he cuts out a whole verse, sometimes he adds a verse; and frequently he edits with taste and discrimination. His first hymn is our second Paraphrase; and even here *quod tetigit ornavit*. Witness this happy improvement. From the Psalter we still sing, verse 5—

'S a nis agus a ris gu brath is tu do gna ar Dia.

But Dewar transfigures that rendering, and sings—

'S is tu ar cuibhrionn is ar Dia air feagh gach leinn is ial.

The Principal was a genuine Highlander, proud of his Gaelic, speaking and preaching in Gaelic to the last with zest and living power. He wrote many ponderous volumes which to-day no one ever thinks of reading; even his share in Macleod & Dewar's Dictionary being but little in our memory. He rose from the Highland peasantry, and was reared among the poor. But he



amassed a considerable fortune, and, like Sir Walter Scott, he aimed at founding a family. It was not to be. His two sons and two daughters have died childless, and the fond vision of the old man's heart has vanished forever. Let us be thankful for this slender volume of Gaelic hymns; and let us hope that among the humble sons of the Gael from whom he sprung, it will prove the lasting memorial of a good and kindly man, and keep his memory green.

• A few personal notes must now bring this paper to a close. Of all whose hand has helped to build up the fabric of our Gaelic Paraphrases the greatest undoubtedly is Dr John Smith, the editor of our most popular Psalter, and the translator of the extended Paraphrases of 1781. As minister of Campbeltown, he has left his mark on the annals of the parish. As translator into Gaelic of the prophetic books of Scripture, he did work which is only now beginning to be appreciated at its true value. His translation was so faithful to the original that the use of it was "inconvenient," and his friends had the mortification of seeing it put aside in favour of a substitute which was reckoned to be more "safe" and more "expedient," because nearer the English of the authorised version. It was certainly more subservient. He was a great theologian and a great preacher, but he was also a man of affairs, and a capital practical farmer. His work on the agriculture of Argyllshire went through two editions, and farmers, practical and amateur, flocked to see his glebe under crop, as if it were a great model farm. In these pluvial times it may interest the meteorologist to learn that irrigation was the outstanding feature of his theory and practice as an eminently successful farmer. Besides his familiar edition of the psalms, which so many Highlanders at home and abroad sing in the family and in the congregation, he published, in good Gaelic metre, a "spiritualized" version of the Psalms which, being born before its time, brought its author no end of trouble. In the preface to this work he tells that many of the Psalms "are very unsuitable for Christian worship," and are, indeed, "highly improper in the mouths of Christians;" "at anyrate, in a book of Christian devotion there should be no room for curses." He adds, too, that in preparing to lead the devotions of a Christian congregation, one must "frequently turn over many leaves," of the Psalm-book, "in order to find a few verses together, fit for being sung in any Christian congregation." To obviate this serious difficulty was the aim of his "new Gaelic version of the Psalms, more adapted to Christian worship." It is a free Gaelic Paraphrase of the Psalms, to which he added 55 Gospel Hymns in Gaelic.

A word now in conclusion as to such of the original workers, whether authors or emendators, on the original English Paraphrases, as were more or less closely connected with the Highlands. The most prominent of these was the Rev. John Morison of Canisby, in Caithness. Born in Aberleenshire, he first went north as tutor successively in the parishes of Dunnet and Halkirk, and later at Uppat, in Sutherlandshire. He next settled in Thurso as burgh schoolmaster. In 1779 he was inducted as minister to the parish of Canisbay. He submitted no fewer than 24 hymns to the Paraphrases Committee. The pieces numbered 19, 21, 29, 30 are known to be his, and he had at least a hand in numbers 27 and 28. In 1781 he was formally received as a member of the committee, which in that year was finally responsible for the Paraphrases as we now have them.

John Logan, like Morison, and at the same time, was a family tutor in Caithness; his pupil being none else than young John Sinclair, who in due time blossomed out into the Admirable Crichton of his age, as Sir John Sinclair. Logan did not stay long in Caithness. There is reason to believe that the habits which prematurely closed his career as minister of South Leith had even then taken some hold of him. His name is associated with numbers 10, 11, 31, 38, 53, 58. Our Second Paraphrase he published in his volume of poems, with no mark to discriminate that noble hymn from the other poems in the volume, which are presumably his own. He helped to perfect that gem of sacred song, but he certainly was not its author. That he made some emendations on the Second Paraphrase, as on those that are numbered 18, 23, 25, 28, 48, and 63, there is no reason to doubt, "Logan, like Pope," we are assured by a writer in *Macphail's Magazine*, p. 526, 1847, "had that unerring sagacity in the art of emendation which led him never to alter without improving." That may be so; but I lean strongly to the opinion that to no man do we owe so much of the beauty and polish of the Paraphrases as to a genuine Highlander now to be named. This was William Cameron, a native of Upper Deeside, the protégé and intimate friend of Dr Beattie, the poet-professor, at Aberdeen. In 1780 Mr Cameron published a volume of poems on various subjects. In 1786 he was ordained minister of Kirknewton, near Edinburgh. He was the author of Paraphrases 16 and 17, and he is known to have made material emendations on thirty-three others, as well as on two of the old hymns annexed to the Paraphrases in our Psalters.

