



THE
SCOTTISH
HIGHLANDS



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PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART,

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HISTORY
OF THE
SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS
HIGHLAND CLANS
AND
HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC
BY THE REV. THOMAS MACLAUHLAN, LL.D., F.S.A.(SCOT.), AND
AN ESSAY ON HIGHLAND SCENERY BY THE LATE
PROFESSOR JOHN WILSON

EDITED BY
JOHN S. KELTIE, F.S.A.(SCOT.)

A NEW EDITION
WITH THE REGIMENTAL PORTION BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES
By WILLIAM MELVEN, M.A., GLASGOW

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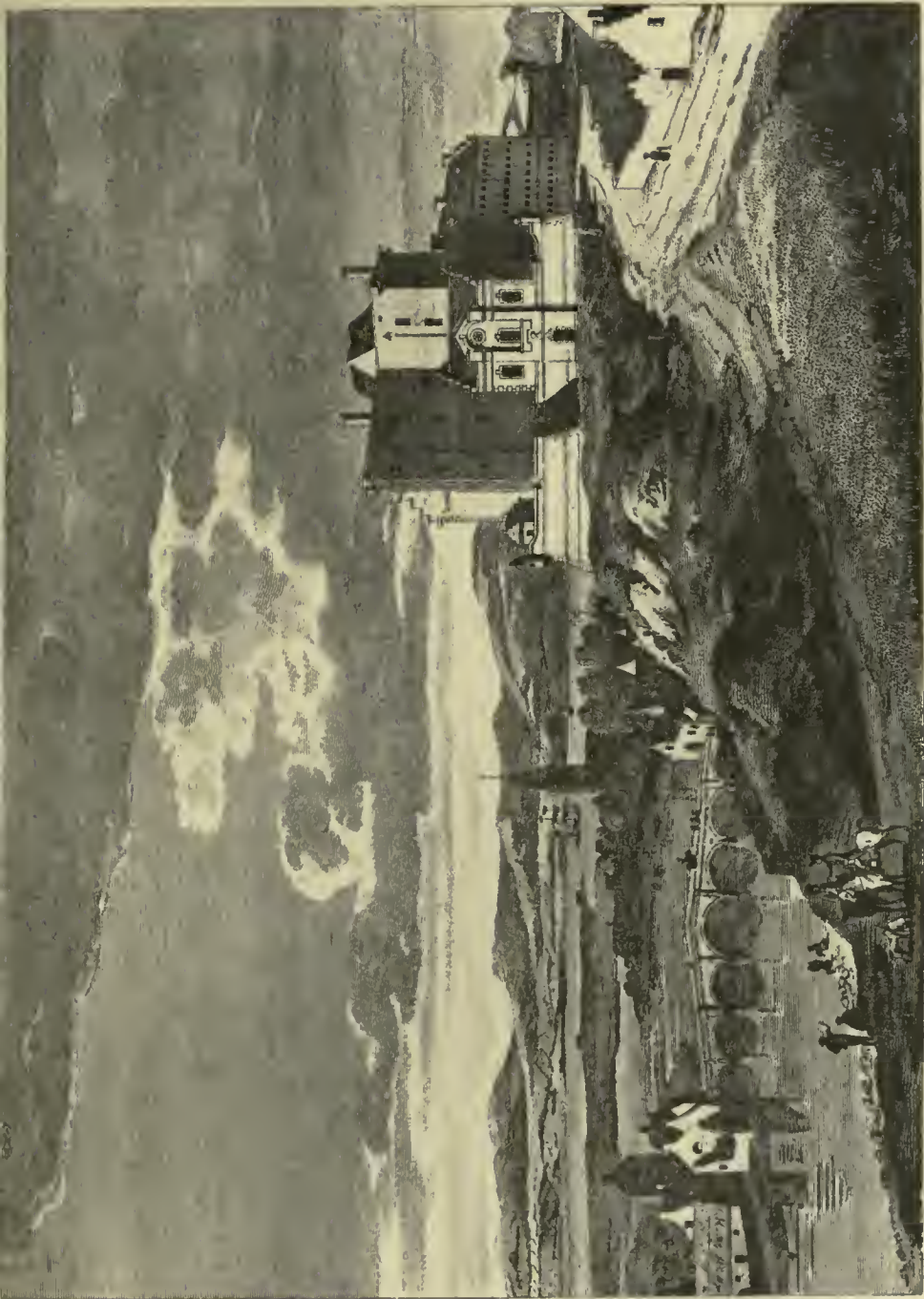
J. Le Comte

WILLIAM DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.



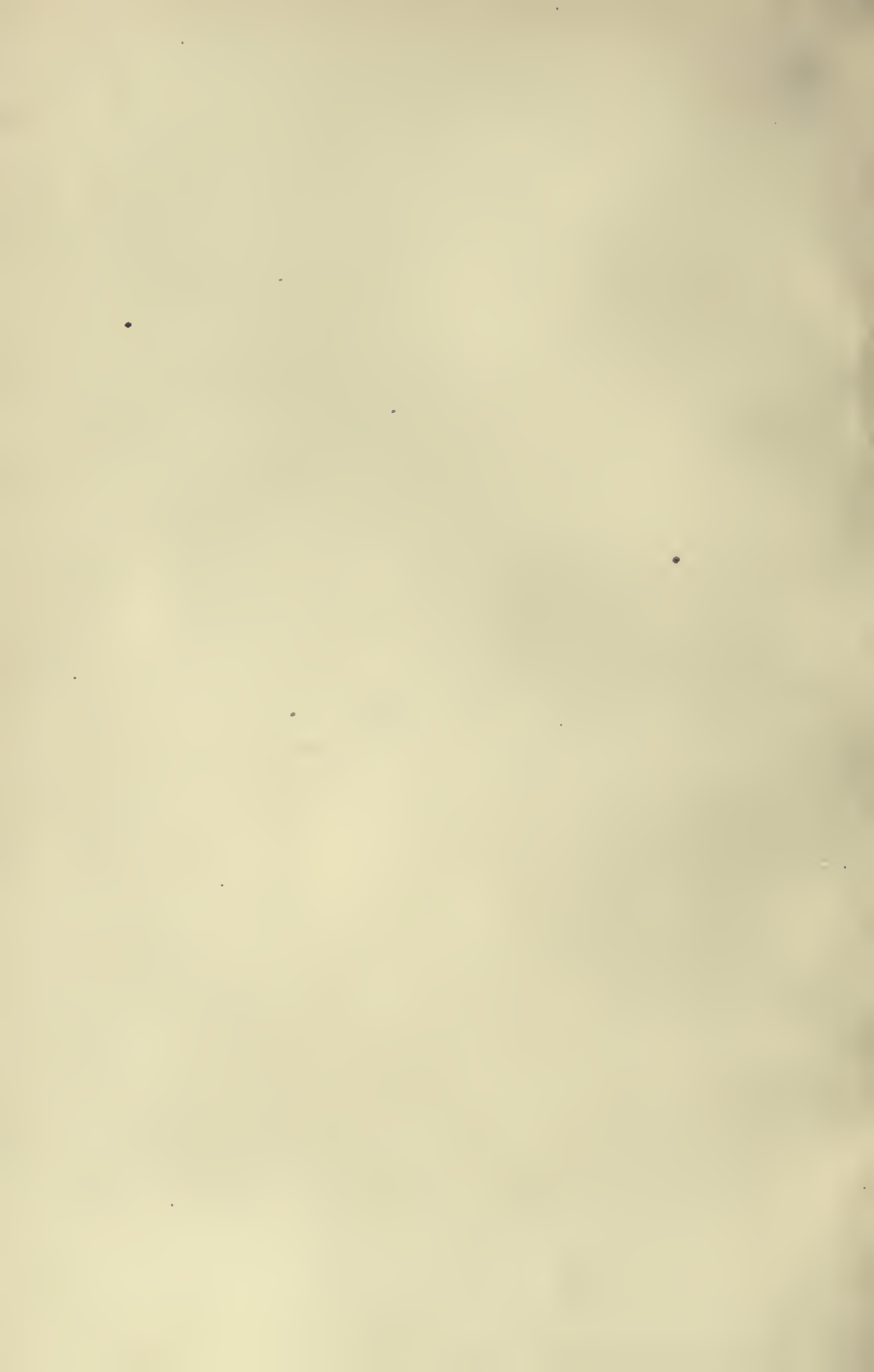
LOCH SHIEL.

WITH MONUMENT ON SPOT WHERE PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD FIRST RAISED HIS STANDARD. 19TH-AUGUST 1745



INVERNESS AND FORT GEORGE IN 1744.

FROM AN OLD PRINT AFTER P. SANBY. R.A.





EXECUTION OF HIGHLANDERS 1746.



ETAJE OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD



COLOURS OF THE
79th (Queen's Own Cameron) HIGHLANDERS,
Now 1st Battalion The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders.

RETIRED 1854.

NOW IN

ST GILES' CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH.



MACDONALD.



MACDOUGALL.



MACFARLANE.



MACGREGOR.



MACINTYRE.



MACKINTOSH.



MACKAY.

your royal family lost the crown of these realms upon the account of France, the world did and had reason to expect that France would seize the first favourable opportunity to restore your august family.

"I must also acquaint your royal highness, that we were all fully convinced that Mr. O'Sullivan, whom your royal highness trusted with the most essential things with regard to your operations, was exceedingly unfit for it, and committed gross blunders on every occasion of moment. He whose business it was, did not so much as visit the ground where we were to be drawn up in line of battle, and it was a fatal error to allow the enemy these walls upon their left, which made it impossible for us to break them, and they, with their front fire, and flanking us when we went upon the attack, destroyed us without any possibility of our breaking them, and our Athole men have lost a full half of their officers and men. I wish Mr. O'Sullivan had never got any other charge in the army than the care of the baggage, which, I am told, he had been brought up to and understood. I never saw him in time of action, neither at Gladsmuir, Falkirk, nor in the last, and his orders were vastly confused.

"The want of provisions was another misfortune which had the most fatal consequence. Mr. Hay, whom your royal highness trusted with the principal direction of ordering provisions of late, and without whose orders a boll of meal or farthing of money was not to be delivered, has served your royal highness egregiously ill. When I spoke to him, he told me the thing is ordered, it will be got, &c.; but he neglected his duty to such a degree, that our ruin might probably have been prevented had he done his duty. In short, the three last days which were so critical, our army was starved. This was the reason our night march was rendered abortive, when we possibly might have surprised and defeated the enemy at Nairn; but for want of provisions a third of the army scattered to Inverness, &c., and the other who marched had not spirits to make it so quick as was necessary, being really faint for want of provisions.

"The next day, which was the fatal day, if we had got plenty of provisions we might have crossed the water of Nairn, and drawn up so

advantageously, that we would have obliged the enemy to come to us, for they were resolved to fight at all hazards at prodigious disadvantage, and probably we would in that case have done by them as they unhappily have done by us. In short, Mr. O'Sullivan and Mr. Hay had rendered themselves odious to all our army, and had disgusted them to such a degree, that they had bred a mutiny in all ranks, that had not the battle come on, they were to have represented their grievances to your royal highness for a remedy. For my own part, I never had any particular discussion with either of them; but I ever thought them uncapable and unfit to serve in the stations they were placed in.

"Your royal highness knows I always told I had no design to continue in the army. I would of late, when I came last from Athole, have resigned my commission; but all my friends told me it might be of prejudice to the cause at such a critical time. I hope your royal highness will now accept of my demission. What commands you have for me in any other situation, please honour me with them.—I am, with great zeal, Sir, your royal highness's most dutiful and humble servant,

' GEORGE MURRAY.

"RUTHVEN, 17th April, 1746.

"I have taken the liberty to keep 500 pices, which shant be disposed upon except you give leave."⁴

It would appear from the preceding document that Lord George Murray, who, of all men, was the best judge of the propriety of trying another campaign, did not in the least contemplate that Charles would abandon the enterprise. His own opinion was, that the war should be continued; and when he heard that Charles had resolved to depart for France, he sent Secretary Hay to Glenboisdale with a message to Charles, to dissuade him against such a step; but Charles informed Hay that his resolution was fixed. Lord George maintained that the Highlanders "could have made a summer's campaign without the risk of any misfortune: they could have marched through

⁴ From the *Stuart Papers*.

the hills to places in Banffshire, Aberdeenshire, the Mearns, Perthshire, Lochaber, and Argyleshire, by ways that regular troops could not have followed; and if they (the regular troops) had ventured among the mountains, it must have been attended with great danger and difficulty: their convoys might have been cut off, and opportunities would have offered to attack them with almost a certainty of success. And though the Highlanders had neither money nor magazines, they would not have starved in that season of the year so long as there were sheep and cattle: they could also have separated themselves in two or three different bodies, got meal for some days' provision,—met again at a place appointed, and might have fallen upon the enemy when they least expected: they could have marched in three days what would have taken regular troops five: nay, had those taken the high roads as often as they would have been obliged upon account of their carriages, it would have taken them ten or twelve days. In short, they might have been so harassed and fatigued that they must have been in the greatest distress and difficulties, and at length probably been destroyed, at least much might have been expected by gaining of time: perhaps the Highlanders might have been enabled to have made an offensive instead of a defensive war.”⁵

After receiving Charles's orders to disperse, the officers at Ruthven, to use an expression of one of themselves,⁶ “took a melancholy leave of each other,” and went off in different directions to secure their personal safety, and the common men proceeded straight to their respective homes.

While Secretary Hay was at Boisdale, Charles drew up a letter to the chiefs, stating the reasons of his departure, which he inclosed in one to Sir Thomas Sheridan,⁷ with instructions to show it to them, but to keep it as long back as he conveniently could. He stated that it was “of the last consequence” to conceal his departure on some pretext or other, which he enjoined him to contrive, and to recommend, particularly to every person to whom he showed the paper, to follow the same course. In using

this precaution Charles probably wished to keep the government in ignorance of his design to leave the kingdom. The letter to the chiefs, which, though written on or before the 23d of April, the date of the letter to Sir Thomas Sheridan, is post-dated the 28th, with the view, perhaps, of allowing Sir Thomas to withhold it for a few days, by which time Charles expected that he would be on his way to the Long island, where he expected to find a vessel to carry him to France. The letter to the chiefs runs thus:—

“FOR THE CHIEFS,

“When I came into this country, it was my only view to do all in my power for your good and safety. This I will always do as long as life is in me. But alas! I see with grief I can at present do little for you on this side the water, for the only thing that can now be done is to defend yourselves till the French assist you, if not to be able to make better terms. To effectuate this, the only way is to assemble in a body as soon as possible, and then to take measures for the best, which you that know the country are only judges of. This makes me be of little use here; whereas, by my going into France instantly, however dangerous it be, I will certainly engage the French court either to assist us effectually and powerfully, or at least to procure you such terms as you would not obtain otherways. My presence there, I flatter myself, will have more effect to bring this sooner to a determination than any body else, for several reasons; one of which I will mention here; viz. it is thought to be a politick, (policy,) though a false one, of the French court, not to restore our master, but to keep a continual civil war in this country, which renders the English government less powerful, and of consequence themselves more. This is absolutely destroyed by my leaving the country, which nothing else but this will persuade them that this play cannot last, and if not remedied, the Elector will soon be as despotick as the French king, which, I should think, will oblige them to strike the great stroke, which is always in their power, however averse they may have been to it for the time past. Before leaving off, I must recommend to you, that all things should be decided

⁵ *Account of the Battle of Culloden, &c.*: Lond. 1749.

⁶ Maxwell of Kirkconnel.

⁷ *Stuart Papers*.

by a council of all your chiefs, or, in any of your absence, the next commander of your several corps with the assistance of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, who, I am persuaded, will stick by you to the very last. My departure should be kept as long private and concealed as possible on one pretext or other which you will fall upon. May the Almighty bless and direct you."⁸

At Glenboisdale Charles was joined by Clanranald, Lockhart, younger of Carnwath, Æneas Maedonald, the banker, and several other adherents, who endeavoured to dissuade him from embarking for the isles, where, from the number of cruisers which hovered among the Hebrides, they considered he would run greater risk than if he remained on the mainland. Charles seemed disposed to adopt this advice; but O'Sullivan being averse to it, and having represented the great probability of speedily finding a ship among the isles to convey him to France, and the great danger of staying where he was, the prince adhered to his determination of seeking a temporary refuge in the Long island. With the intention of soliciting the protection of Sir Alexander Maedonald and the laird of Maeleod, Charles sent to Kinlochmoidart for one Donald Maeleod, a trustworthy person whom he wished to intrust with his despatches. Maeleod had been at Inverness shipping a cargo of meal for Skye when Charles entered that town, and had been employed to accompany Æneas Maedonald to the island of Barra, for the purpose of bringing over a sum of about £380, which was lying there. They had reached Kinlochmoidart, on their way back, and were about setting out for Inverness, when Maedonald received a letter from the prince announcing his defeat, and requesting him to repair to Borodale. On receiving this message Maeleod immediately set out, and in passing through a forest in the vicinity of Glenboisdale, he observed a solitary wanderer among the trees, who immediately came forward and asked him if he was Donald Maeleod of Gualtergill in Skye. Maeleod answered that he was, and having recognised the prince in the person of

his interrogator, he stated that he was at his service. "Then," said the prince, "you see, Donald, I am in distress. I therefore throw myself into your bosom; do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man, and fit to be trusted." The aged Highlander doubting his capacity to serve him, Charles stated to him the nature of the mission on which he intended to send him. Maeleod, startled at the proposal, positively refused to undertake the task; and having remonstrated with Charles upon the impropriety of asking the protection of men who had, contrary to their promise, taken part against him, he abandoned his design.⁹

During the few days that Charles spent at Glenboisdale, he is said to have wavered in his plans. Though informed of the dispersion of his troops, he had hopes that a good many might still be collected as occasion offered. He is said even to have entertained thoughts of again assembling his scattered forces, and acting on the defensive. He sent a few men, with whom Clanranald had supplied him, on all sides to obtain intelligence, but they learned nothing favourable; and accounts which he received from the Isle of Skye, that Lord Loudon was about to come over immediately to the coast of Arisaig, joined to a report, which, however, turned out to be false, that a detachment of the Duke of Cumberland's army had already reached Fort Augustus, hastened his departure from the mainland.¹

Accordingly, on the evening of the 26th of April, Charles, accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Neil, Allan Maedonald, a catholic priest of Clanranald's family, and Edward Burke, embarked in an eight-oared boat at Borodale, in the bay of Lochnanuagh, where a few months before he had landed full of hope and enthusiasm. Besides the persons enumerated, and Donald Maeleod who acted as pilot, there were seven boatmen. Charles sat down in the bottom of the boat at the feet of the pilot. Maeleod, who observed indications of an approaching storm, had advised Charles to postpone his voyage till next day; but the prince was so intent upon proceeding, that he would not put off his departure. Four pecks of oatmeal

⁸ From a copy among the *Stuart Papers* thus quoted on the back in Charles's own hand:—"The Prince's Letter to ye Chiefs in parting from Scotland, 1746."

⁹ Maeleod's Narrative in *Jacobite Memoirs*.

¹ *Kirkconnel MS.*

were all the provision the whole party carried along with them, and the only cooking utensil was a pot which Maeleod had taken care to provide.

Charles soon had occasion to repent of his obstinacy in not listening to the advice of the aged mariner; for before the boat had proceeded far, a storm arose, which is described by Maeleod as the most violent he had ever witnessed, though he had been all his life a seafaring man. The danger was greatly increased by the darkness of the night, and to add to the distress of the party, the rain poured down in torrents. Vivid flashes of lightning which threw a momentary gleam over the face of the troubled deep, and the crash of the thunder which rolled over the heads of the affrighted party, increased the horrors of the scene. Unprovided with a compass, they were entirely ignorant of the course they were steering; but they had, from the violence of the tempest, no alternative but to go before the wind, and in the event of escaping the fury of the waves, running the risk of being driven upon Skye, where the prince might fall into the hands of the militia who were in that island. But all their apprehensions of danger on this score were removed, by discovering at day-break that they were on the coast of the Long island. At seven o'clock in the morning they landed with great difficulty at Rossinish, a point of land on the north-east of Benbeeula, one of the islands which form the group called the Long island. Having secured their boat, Charles and his party entered an uninhabited hut, in which they kindled a fire to warm themselves and dry their clothes, which were saturated with rain and salt-water. Charles purchased a cow, which was immediately slaughtered; and which, with the small quantity of meal provided by Donald Maeleod, served to support the party during the time they remained on the island.²

Meanwhile the Duke of Cumberland was using every effort to capture the persons of the young Chevalier and his principal adherents. For this purpose, several detachments were sent out by the duke from his camp at Inver-

ness in different directions, and as he was desirous that Charles should not fall alio into his hands, his instructions to the commanders of the detachments were to make no prisoners. One of these detachments, under Colonel Cockayne, proceeded to Moy castle, and after shooting some fugitives who had taken refuge in that mansion, and massacring some old men, women and children, returned to Inverness, carrying along with them Lady Mackintosh, who, on her arrival there, was committed to custody by the duke. Another party went to castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, which they burnt to the ground, having previously secured a large quantity of booty, which they carried to Inverness. A body of 600 Grants was sent into the Frasers' country to reduce and disarm that powerful clan; and the Monroes, Mackays, and Sutherlands, were scattered over the shires of Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness, to keep the disaffected in these counties in check. To secure the passages to the isles, Lord Fortrose, son of the Earl of Seaforth, proceeded to raise the Mackenzies, and orders were given along the coast to prevent any suspicious persons from making their escape by sea. Cobham's and Lord Mack Ker's dragoons were posted along the east coast, and bodies of militia were stationed at the passes leading into the Highlands to intercept all persons who might attempt to escape to the lowlands. The pass of Stirling was also guarded by a detachment posted at the Fords of the Frew, and the Edinburgh regiment was spread along the south side of the Frith of Forth, to apprehend such of the insurgents as might attempt to cross that arm of the sea. Besides these different detachments, a body of 1,700 militia, under the Earl of Loudon, the laird of Maeleod, and Sir Alexander Macdonald, the last of whom had raised his men before the battle of Culloden, and another body of 800 Argyleshire men under General Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll, spread themselves over Lochar, all eager to secure the person of the prince. In short, no means were neglected to attain this object; and the eager pursuers required no other stimulus to urge them on than the splendid reward of £30,000, which had been offered for the capture of the royal fugitive.