Hugh Blair, the minister of Lady Yester's, and Professor of Rhetoric in the University, worked continuously from 1745 to

1781 as one of the most active members of the Paraphrases Committee. He was the author of the Paraphrase numbered 44 in the present collection, and, like Cameron, but for a much longer time, he was unwearied in the work of revision and emendation. He was closely connected with the Highlands, being tutor to Simon, Master of Lovat, in 1741-2.

In this connection will you allow me to give you yet one other name? It is the name of the Rev. Dr Hetherington, not very long ago F.C. minister of St Andrews. He had, of course, no hand in the making of the Paraphrases, but he laid his hand on them in another way. As editor, in 1847, of the *Free Church Magazine*, he made a violent attack on this most sacred portion of Scotland's heritage of sacred song. Some of you will, of course, remember the circumstances. At that time every platform in the land, and many of its pulpits, still rang with the sin and shame of the Moderate party in the Church, for being untrue to the old Calvinistic doctrines of grace. It was that old Moderate School, according to Hetherington, that debauched the inspired author of the "Cottar's Saturday Night," and poisoned his heart and his gifted pen against holy things. This was the old cry, revived again with double force in 1843. And Hetherington now lighted on an old MS., which, he boasted, proved this cruel slander to the hilt. It was a MS. once belonging to the Paraphrases Committee, and there, as Hetherington asserted, was Burns's well-known handwriting, with some pertinent emendation on an early draft of what is now our 48th Paraphrase. It was a mare's nest. The MS. was, by a committee of the best experts in Edinburgh, declared to be in the handwriting not of Burns, but of Logan, and the verdict of these experts is to-day everywhere accepted as undoubtedly true.\* The Moderates, as we all now confess, had their share of sin upon their heads. But they were free, and Burns was free, from the guilt of this imputation. Is it not strange how these wicked charges, like curses, come home to roost? For where is the "Moderatism" of to-day in Scotland, or where the heterodoxy as regards the doctrines of grace?

I should have stated that this Dr Hetherington, in his student days, himself wrote and published a Pastoral and some dramatic and lyric pieces, which are now forgotten. He was also the tutor of the late Sir Evan Mackenzie of Kilcoy.

\* Of this MS. there is a good *facsimile* in the *Free Church Magazine* for 1847, Vol. IV., opposite page 160. It must be confessed that Logan's handwriting, as there preserved, does pretty closely resemble Burns's. The MS. itself has, I fear, been lost. I have hunted for it high and low but hitherto in vain.

In conclusion, let me indicate, in a word or two, what books would most fitly equip you for independent research in this neglected field of Scotch Gaelic history. Before entering on this subject you need not wait till you have at command books so rare and expensive as Kirk's Psalter, published in 1684, and the first Psalter of the Synod of Argyle, fifty Psalms of which were published as early as 1659, and the complete work in 1694. No Gaelic Psalter earlier than 1753 can be of use for this purpose. But the student would do well to possess himself of as many editions as he can collect from that date downwards. Earlier English editions are valuable and most interesting, but not directly valuable for this inquiry. One would expect that after 1781, when the full number of sixty-seven Paraphrases was published in English, we should have no more re-issues in Gaelic of the old collection of forty-five. But this is not so. It has been already stated that the forty-five Paraphrases only are published in a Psalter so recent as Dr Thomas Ross's edition of 1813, published by John Young at Inverness. I call this edition Dr Thomas Ross's because, though it does not bear his name, it contains, unsigned, the identical preface which in 1824 stands over his well known signature. With these re-issues of the Gaelic Paraphrases in the Psalter the student should compare every re-issue which he can find bound up with Gaelic Bible, or New Testament, from 1796 down till the appearance in Gaelic of the full number of sixty-seven Paraphrases. The comparison will prove most interesting and instructive. Then, in regard to the Gaelic editions of the completed Paraphrases, the collector must begin with Dr Smith's Psalter of 1787, adding all he can down to the present time. With these again he must compare the Paraphrases printed for being bound up with the Bible or New Testament. The first notable departure he will find in the quarto Bible of 1826, to which he will add as many Bible Psalters in Gaelic as he can collect. I would especially indicate Dr Clerk's reference Bible, which was put through the press with great care; the Edinburgh Bible Society's Pocket Testament of 1861; and a Bible Psalter printed in 1859 by Anderson & Bryce, which, strange to say, is often found under the same covers with the old sheets of the S.P.C.K.'s Gaelic Testament of 1821. And yet, again, I must repeat that the comparison of the Paraphrases in Psalm-books, with those bound up with the Bible and New Testament, will furnish food for reflection, and yield pregnant material alike for instruction and reproof.

To him who would search also the wider field of the English Paraphrases, from which the Gaelic are but translations, there is



one book that is cyclopædic and exhaustive. It is "The Scottish Paraphrases: an Account of their History, Authors, and Sources," &c., by Douglas J. MacLagan, Edinburgh; Andrew Elliot, 1889. This is in every way an admirable and reliable work, carefully covering, and, one may say, exhausting the whole field of enquiry. Mr Thin's collection of early editions of the English Paraphrases is the most complete in existence. I think I may promise his kindly help and sympathy to any true student of the Paraphrases. An instructive, well-informed, and well-written article on this subject will be found in the autumn number (1893) of the *Scottish Review*. Reference may also be made to papers in *Macphail's Magazine*, July, 1847; *Tait's Magazine*, about the same date; *The Free Church Magazine*, a month or two earlier; *The Christian Instructor*, 1828-9; and to a paper by the late Dr Jamieson of Currie, in the *Scottish Christian Herald*, for 1841.



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