² Genuine and True Journal of the most miraculous Escape of the young Chevalier, by an Englishman. London, 1749. Maeleod's Narrative.

The departure of Charles from Lochnaugh was not known at Inverness till some days after he had sailed, and the place of his destination became a matter of interesting speculation. No doubt could exist that he designed to seek refuge among the western islands, and as St. Kilda is the most distant and the least frequented of the whole, it was supposed that Charles had repaired thither. Acting on this supposition, General Campbell collected some sloops of war and transports, and having embarked a considerable body of troops, set sail for St. Kilda. After touching at Barra and some other islands, and searching for the prince, he approached St. Kilda, the inhabitants of which, alarmed at the sight of the fleet, fled and concealed themselves in the cliffs of the rocks. Landing with some of his forces, the general inquired at some of the inhabitants, whom he discovered in their recesses, what had become of the "Pretender;" but these people answered, with great simplicity, that they had never heard of such a person,—that they had indeed been informed that their laird (Macleod) had lately been at war with a woman a great way abroad, and that he had overcome her. This, they added, was all they knew of the affairs of the world. General Campbell, however, not satisfied with this statement, made a search over the island, but not finding any strangers, returned to the main land after visiting South Uist.

Anticipating the utter ruin which awaited them and their followers, if no attempt was made to resist the meditated designs of the Duke of Cumberland, several chiefs and others⁴ held a meeting at Mortlaig on the 8th of May, at which they entered into a bond for their mutual defence, and agreed never to lay down their arms, or make a general peace, without the consent of the whole. They may be supposed to have come to this resolution the more readily, as a sum of 35,000 louis d'ors had been received a few days before by two French frigates which had arrived on the west coast. By the bond of association, the chiefs agreed,

³ Genuine and True Journal, p. 7. Home, p. 245.

⁴ There were twelve or thirteen gentlemen present; among whom were Lochiel, young Clanranald, Barisdale, Dr. Cameron, John Roy Stewart, old Glenbucket, Secretary Murray, and Cameron of Dungallon. Lord Lovat was also present, but by accident.

and solemnly promised, with the utmost expedition, to raise in behalf of the prince and in defence of their country, as many able-bodied armed men as they could on their respective properties, and they further promised and agreed, that the following clans, viz., Lochiel, Glengarry, Clanranald, Stewarts of Appin, Keppoch, Barisdale, Mackinnons and Macleods, should assemble on Thursday, the 15th of May, at Auchnacarry, in the braes of Lochaber. To facilitate the junction of the different corps with all possible speed, it was agreed that the Frasers of Aird and the other Jacobite clans on the north side of the river Ness, should join the people of Glenmoriston and Glengarry, and that the Frasers of Stratherrick, the Mackintoshes and Macphersons, should assemble and meet at the most convenient place in Badenoch on the same day;—that the Macgregors, and Menzies' and Glenlyon's people should march to Rannoch and join the Rannoch and Athole men, and be kept in readiness to receive intelligence and orders to meet the main body in the braes of Mar, or at any other place that might be considered convenient,—that Gordon of Glenbucket and Colonel Roy Stewart should intimate the resolutions of the meeting to Lord Lewis Gordon, Lords Ogilvy and Pitsligo, the Farquharsons, and the other principal gentlemen in the north, who were to be directed to fix a place of rendezvous among themselves, and that Macpherson of Cluny and Colonel Roy Stewart should advertise the principal gentlemen of the Mackintoshes of the resolutions adopted by the meeting. The better to conceal their designs from the Duke of Cumberland, the assembled chiefs agreed not to discover or reveal to any of their men or inferior officers, the agreement they had entered into, nor the day and place of rendezvous, till they had assembled their respective corps. It was finally agreed, that should any one engaged in the association make separate terms for himself, he should be looked upon as a traitor to the prince, and be treated by his associates as an enemy.⁵

The associated chiefs had been too sanguine in their expectations, not one of them being able, for various reasons, to meet on the day

⁵ Appendix to Home, No. xlvii.

appointed. Clanranald's people refused to leave their own country, and many of Glengarry's had delivered up their arms. Lochgarry came with a small party to Invermely on the 20th of May; but, after staying one night, he crossed Loch Arkaig and did not return. Lochiel and Barisdale met at Auchnacarry, the place of rendezvous, on the 21st or 22d of May, but with very few men, and they were almost surprised by a largo party of the government forces on the morning of the 23d, who took an officer and two of Lochiel's men prisoners. The Highlanders immediately dispersed, and Lochiel, seeing no chance of making an effectual stand under existing circumstances, wrote a circular to his brother chiefs, advising them to disperse their people; but, as great expectations were entertained that the French king would send assistance, he requested them to preserve their arms as long as possible.

Conceiving that the only effectual mode of suppressing the rebellion was to march into the Highlands with the whole of his army, the Duke of Cumberland began, about the middle of May, to make preparations for his journey. He had in the beginning of that month issued a proclamation, ordering the insurgent clans to deliver up their arms; but little attention was paid to this mandate, and the continuance of considerable armed parties convinced him that the Highlands could never be reduced without the presence of a considerable army stationed in a central district. Having pitched upon Fort Augustus for his new head-quarters, the duke left Inverness, on the 23d of May, with eleven battalions of foot and Kingston's horse, and reached Fort Augustus next day. Charles had intended to make this place a rallying point in case of a defeat; but his plan was rejected by the chiefs, and, that it might not be serviceable to the royal troops, the buildings had been blown up. No accommodation being therefore found for the duke's army, a camp was formed in the neighbourhood, and a turf hut with doors and windows, and covered with green sods and boughs, was erected by Lord Loudon's Highlanders for the use of his royal highness.⁶

Resolving to inflict a signal chastisement

⁶ Boyse, p. 169.

upon the rebels, the duke sent, from his camp at Fort Augustus, detachments of his troops in all directions, which devastated the country with fire and sword, and committed excesses scarcely paralleled in history, resembling, though perhaps on a minor scale, those committed by the hosts of Hyder Ali, when that merciless destroyer burst into the Carnatic. The seats of Lochiel, Glengarry, Kinlochmoidart, Keppoch, Cluny, Gleugyle, and others, were plundered and burnt to the ground, and great numbers of the houses of the common people shared the same fate.⁷ Major Lockhart, whose name, by his cruelties on this occasion, has obtained an infamous notoriety, marched with a detachment into the country of the Macdonalds of Barisdale, and laid waste and destroyed their dwellings. Some of these poor people had obtained protections from Lord Loudon; but the major disregarded them, and told the people who had them, that not even a warrant from heaven should prevent him from executing his orders. Another corps, under Lord George Sackville, ravaged the country about the glens of Moidart, while others carried fire and desolation through other districts. Not contented with destroying the country, these bloodhounds either shot the men upon the mountains, or murdered them in cold blood. The women, after witnessing their husbands, fathers, and brothers murdered before their eyes, were subjected to brutal violence, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. A whole family was inclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. So alert were these ministers of vengeance, that in a few days, according to the testimony of a volunteer who served in the expedition, neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, was to be seen within the compass of fifty miles: all was ruin, silence, and desolation. Deprived of their cattle and their small stock of provisions by the rapacious soldiery, the hoary-headed matron and sire, the widowed mother and her helpless offspring, were to be seen dying of hunger,

⁷ The booty taken must have been considerable, as in one instance, that of Glengarry House, the party who plundered it, consisting of 200 men, had the following allowances made as their shares, viz., every captain, £11 5s.; each subaltern, £5 18s.; a sergeant, £1 10s.; a corporal, £1; and every common soldier, 15s., clear of all deductions.—Boyse, p. 169.

stretched upon the bare ground, and within view of the smoking ruins of their dwellings.

It may seem surprising that the Highlanders did not avenge themselves upon their oppressors, by assassinating such stragglers as fell in their way. It cannot be supposed that men in whose bosoms the spirit of revenge must have taken deep root, would have spared their relentless adversaries from any scruple as to the mode of despatching them; nor can it be imagined that the Highlanders could not have selected fit occasions when they might have inflicted vengeance upon individuals. The reason of their forbearance probably was, that such a system of warfare, if adopted, would lead to acts of retaliation on the part of the military, and thus increase their calamities. Only one instance is known where an injured person attempted to avenge himself. This was the case of a Highlander who had his house burned, his cattle plundered, and his son killed, while defending his family, who were turned out in the snow. Vowing revenge, he watched the officer who was the author of this inhuman outrage, and who, he was informed, was to be distinguished by a cloak of a particular kind. This officer riding one day with Captain George Munro of Culcairn in a shower of rain, lent him his cloak; and while marching in it with a party of men along the side of Loch Arkaig, the captain was shot by the enraged Highlander, who perceived the cloak, but could not distinguish the difference of person. The man escaped, and although he was well known, and might have been afterwards apprehended, he was allowed to pass unpunished.⁸

Of the immense quantity of cattle carried off by Cumberland's troops, some idea may be formed from the fact mentioned in a journal of the period,⁹ that there were sometimes 2,000 in one drove. Intelligence of such a vast

⁸ "Colonel Grant of Moy, who died in April, 1822, in his 90th year, was walking along the road with a gun on his shoulder when Culcairn was shot. A turn of the road concealed him from the soldiers at the moment, but when he came in sight with his gun, they immediately seized him upon suspicion, and carried him to Fort William. After a short confinement he was released. Colonel Grant entered the 42d as a volunteer or soldier of fortune, and afterwards got a cadetship in India, from which he returned with a handsome fortune nearly fifty years ago."—*Stewart's Sketches*, vol. i. note p. 280.

⁹ *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 287.

accumulation of live stock reaching the ears of the graziers of the south, numbers of them went to Fort Augustus well provided with money, which they laid out to great advantage. Some of the people, impelled by starvation, repaired to the camp to solicit from the spoilers some of their flocks, to preserve an existence; but their supplications were unheeded, and they were doomed to behold their cattle sold and driven away, while famine stared them in the face.

The atrocities committed by the English



Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President.
From Original Painting at Culloden House.

must have been revolting to the humane mind of Lord President Forbes. On paying his respects to the duke at Inverness, he hinted to his highness that the laws of the country should be observed even by his army; but the duke, who entertained very different ideas, not relishing such an intrusion upon his authority, cut the worthy president short with this exclamation, "The laws of the country, my Lord! I'll make a brigade give laws, by God!" Judging farther remonstrance to be

vain, Forbes dropped the subject, and was compelled to deplore in silence the cruelties which he could not prevent. He might have represented the matter to the government; but he was perhaps unwilling to run the risk of incurring its displeasure, and thereby deprive himself of the chance of being afterwards useful in saving many families from ruin.¹

The enormities of the lawless soldiery were not confined to the Highlands, but extended to all the adjoining lowland districts where the spirit of disaffection was known to exist. The houses of the low country Jacobite gentry were plundered and destroyed, and the chapels of the nonjurant episcopal clergy, as well as the more humble and secluded places of worship belonging to the Catholics, were either razed or burnt to the ground. "Rebel-hunting" was the term adopted by the ruffians of the British army to designate their bloody occupation.

To complete the work of extermination, the duke issued a proclamation, denouncing the punishment of death, by hanging, against every person who should harbour the insurgents, and a similar fate was declared to await such as should conceal arms, ammunition, or any other thing belonging to them, or should not immediately deliver up to persons authorized by the duke to receive the same, any property or effects in their possession belonging to the rebels. In compliance with a requisition made by the duke, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, about the end of May, enjoined the ministers of the different parishes to read a proclamation from the pulpits, in which they themselves, and every well affected person,

¹ How far any remonstrance on the part of the president would have been attended to may be judged from the following statement:—"When he visited London in the end of the year, (1746,) for the purpose of settling the accounts he had run with the loyal Highland militia, he, as usual, went to court. The king, whose ear had been offended with repeated accounts of the conduct of the military, thus addressed him:—"My lord-president, you are the person I most wished to see. Shocking reports have been circulated of the barbarities committed by my army in the north; your lordship is, of all men, the best able to satisfy me." "I wish to God," replied the president, "that I could, consistently with truth, assure your majesty that such reports are destitute of foundation." The king, as was his custom, turned abruptly away from the president; whose accounts, next day, were passed with difficulty; and, as report says, the balance, which was immense, never fully paid up."—*Anti-jacobin Review*, vol. xiii. *Review of Home's History of the Rebellion*.

were ordered by his royal highness to use every exertion to discover and seize the unfortunate fugitives; and to facilitate their discovery and apprehension, the clergy were required to furnish lists of the names of all persons in their respective parishes who had had any share in the insurrection. Many clergymen, including those of Edinburgh, with feelings of humanity and independence which did them honour, refused to read this proclamation, or to comply with the order requiring them to give in the names of such of their parishioners as had been engaged in the rebellion. The government, equally intent with its sanguinary general upon the destruction of the unfortunate adherents of the house of Stuart, offered rewards for apprehending such of the fugitives as might land in Ireland, and instructions were sent to the British ministers at foreign courts in alliance with George II., to seize all who might seek refuge in the territories of such powers.

The guilt of all these acts of bloodshed and rapine has been laid to the charge of the Duke of Cumberland, and the single fact that he issued no orders to put an end to the enormities which were daily committed, almost under his own eyes, and with his perfect knowledge, seems of itself sufficient to justify the charge. But when taken in connexion with his sanguinary order not to make prisoners, the proofs of his criminality, or rather unconstitutional severity, are evident. Though the foul stain of wanton cruelty must ever attach to the British army on the present occasion, from the commander down to the private, there were some redeeming exceptions among the officers, who alleviated the sufferings, and, in some instances, saved the lives of the devoted Highlanders. "I think myself," says Mr. Maxwell, "bound in justice to let the reader know that there were in the duke of Cumberland's army officers of all ranks, whom neither the prospect of ingratiating themselves and making their fortunes, nor the contagion of bad example were able to corrupt. Some of those that had done the government the most essential services were as conspicuous now for their humanity as formerly for their courage and conduct. It might be indiscreet to be particular at present; but their names, which are written with indelible characters in the hearts

of those poor people that owe to them the preservation of their being, will be carefully handed down to posterity. They are already known, and even, in the worst of times, meet with the applause they deserve from all those that have a fellow-feeling for their species."

With the honourable exceptions here alluded to, neither the duke nor the submissive slaves of his tyrannical will ever appear to have felt the least compunction for the miseries they inflicted upon the unfortunate Highlanders. On the contrary, they seem to have revelled amidst the ruin and desolation which they spread around; and when their occupation of "rebel-hunting" was gone, by the destruction of their victims, they endeavoured to relieve the *ennui* of repose by ludicrous and indecent diversions. Horse and foot races were instituted by the royal duke, who did not think it beneath his dignity to induce the women of the camp to enter the lists, and to expose themselves in a way at which decency revolts.² This species of amusement produced great insubordination in the army, for the soldiers got very fond of it, and, according to a volunteer, most of them had horses, which they bought and sold with one another at a low price, and on which they rode about, neglecting their duty, and consequently it became necessary to publish an order to part with them, otherwise they were all to be shot. "I saw," continues the same writer, "a soldier riding on one of these horses, when, being met by a comrade, he asked him, 'Tom, what hast thou given for the Galloway?' Tom answered, 'Half-a-crown.' To which the other replied, with an oath, 'He is too dear; I saw a better bought for eighteen-pence.' Notwithstanding the low price, the

² A letter from Fort Augustus, dated June 27, 1746, which made the round of the public journals at the time, thus describes these pastimes:—"Last Wednesday the duke gave two prizes to the soldiers to run neats for on bare-backed Galloways taken from the rebels, when eight started for the first, and ten for the second prize. These Galloways are little larger than a good tup, and there was excellent sport. Yesterday his royal highness gave a fine Holland smock to the soldiers' wives, to be run for on these Galloways, also bare-backed, and riding with their limbs on each side of the horse like men. Eight started, and there were three of the finest heats ever seen. The prize was won, with great difficulty, by one of the Old Buff's ladies. In the evening, General Hawley and Colonel Howard run a match for twenty guineas on two of the above shelties; which General Hawley won by about four inches."

vast quantities of cattle, such as oxen, horses, sheep, and goats, taken from the rebels, and bought up by the lump by the jockies and farmers from Yorkshire and the south of Scotland, came to a great deal of money, all which was divided amongst the men that brought them in, who were sent out in parties in search of the Pretender; and they frequently came to rebels' houses, which they had left, as their owners would not be reduced to obedience. These our soldiers commonly plundered and burnt, so that many of them grew rich by their share of spoil."

When the zeal and activity of the military in pursuing the leading fugitives on the one hand, and the great care of the government to prevent their escape to the continent on the other, are considered, it is surprising that so many succeeded in their attempts to leave the kingdom. Besides the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Macleod, the only other Jacobite chiefs who fell into the hands of the government were the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lords Balmerino and Lovat, and Secretary Murray. The Marquis being unable, from the bad state of his health, to bear the fatigue of running from covert to covert, surrendered himself, on the 27th of April, to a Dumbartonshire gentleman, who committed him to the castle of Dumbar-ton; and Lord Balmerino, by the advice of Mr. Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus, most unwisely delivered himself up at Inverness, two days after the battle of Culloden. After having the mortification of witnessing, from the summit of a mountain, the conflagration of his seat of Castle Downie by the king's troops, Lord Lovat took refuge in the western parts of Inverness-shire, and finally concealed himself in the hollow of a tree which grew on a small island in Loch Morar, where he was apprehended early in June by a party from the Furnace sloop of war. When discovered, he was wrapt up in a blanket; and, though he had between five and six hundred guineas in his pocket, had been obliged to live twelve days in his miserable retreat on oatmeal and water. Being unable, from his great age and infirmity, to ride, he was carried in a litter to the royal camp at Fort Augustus. Secretary Murray contrived to escape from the Highlands, and sought for safety in the house of his brother-in-law,

Mr. Hunter of Polmoor, in Peebles-shire; but information having been given of his retreat, he was apprehended on the morning of Saturday, the 28th of June, by a party of St. George's dragoons, carried to Edinburgh, and committed the same evening a prisoner to the castle.

Macdonald of Barisdale and his son were also taken prisoners, but were almost immediately set at liberty. That a man who had taken such an active part in the insurrection as Barisdale did should have been liberated unconditionally is very improbable; and it was generally understood that he had entered into an engagement to apprehend the prince, and deliver him up to the Duke of Cumberland. So strong were the suspicions of Charles and his friends of Barisdale's treachery, that when Colonel Warren arrived in the West Highlands for the purpose of transporting Charles to France, he actually seized Barisdale and his son, and carried them along with him to that country as prisoners. A list of charges, in the shape of interrogatories, was afterwards drawn up by Charles at Paris, to each of which Barisdale was required to make a direct and particular answer in writing; but the nature of his answers, if he made any, is not known. There may have been no foundation for these grave charges; but well or ill founded, an opinion long prevailed in the Highlands that Barisdale had been unfaithful.

If Glengarry's apprehension proceeded upon the information of the gentlemen of his own clan, they must have had better grounds for taking the extraordinary step they are alleged to have done than the mere assertion of Barisdale; but the charge against Glengarry seems highly improbable, as it is scarcely credible, if, as stated, they had letters from him in their possession, advising them to take up arms in support of Charles, while he himself kept back, that he would, by such a perfidious act, have put himself in their power. Glengarry, after his apprehension, was sent to London, and, along with the other chief prisoners, was committed to the Tower, where he suffered a long and tedious confinement. Young Glengarry had been taken up some months previously and sent to the Tower, in which he was kept a close prisoner for twenty months.

Notwithstanding the sanguinary ferocity

with which Cumberland's soldiers hunted down the unfortunate fugitives, the lives of a considerable number of those who were taken or surrendered themselves were saved from immediate destruction by the interference of a few humane persons, who did everything in their power to put a stop to the exterminating system of these bloodhounds. Though they thus escaped the merciless sword of the destroyer, they were nevertheless doomed to suffer the most extraordinary privations. After having been cooped up in the loathsome prisons of the north, without any attention to their wants, many of them were afterwards huddled together in the holds of ships, where they were condemned unheeded to pine away, and, amidst a mass of filth and corruption, to inhale the seeds of pestilence and death. Of 157 persons who were immured for eight months in the hold of one transport, only 49 survived the cruel treatment they received.³

Meanwhile several of the chiefs of the insurrection succeeded in effecting their escape to the Continent. The Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lords Eleho and Nairne, Maxwell of Kirkeconnel, and others, embarked at Lochnanuagh, on board one of the French ships which arrived on the western coast about the end of April. The Duke of Perth, who had been long in bad health, died on the voyage. Another party of twelve or thirteen persons, including Lords Pitsligo and Ogilvy, and Hun-

³ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 300. William Jaek, one of the prisoners, in a letter to his friends in Elgin (*Memoirs*, p. 299), says that the sailors used to amuse themselves by hoisting the prisoners up to the yard arm and dropping them into the sea, and that they would tie them to the mast and flog them; that for several months they had no bed-clothes, and that they used to dig holes among the ship's ballast, consisting of black earth and small stones, to keep themselves warm. John Farquharson of Alderg, himself a prisoner, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Forbes, published among the Forbes papers, gives an appalling description of the miseries of his fellow prisoners on their voyage from Inverness to London. He says that from hunger, bad usage, and exposure "to all weathers, they were seized with a kind of plague which carried them off by dozens;" and that "a good many of those who would have outlived their sickness, were wantonly murdered by the sailors, by dipping them in the sea in the crisis of their fevers." After arriving in the Thames, the common prisoners were put into Tilbury Fort, and would have perished for want had not some humane people supported them. The officers were marched rank and file to Southwark jail, amid the hootings of a tumultuous mob, who loaded them with scornful epithets, and assailed them with brickbats, stones, and other missiles.

tor of Burnside, after skulking some time in Buchan, got a vessel which conveyed them to Bergen in Norway. The British consul applied to the governor to have them secured, but he disregarded the application, and the party proceeded to Sweden. Stewart of Ardschiel, and General O'Sullivan also succeeded in reaching France. Old Glenbucket, after being hunted from place to place, eluded his pursuers by assuming the garb of a beggar, and allowing his beard to grow. In the month of November he escaped to Norway in a Swedish vessel. Lord George Murray remained in concealment in Scotland till the month of December, when, after paying a private visit to his friends at Edinburgh, he took shipping at Anstruther in the Frith of Forth, and reached Holland in safety.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

A. D. 1746.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

Charles leaves Benbecula and lands in the island of Glass—Proceeds to Harris—Ifurt—Glass—Benbecula—Removes to South Uist—Meets Miss Flora Macdonald—Charles proceeds to Skye—Goes to Kingsburgh House—Portree—Proceeds to Raasay—Returns to Skye—Goes to Ellagol—Interview with the Laird of Mackinnon, with whom he proceeds to the Mainland—Arrives in Loch Nevis in Moidart—Arrest of Malcolm Macleod, Macdonald of Kingsburgh, and Flora Macdonald—Pursuit of Charles—Proceeds to Morar—Borodale—Glen Morar—Narrow Escapes—Reaches Glenshiel—Entertained by robbers in a cave—Death of Roderick Mackenzie, who is mistaken for the Prince—Charles arrives in Strathglass—Braes of Glengarry—Cameron of Clunes—Auchnacarry—Narrow Escape of Charles—Bendale—Cage fitted for Charles's reception—The Prince embarks at Borodale, and arrives safely in France.

THE storm which drove Charles with such rapidity upon the distant shores of Benbecula continued for fourteen hours after he had landed. Accommodating himself to the new situation in which he was placed, he manifested no symptoms of dejection at his reverse of fortune, partook cheerfully along with his companions of the heinely fare before him, and with an old sail for a bed, reposed upon the floor of his lowly dwelling. In Benbecula the prince was visited by old Clanranald, to whom the island belonged; and having afterwards had an interview in South Uist with Boisdale,

Clanranald's brother, Charles was advised by him to proceed to Stornoway, the principal seaport in the island of Lewis, and there give out that he and his company were the crew of a merchant ship belonging to the Orkneys, which had been wrecked on the isle of Tiree, and under the pretence of returning home, hire a vessel for that purpose, and escape to France.⁴ Accordingly, after passing two days in Benbecula, Charles and his party set sail for Stornoway on the 29th of April; but in consequence of a strong gale of wind from the south-west, they were obliged to put in next morning at the small isle of Scalpa or Glass, near Harris, about half way between Benbecula and Stornoway. They landed about two hours before daybreak, and were conducted by Donald Macleod to the house of Donald Campbell, a farmer, known to Macleod, to whom they were introduced as merchants shipwrecked on their voyage to the Orkneys. The prince and O'Sullivan took the name of Sinelair, and the latter passed off as Charles' father. The whole party was hospitably entertained by Campbell, who lent Macleod a boat with which he proceeded next day, the 1st of May, to Stornoway to hire a vessel, leaving Charles and his friends behind.

Having succeeded in hiring a small vessel of forty tons, Macleod sent an express to Charles announcing his success, and requesting him to proceed to Stornoway. This message was received on the 3d of May, and the prince left the isle of Glass next day; but the wind proving contrary, he was obliged to land in Loch Seaforth, in the island of Lewis, a considerable distance from Stornoway. Here Allan Macdonald took his leave. Accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and his guide, Charles set out on foot for Stornoway, over a wild and trackless waste, in a very dark and rainy night. The guide lost his way, and the party did not reach the neighbourhood of Stornoway till next day at noon. This mistake, on the part of the conductor, was a fortunate circumstance, as the advanced hour of the day prevented Charles from entering the town, where he might have been seized by the inhabitants, who having received information from the Presbyterian minister of South Uist, that the prince had landed

⁴ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 541.

in Lewis with 500 men, with a design of burning their town, carrying off their cattle, and forcing a vessel to carry him to France, afterwards rose in arms to oppose him. Charles stopped at the Point of Arynish, about half a mile from Stornoway, and sent in the guide to acquaint Macleod of his arrival, and to bring out some refreshment, as he and his fellow-travellers had been eighteen hours without food. Donald immediately repaired to the spot with some brandy, bread, and cheese, and found Charles and his two companions standing on a moor extremely fatigued and all wet to the skin. Donald then took them to the house of Mrs. Mackenzie of Kildun, at Arynish, where the prince went to bed. Returning to Stornoway, Macleod was quite amazed to find the town in commotion, and above 200 men under arms. Unable to comprehend the meaning of this sudden rising, Donald went directly into the room where the gentlemen who had taken upon them the rank of officers had assembled, and inquired the cause of such a strange proceeding. He was instantly assailed with abuse by every person present: they informed him of the intelligence they had received from Uist of Charles's landing, and of his alleged intentions, and they accused Macleod as the cause of the calamity with which they were threatened. Unable to deny the fact of Charles's arrival in Lewis, Macleod at once admitted it, and to allay their fears he informed them, that so far from having a body of 500 men along with him, as represented, he was attended by two companions only; "and yet," said Donald, with an air of defiance, "let me tell you farther, gentlemen, if Seaforth himself were here, by G—he durst not put a hand to the prince's breast!"⁵ The gentlemen present then declared that they had no intention to do the prince the least harm, and the only thing they required of him was to leave the island. Donald offered instantly to comply, and requested them to give him a pilot, but they refused; and although he offered the most liberal payment he could not obtain one. Alarmed for the consequences of being privy to the prince's escape, the master of the vessel which had been hired, either suspecting the object, or let, as is supposed, into

the secret by Macleod, refused to implement his bargain.⁶

Returning to the prince, Macleod informed him of these disagreeable occurrences. A proposal was made to fly to the moors; but Charles, thinking that such a step would encourage his enemies to pursue, he resolved to pass the night at Kildun. Here the party killed a cow, for which the lady refused payment, but being pressed by Macleod she at last took the money. Edward Burke performed the duties of cook; but the prince, on the present occasion, superintended the culinary department, and with his own hands prepared a cake of oatmeal, mixed with the brains of the cow, and baked it upon a stone before the fire. At daybreak next morning the party left the island, carrying along with them a small stock of beef, two pecks of meal, and abundance of brandy and sugar. At this time the prince, O'Sullivan, and O'Neil had only six shirts amongst them, and being often drenched with rain, they were frequently obliged to take off the wet ones before the others were half dry. Conceiving that he would be more secure on the mainland than among the islands, Charles resolved to return thither, and ordered the boatmen to carry him to Bollein in Kintail; but they refused on account of the length of the voyage, which they considered dangerous in an open boat. They, therefore, proceeded southwards along the coast; but they had not proceeded far when they observed two large vessels at a distance sailing northwards, and making towards them. To avoid these ships they put into the small isle called Euirn or Iffurt, near Harris, a little to the northward of the island of Glass. On landing, the prince and his attendants went to the summit of a little hill to observe the ships. Charles thought they were French, but his companions considered them English. He was desirous to ascertain the fact, but the boatmen could not be prevailed upon to go out and reconnoitre them. It is probable that these were the two frigates from Nantz, which arrived in Loch-nanuagh the day after Charles's departure from that place, and having landed the money, arms, and ammunition they had

⁵ Macleod's Narrative in *Jacobite Memoirs*.

⁶ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 541. *Kirkconnel MS.*

brought over for his service, were returning to France.⁷

The little island on which Charles now was, was inhabited by a few fishermen, who, imagining the prince's boat to be a press-boat belonging to one of the ships of war, ran away to conceal themselves, leaving their fish behind. Charles and his party fared upon some of the fish which they found drying upon the beach. Unwilling to deprive the poor fishermen of any part of their hard-earned spoils without an equivalent, the prince was about laying down some money on the place from which the fish were taken; but on one of his followers representing to him that by doing so the fishermen might suppose that some person of note had visited the island, and that such an idea might lead to bad consequences, he desisted. Charles remained in this desolate island four days, during all which time he and his party lay in a wretched hut, resembling a hog-sty, and so wretchedly roofed that they were obliged to spread the boat's sail over the top of it. They lay upon the bare floor, without any covering, and to prevent surprise, kept watch by turns.

Resolving to return to Glass to pay Donald Campbell a visit, Charles left the little island of Iffert on the 10th of May, and coarsed along the shores of the Long Island till he arrived at the isle of Glass. Understanding that Campbell had absconded, from an apprehension that he would be seized for having entertained the prince,—a rumour to that effect having got abroad,—the prince left Glass the same day. There being no wind, the boatmen were obliged to row all night; but about day-break, the wind began to rise, and hoisting sail, they scudded along the coast of Harris. Having no fresh water on board, they were forced, from lack of other provisions, to use oatmeal made up with salt water, of which Charles partook heartily. This salt water *drammach*, as this extraordinary preparation was called, was qualified with a dram of brandy, which the prince distributed from a bottle he held in his hand.

In coursing along Harris, Charles, while crossing the mouth of Finsbay, espied a ship

of war, commanded by Captain Ferguson, lying in the bay, at the distance of about two musket shots, which immediately gave them chase. The ship followed them three leagues; but they escaped among the rocks at the point of Roudil in the Harris. They then kept close to the shore, and in passing along the coast of North Uist were observed by another war vessel lying in Lochuaddy, which also gave them chase. Charles reached Benbecula after a very close pursuit, and had scarcely landed when a storm arose, which drove the vessels that pursued him off the coast. After this escape, Charles could not help remarking, that Providence would not permit him to be taken at this time.

It being low water when Charles landed in Benbecula, one of the boatmen went among the rocks in quest of shell-fish, and found a crab, which he held up to the prince with an expression of joy. Taking up a pail which lay in the boat, Charles immediately proceeded to the spot where the boatman stood, and, in conjunction with him, soon filled the pail with crabs. The party then proceeded to a small hut which lay at the distance of two miles. Charles carried the pail, which Macleod insisted on relieving him of; but Charles refused to part with it, observing that he and the rest of the company might carry the baggage. The door of the hovel was so low, that the party could only enter by creeping in on their hands and knees; but to make the entry easier for the prince, Burke dug away part of the ground, and put leather below the prince's knees. From this homely residence, Charles sent a message to old Clanranald, acquainting him of his return to Benbecula, and of the difficulties with which he was beset. Clanranald repaired without delay to the hut, and promised Charles all the assistance in his power to enable him to leave the kingdom. Lady Clanranald, at the same time, sent Charles half-a-dozen of shirts, some shoes and stockings, a supply of wine and brandy, and other articles, to make his situation as comfortable as circumstances would admit of. After passing several days in this miserable habitation, Charles, by the advice of Clanranald, removed to South Uist, and took up his abode near the hill of Coradale, in the centre of the island,

⁷ *Kirkconnel MS.*

which was considered a more secure place of retreat.

When on the eve of leaving Benbecula, Charles despatched Donald Macleod in Campbell's boat, which he still retained, to the mainland, with letters to Lochiel and Secretary Murray, desiring to know how affairs stood, and requesting that a supply of cash and brandy might be sent to him. Donald met Lochiel and Murray at the head of Loch Arkig; but Murray, from whom he was desired to obtain the money, informed him that he had none to spare, having only sixty louis-d'ors, which he meant to keep for his own necessities. Donald received letters from Lochiel and Murray to the prince, and, having found the means, he purchased two ankers of brandy, at a guinea each, for the use of the prince, with which he returned after an absence of eighteen days.⁸

On his return he found the prince in a more comfortable dwelling than that in which he had left him. He had removed to South Uist on the 16th of May, and lived in the house of one of Clanranald's tenants, situated upon Coradale. The house not being water-tight, two cow-hides were placed upon four sticks to prevent the rain from falling upon him when asleep. The house in which the prince lodged was called the Forest house of Glen-coradale, and though the situation was remote, it was the best that could be devised for securing a retreat either to the hills or to the sea, according to circumstances. There being abundance of game in the island, the prince occupied himself almost daily in his favourite amusements of hunting and shooting. His dexterity in shooting birds upon the wing was particularly remarked. To vary his recreation, he frequently went down to the sea-shore, and going on board a small boat, caught, with hand-lines, some small fishes, called lyths by the inhabitants. Clanranald and his lady did every thing in their power to render his situation agreeable; and Clanranald placed twelve able men at his disposal to serve as guides through the island, and to execute any orders Charles might give them.

While Charles was thus passing his time in

⁸ Macleod's Narrative.

South Uist, his situation every day was becoming more and more critical. The Long island, as the principal group of the Hebrides is called, was surrounded on every side by cutters, sloops of war, and frigates. Upwards of fifteen hundred militia and some regular troops were landed in different parts of the island, and a guard was posted at every ferry in the archipelago to prevent any person from getting out of it without a passport. Charles was made aware of his danger; but he declined to leave the Long island till he should receive some farther intelligence, which Clanranald endeavoured to obtain by crossing over to the mainland. At length the peril of Charles became so imminent, that there appeared no possibility of an escape. He had already spent three weeks in South Uist; and though his residence was known to upwards of a hundred persons, all of whom were probably aware of the splendid reward which had been offered for his apprehension, yet such was the fidelity of these poor people, that not one of them betrayed their trust, by giving notice to the emissaries of the government of the place of his concealment. He lived in comparative security in South Uist till about the middle of June, when, in consequence of the presence of a body of militia in the island of Eriska, which lies between Barra and South Uist, he found it absolutely necessary to shift his quarters. He accordingly left South Uist in Campbell's boat with his four companions, on the 14th of June, and landed in the small isle of Wia or Fovaya, between South Uist and Benbecula, in which he remained four nights; and on the 18th, the prince, O'Neil, and Burke, went to Rossinish, leaving O'Sullivan and Macleod in Wia. Charles passed two nights at Rossinish; but receiving information that some militia were approaching Benbecula, he resolved to return to Coradale. O'Sullivan and Macleod anticipated Charles's design by bringing the boat to Rossinish during the night, and having set sail, they encountered a violent storm, accompanied with a heavy rain, which forced them to land upon the rock called Achkirsidhe-allich at Uishinish Point, in a cleft of which they took up their quarters. At night, finding their enemies within two miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at a place called Celiestiella,

whence they steered towards Loeh Boisdale; but, observing a boat in their way, they returned to their former place, where they passed the night. They proceeded to Loeh Boisdale next day, where they were informed that Boisdale had been made a prisoner, a circumstance which perplexed Charles exceedingly, as Boisdale, from his perfect knowledge of the different places of concealment in the Long island, was the chief person on whom he relied for directions in his various movements. Charles skulked some days about Loeh Boisdale, where he and his attendants received occasional supplies of food from Lady Boisdale.⁹

During the time the prince remained in Loeh Boisdale, he was kept in a perpetual state of alarm by the vessels of war which hovered off the coast of South Uist. At one time no less than fifteen sail were in sight; and two of them having entered the Loeh, Charles and his companions abandoned the boat, and fled to the mountains. The vessels having gone out to sea, Charles and his party returned to the boat, in which they had left a small stock of provisions; and having taken out the sails for the purpose of covering them, they lay in the fields two nights on the south side of the Loeh. Removing the third night farther up the inlet, they passed two other nights in the same way, suffering all the time the greatest privations. Hitherto the military had not visited South Uist; but information was brought on the last of these days to Charles, that a party, under Captain Caroline Scott, an officer celebrated, along with General Hawley, Major Lockhart, and others, for his cruelties, had just landed at the head of a body of 500 regulars and militia, within a mile and a half of the place where Charles then was. On receiving this alarming intelligence, Charles instantly resolved to separate his party; and leaving O'Sullivan, Macleod, and Burke, with the boatmen, to shift for themselves, he and O'Neil went off to the mountains, carrying only two shirts along with them. The faithful Macleod was so affected at parting that he shed tears.¹

Beset with dangers on every hand, Charles and his companion directed their steps towards Benbecula, and, about midnight, came to a

Macdonald, of Knoek, in Sleat, in the island of Skye. He was put on board the Furnace, and brought down to the cabin before General Campbell, who examined him most minutely. The general asked him if he had been along with the Pretender? "Yes," said Donald, "I was along with that young gentleman, and I winna deny it." "Do you know," said the general, "what money was upon that gentleman's head?—No less a sum than thirty thousand pounds sterling, which would have made you and your family happy for ever." "What then?" replied Donald, "what though I had gotten it? I could not have enjoyed it for two days. Conscience would have gotten the better of me; and although I could have gotten all England and Scotland for my pains, I would not have allowed a hair of his body to be touched if I could hinder it, since he threw himself upon my care." Campbell observed that he could not much blame him. Donald was sent to London, but released on the 10th of June, 1747. When he arrived in Leith from London, on his return to Skye, he had no money to carry him thither; but his wants were supplied by the Rev. Robert (afterwards bishop) Forbes, an episcopal clergyman in Leith, who set a subscription on foot in that town, and in Edinburgh, "to make out," as the bishop says, "for honest Palinurus, if possible, a pound sterling, for every week he had served the prince in distress; and," continues the worthy bishop, "I thank God I was so happy as to accomplish my design directly." In acknowledgment of his fidelity, Donald was presented by Mr. John Walkinshaw of London, with a large silver snuff-box, handsomely chased, and doubly gilt in the inside. Upon the lid of this box there was the representation of an eight-oared boat, with Donald at the helm, and the eight rowers making their way through a very rough and tempestuous sea. The Long island is seen in the distance upon one of the extremities of the lid, and the boat appears to be just steering into Rossinish, the point of Benbecula where Charles landed after leaving Lochannagh. On the other end of the lid there was a landscape of the end of the isle of Skye, as it appears opposite to the Long island, on which the sites of Dunvegan and Gualtergill are marked. The clouds were represented as heavy and lowering, and the rain descending; and above the clouds, *i. e.*, near the hinge, the following motto was engraved:—"Olim hæc meinisse juvabit. Aprilis 26to, 1746." Upon the bottom, and near the edge of the lid, was this inscription,—"*Quid Neptune, paras? Fatis agitur iniquis.*" The following words were engraved on the bottom of the box:—"Donald Macleod of Gualtergill, in the isle of Skye, the faithful Palinurus, æt. 63, 1746." Below which there was a representation of a dove with an olive branch in its bill. Donald never put any snuff into this box, and when asked the cause by Mr. Forbes, he exclaimed, "Sneeshin in that box! Na, the diel a pickle sneeshin shall ever go into it till the King be restored; and then, I trust in God, I'll go to London, and then I will put sneeshin in the box, and go to the Prince, and say, 'Sir, will you take a sneeshin out o' my box?'"

—*Jacobite Memoirs.*

Burke, the other trust-worthy individual, who was a native of North Uist, skulked about the hill of Eval, in his native island, for seven weeks, living part of the time on sea-weed and limpets. He afterwards took refuge in a cave, and, when the troubles had subsided, went to Edinburgh, where, unheeded, he spent the remainder of his days as a sedan-carrier or chairman.

⁹ *Genuine and True Journal*, p. 16.

¹ O'Neil's, Burke's, and Macleod's Narratives, in *Jacobite Memoirs*. Macleod was taken prisoner a few days afterwards in Benbecula, by Lieutenant Allan

but into which O'Neil entered. Providentially for Charles, O'Neil here found Miss Flora Maedonald, with whom he had got lately acquainted at Ormaelade, the seat of Clanranald, in Benbeeula, when on a visit to the chief, whose kinswoman she was. This lady, whose memory will ever be held in esteem by posterity, for her generous and noble disinterestedness in rescuing the princee from the imminent perils which surrounded him, was the daughter of Maedonald of Milton, in the island of South Uist. Her father left her an orphan when only a year old, and her mother had married Maedonald of Armadale, in the isle of Skye, who commanded one of the militia companies raised in that island by Sir Alexander Maedonald, and was now in South Uist at the head of his corps. Miss Maedonald was about twenty-four years of age, of the middle size, and to the attractions of a handsome figure and great vivacity, she added the more estimable mental qualities of good sense, blandness of temper, and humanity. The hut in which O'Neil now met Miss Maedonald belonged to her only brother, Angus Macdonald of Milton, in whose family she then resided.

As O'Neil recollected that Miss Maedonald had expressed, in his presence, an earnest desire to see the princee, and had offered to do any thing in her power to protect him, it occurred to O'Neil that, on the present occasion, she might render an essential service to the prince if, after dressing him in female attire, she would pass him off as her maid-servant, and carry him to Skye. O'Neil at once proposed his plan to the young lady; but she thought it fantastical and dangerous, and at first positively refused to engage in it. As parties of the Maedonald, Macleod, and Campbell militia were roaming over the island of South Uist in quest of Charles, as no person could leave the island without a passport, and as there was a guard posted at every ferry, and the channel between Uist and Skye covered with ships of war, the utter hopelessness of such an attempt appeared evident. Bent, however, upon his plan, O'Neil was resolved to try what effect Charles's own presence would have upon the young lady in inducing her to yield, and he accordingly introduced her to the princee. Miss Maedonald was so strongly

impressed with his critical and forlorn state, that, on seeing Charles, she almost instantly consented to conduct him to Skye. She describes the princee at this time as in a bad state of health; and though of a thin and weak habit of body, and greatly worn out by fatigue, yet exhibiting a cheerfulness, magnanimity, and fortitude, which those only who saw him could have credited.²

Having thus given her consent to O'Neil's proposal, Miss Maedonald instantly proceeded to Clanranald's house to procure the necessary requisites for the intended voyage to Skye. In crossing one of the fords on her way to Ormaelade, she and her man-servant, Neil MacEachan,³ not having passports, were taken prisoners by a party of militia, and, being detained till next morning, were brought before the commanding officer, who luckily turned out to be her own step-father, Captain Hugh Macdonald. Having stated to him her intention of proceeding to Skye to her mother, she, without difficulty or suspicion, procured a passport from her stepfather, for herself, a man-servant, and her maid, who, in the passport, was called Betty Burke, (the name the princee was to assume,) and who was recommended by Captain Maedonald to his wife as an excellent spinner of flax, and a faithful servant.⁴ Next day at four o'clock in the afternoon, Charles received a message from Miss Maedonald, who had reached Ormaelade, informing him that "all was well;" on receiving which, he and O'Neil resolved to join her immediately; but, to their great consternation, the messenger informed them that they could not pass either of the fords that separated South Uist from Beubeula as they were both

² Flora Maedonald's Narrative. Home's Works, vol. iii. App. No. 45.

³ Father of the well-known Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum.

⁴ The letter by Armadale to his wife, was as follows:—"I have sent your daughter from this country lest she should be any way frightened with the troops lying here. She has got one Betty Burke, an Irish girl, who, as she tells me, is a good spinster. If her spinning pleases you, you may keep her till she spin all your lint; or, if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her. I have sent Neil MacEachan along with your daughter, and Betty Burke to take care of them.—I am your dutiful husband,

"HUGH MACDONALD."

"June 22, 1746."

It has been suspected that Armadale was privy to his step-daughter's design.

guarded by the military. In their perplexity, an inhabitant offered to convey them in his boat to Benbecula; and they were accordingly landed on a promontory of that island. They dismissed the boat, after having given orders to the boatmen to meet them on the opposite side of the island, and proceeded on their journey; but they had not gone far when they observed that the land on which they stood was surrounded by water. Thinking that the pilot had made a mistake, they hallooed after the boat, but in vain, as it was already far from the shore. As it was high water, Charles and his companion imagined that they could obtain a dry passage on the subsiding of the tide; but they were disappointed. The situation of the prince now appeared dismal. After escaping so many dangers, he had at present no prospect but to starve upon a desert island. Nevertheless, he kept up his spirit; and, after a laborious search, he succeeded in finding a ford, by which he and his companion crossed.⁵ Charles and his companion arrived at Rossinish, the place of rendezvous, about midnight, wet to the skin, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. Finding that a party of military was stationed at a short distance, they retired to another place, about four miles from Rossinish, whence O'Neil went to Ormaclade to ascertain the reason why Miss Macdonald had not kept her appointment. In explanation, she informed him, that conceiving the prince would be safer in North Uist than in Skye, she had engaged a cousin of her own in North Uist to receive him into his house. This gentleman, however, having afterwards declined to run the risk of harbouring the prince, Miss Macdonald made the necessary preparations for her voyage. Having hired a six-oared boat to carry her to Skye, which she ordered to be in readiness at an appointed place the following day, Miss Macdonald left Ormaclade on the 27th of June, along with Lady Clanranald, a Mrs. Macdonald and Mac Eachan, all of whom were conducted by O'Neil to the place where Charles lay concealed, about eight miles from Ormaclade. On entering the hovel, they found Charles employed in roasting, for dinner, the heart, liver, and kidneys of a sheep

upon a wooden spit. The ladies began to compassionate the prince upon his unfortunate situation; but he diverted their attention from this melancholy subject by some facetious observations. He remarked that the wretched to-day may be happy to-morrow, and that all great men would be better by suffering as he was doing. The party dined in the hut, Miss Macdonald sitting on the right, and Lady Clanranald on the left hand of the prince.

After dinner, Charles put on the female attire, which had been provided for him by the ladies. It was coarse and homely, and consisted of a flowered linen gown, a light-coloured quilted petticoat, a white apron, and a mantle of dun camlet made after the Irish fashion, with a hood. Whilst Charles was putting on this extraordinary dress, several jokes were passed on the singularity of the prince's appearance. The ladies and Neil Mac Eachan returned to Ormaclade, and in the evening again met Charles and his companion on the sea-shore, at a mile's distance from that house. They sat down to supper on the sea-side; but before they had finished, a messenger arrived with information that General Campbell and Captain Ferguson had arrived at Ormaclade with a large party of soldiers and marines, in quest of Charles. Lady Clanranald went immediately home, and, on reaching her house, was interrogated very strictly by these officers as to the cause of her absence; but she excused herself by saying that she had been visiting a sick child.⁶

After the departure of Lady Clanranald, Charles and his protectress went down to the beach, where their boat lay afloat, so as to be in readiness to embark in case the military should appear. They kindled a fire upon a rock; but they had scarcely warmed themselves, when they were thrown into a state of alarm by the appearance of four boats full of armed men, apparently making towards the shore. They instantly extinguished their fire, and concealed themselves behind some rocks. Fortunately they were not observed by the boats, which, instead of coming to land, sailed

⁶ Soon after this occurrence, Lady Clanranald was taken prisoner, and sent to London. On 1st November, Clanranald, and Boisdale his brother were also apprehended, and shipped for London. They were discharged in the month of June following.

⁵ *Kirkconnel MS.*

along the shore, within a gun-shot of the spot where Charles lay concealed. Judging it unwise to put to sea during the day, Charles deferred his voyage till the evening, and accordingly embarked, at eight o'clock on the 28th of June, for Skye, accompanied by Miss Macdonald and Neil Mac Eachan. The prince was extremely sorry to part with O'Neil, his only remaining companion, and entreated Miss Macdonald to allow him to accompany them; but, as she had only three passports, she absolutely refused to accede to the request.⁷

When Charles left the shores of Benbecula the evening was clear and serene, and a gentle and favourable breeze rippled over the bosom of the deep; but as they proceeded to sea the sky began to lower, and they had not rowed above a leagu when the wind rose, the sea became rough, and a tempest ensued which seemed to threaten them with destruction. Miss Macdonald and the boatmen grew alarmed, but Charles showed the greatest composure, and, to revive their drooping spirits, alternately related some amusing stories and sang several songs, among which was an old spirited air composed on the occasion of the restoration of Charles II. In the passage Miss Macdonald fell asleep, and Charles took every precaution to prevent her being disturbed.

The wind having shifted several times during the night, the boatmen had not been able to keep a regular course, and when day-light appeared next morning, they found themselves out of sight of land without knowing where

⁷ A few days after parting with Charles, this trusty officer being betrayed by a person in whom he had confided, was taken prisoner. Being brought before Captain Ferguson, and refusing to give any information about the prince, he was stripped, ordered to be put into a rack, and to be whipt. When the last part of this order was about to be executed, he was saved from the intended ignominy by a lieutenant of the Scotch Fusileers, who, drawing his sword, threatened Ferguson with his vengeance if he used an officer in such an infamous manner. O'Neil says that, four days after he was taken, General Campbell sent him word, upon his parole of honour, that if he had any money or effects in the country, and would send them to him, they should be safe; and that as he had always imagined that the word of honour was as sacredly kept in the English army as in others, he went with a detachment for his money and gold watch, which he had hid among the rocks; that he sent to General Campbell by Captain Campbell of Skipness, 450 guineas, his gold watch, broadsword and pistols; but that although he repeatedly applied to him to return him his property, he never obtained it!—O'Neil's Narrative in *Jacobite Memoirs*.

they were. Having no compass, they proceeded at random; but they had not sailed far when they perceived some of the headlands of Skye. Favoured by the wind, they soon gained the point of Waternish, on the west of the island. In passing along this point they were fired upon by a party of Macleod militia, who called upon them to land; but they continued their course, and, to prevent suspicion, plied their oars very slowly. Charles told the boatmen "not



Flora macdonald

From Original Painting by I. Mackluin, 1747.

to fear the villains;" but they assured him that they did not care for themselves: their only fear was for him. "No fear of me!" was Charles's reply. Encouraged by the undaunted bravery of the prince, the boat's crew applied themselves with energy to their oars; on observing which the Macleods continued to fire at the boat till it got out of reach of their shot, but did no harm. Whilst the bullets were falling about the boat, Charles, it is said, requested Miss Macdonald to lie down in the bottom of the boat in order to avoid them; but she heroically declined the proposed and declared that, as she was endeavouring to prese

the life of her prince, she would never degrade herself by attending to the safety of her own person while that of her master was in jeopardy. She even solicited Charles to occupy the place he had assigned for her. The prince, as the danger increased, became more urgent; but no entreaties could prevail upon Miss Maedonald to abandon her intrepid resolution, till Charles offered to lie down also. Both accordingly lay down in the bottom of the boat, till out of reach of the bullets of the militia.

After escaping this danger they entered a small creek, and the party, after taking a short rest, proceeded to Kilbride, and landed near Mugstot or Moydhstat, the seat of Sir Alexander Maedonald, near the northern extremity of Skye. Sir Alexander was at this time with the Duke of Cumberland at Fort Augustus; and, as his lady was known to be a warm friend of the prince, Flora resolved to proceed to Moydhstat and acquaint her of Charles's arrival. Lady Margaret Maedonald had inherited the spirit of Jacobitism from her father Alexander, Earl of Eglintoun; and, as she knew that her husband was a Jacobite at heart, she was less scrupulous to assist the prince in his necessities. Knowing her good intentions, Charles had, about a week before his arrival in Skye, written her a letter, which was sent inclosed in one from Hugh Maedonald of Balishair, in North Uist, to his brother Donald Roy Maedonald, who was requested to deliver the letter into her ladyship's own hand. Balishair announced in the letter to his brother, that, as a very strict search was making in the Long island for Charles, he intended to seek refuge upon a small grass island, called Fladdachuan, belonging to Sir Alexander Maedonald, lying to the north of Trotternish, with only one tenant upon it, and requesting him to keep a sharp look-out for the prince, to meet him upon Fladdachuan and provide him with necessaries. He was desired to show the letter to Lady Margaret, and after she had perused it to throw it into the fire; and he also requested that her ladyship should do the same with the letter sent her. The letter was accordingly delivered to Lady Margaret by Donald Roy, who burnt his own, as directed; but, on begging Lady Margaret to put hers into the fire, she rose up, and, kissing the letter, exclaimed, "No! I

will not burn it. I will preserve it for the sake of him who wrote it to me. Although King George's forces should come to the house, I hope I shall find a way to secure the letter."⁶

Leaving Charles in the boat, Miss Flora, accompanied by Neil Mac Eachan, set out for Mugstot, to apprise Lady Margaret of her arrival. It was a fortunate circumstance that Charles was left behind, as there was a militia officer of the name of Macleod in the house, who, on Miss Maedonald's entering the room where he was sitting, questioned her very closely as to her journey; but she answered his interrogatories so readily, and with such apparent candour and simplicity, that he had not the least suspicion that she was any way concerned about the prince. Charles's arrival was not altogether unexpected, as she had been informed the day before by Mrs. Maedonald, wife of John Maedonald of Kirkebost, in North Uist, who had come from the Long island, of the probability of his appearing speedily in Skye. Lady Margaret, on being informed of the prince's arrival in her neighbourhood, was greatly alarmed for his safety. Her active benevolence was ever seconded by superior talents; and, on the present occasion, she displayed a presence of mind and readiness of invention, which corresponded with these high qualifications. Mr. Maedonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander's factor, being then in the house, she resolved to consult him in this emergency. Desirous also to avail herself of the services of Captain Roy Maedonald, who had visited Fladdachuan in quest of the prince, she sent an express to Trotternish, where he then resided, requesting his immediate attendance at Mugstot. Mounting his horse, he repaired to the spot, and found Lady Margaret and Kingsburgh walking together, in serious conversation. On dismounting, Lady Margaret came up to him and exclaimed, "O Donald Roy, we are ruined for ever!" After a long consultation, Lady Margaret proposed that, as the prince could not remain long in Skye without being discovered, he should be conducted to old Raasay, who was himself concealed with some select friends, and that, in the mean time,

⁶ Roy Maedonald's Narrative among the *Forbes Papers*.

he should take up his residence in Kingsburgh house.

During the time this consultation lasted, Charles remained upon the shore, at a short distance from the foot of the garden. Kingsburgh proposed to go and acquaint him with their determination; but, lest he might be observed by some of the military about the house, Neil Mac Eachan was sent to inform him that Kingsburgh meant to visit him, and to request that he would retire behind a neighbouring hill to escape observation. Taking with him some wine and provisions, Kingsburgh repaired to the spot where Mac Eachan had left Charles. To his great surprise, however, Charles was not to be seen, and he in vain searched for him in the neighbourhood of the place where he expected to meet him. Despairing of finding the prince, Kingsburgh would have returned to Mugstot; but the bounding of a flock of sheep at a distance, indicating that some person was at hand, Kingsburgh went forward to the place whence the sheep had fled, where he found the prince sitting on the ground. Charles started up when he saw Kingsburgh approaching. He advanced cautiously towards him, holding a large knotted stick in his hand, as if intending to knock down the stranger. "I am Macdonald of Kingsburgh, come to serve your highness," said the good Highlander, as he approached. "It is well," answered Charles, who went forward to receive his friend. They then saluted each other, and the prince took some refreshment. Kingsburgh then mentioned Lady Macdonald's plan, with which Charles having expressed himself satisfied, they both proceeded to Kingsburgh house.

Till the departure of Kingsburgh to meet Charles, the uneasiness of Lady Macdonald was extreme. Flora too, who had remarked her anxiety, had her misgivings lest the prince should be discovered; but with her wonted firmness she kept up the conversation with the commander of the detachment, till dinner was announced, by which time Charles was on his way to Kingsburgh. After dinner, Miss Macdonald rose to depart; but Lady Macdonald, in order to deceive the officer, pressed her to remain, and put her in mind that she had promised on a former occasion to make some

stay the first time she should visit Moydhstat. Flora, however, excused herself, on the ground that she was anxious to be with her mother, who, in the absence of her husband, could not but feel uneasy in such troublesome times. With apparent reluctance Lady Margaret at length accepted her apology, under the condition that she should make amends for her sudden departure by making a longer stay at Moydhstat on her next visit.

Miss Macdonald accordingly proceeded on her journey, accompanied by Neil Mac Eachan, and by Mrs. Macdonald, the lady formerly mentioned, who was attended by a male and female servant. The whole party, who were on horseback, soon overtook the prince and Kingsburgh, who had gone so far by the common road. Mrs. Macdonald, who had never seen the prince before, was desirous of obtaining a view of his countenance, and made several attempts to look him in the face, but Charles always turned his head aside to avoid her gaze. Mrs. Macdonald's maid observing this, and being struck with the uncouth appearance of the prince, remarked to Miss Flora, that she had never before seen such an impudent looking woman as the one with whom Kingsburgh was walking, and stated her impression, that the singular looking stranger was either an Irishwoman, or a man in woman's clothes. Miss Macdonald informed the girl that she was quite right in her conjecture that the extraordinary looking female was an Irishwoman, for she knew her, having seen her before. The maid then exclaimed, "Bless me, what long strides the jado takes, and how awkwardly she manages her petticoats!" To put an end to the prying curiosity of Mrs. Macdonald's maid, and to prevent the servants of that lady from observing the route which the prince and Kingsburgh were about to take across the hills, Miss Macdonald called upon the party to ride faster, as they had a long way to travel. They accordingly set off at the trot, and, when the party were out of sight, the two pedestrians, to avoid the militia, who were on all the public roads, went off by an unfrequented path, and arrived at Kingsburgh house about eleven o'clock at night, where they were almost immediately joined by Miss Macdonald and Neil Mac Eachan.

Not expecting her husband home at such a late hour, Mrs. Maedonald had undressed, and was just going into bed, when one of her maid servants entered her bed-room, and informed her that Kingsburgh had arrived, and had brought company with him, and that Miss Flora Maedonald was among the guests. Mrs. Maedonald sent down word to Flora, that being sleepy and undressed she hoped she would excuse her for not coming down stairs, but begged that she would use her freedom, and help herself to anything she might require. Immediately upon the departure of the servant down stairs, a young girl, a daughter of Kingsburgh, entered her mother's apartment in a great hurry, and, with looks of surprise, informed her, that her father had brought to the house the most "odd muckle ill-shaken-up wife she had ever seen, and taken her into the hall too!" Before Mrs. Maedonald had time to form any conjecture on the subject, Kingsburgh himself entered his wife's bed-chamber, and desired her to dress herself as fast as she could, and get some supper ready for his guests. Mrs. Maedonald asked the names of her visitors, but Kingsburgh said he had no time for explanation; and after telling her that she would know the whole matter in time, and urging her to make haste, he returned to his friends in the hall.

In compliance with her husband's desire, Mrs. Maedonald proceeded to dress herself, and sent her daughter down for her keys, which she had left in the hall. The girl went, but she returned almost instantly in a state of alarm, and told her mother that she was afraid to venture into the hall, as the tall woman was walking up and down in it. Mrs. Maedonald then went down herself; but on observing the prince striding through the hall she hesitated to enter, and calling to her husband requested him to go in and bring her the keys. Kingsburgh, however, refused to humour the pusillanimity of his wife, and she was at length obliged to enter.

When Mrs. Maedonald entered the hall, Charles, who, during the altercation between her and her husband, had taken a seat, rose up, and advancing, immediately saluted her agreeably to the Highland practice. Mrs. Maedonald, little expecting the roughness of a male

elch under a female attire, began to tremble, and, without saying a word to the silent and mysterious being who stood before her, she hastened out of the hall, and going to her husband importuned him to inform her who the stranger was. She had not the least idea that the person who saluted her was the prince; and, imagining that the stranger was some nobleman or gentleman in disguise, she inquired if he knew what had become of the prince. Smiling at her simplicity, Kingsburgh said to her, "My dear, the person in the hall is the prince himself." Alarmed at this unexpected announcement, she exclaimed, "The prince! then we are all ruined: we will all be hanged now!" "Hout," replied Kingsburgh, "we can die but once; and if we are hanged for this we shall die in a good cause, doing only an act of humanity and charity. But go," continued he, "make haste with supper; bring us eggs, butter, cheese, and whatever else can be got quickly ready." "Eggs, butter, and cheese!" rejoined Mrs. Maedonald, "what a supper is that for a prince!" "Oh! wife," replied Kingsburgh, "you know little how this good prince has lived of late; this will be a feast to him. Besides, to make a formal supper would make the servants suspect something; the less ceremony, therefore, the better; make haste, and come to supper yourself." Mrs. Maedonald, doubtful of her own capabilities to conduct herself properly before royalty, exclaimed, "I come to supper! I know not how to behave before Majesty!" "You must come," replied Kingsburgh, "the prince will not eat one bit without you; and you will find it no difficult matter to behave before him, so obliging and easy is he in his conversation."⁷

At supper Charles placed Miss Flora on his right hand, and Mrs. Maedonald on his left. He always conferred the above mark of distinction on his young protectress, and whenever she came into any room where he was sitting, he always rose up on her entry. Charles made a hearty supper, and drank a bumper of brandy to the health and prosperity of Kingsburgh and his wife. After supper he smoked a pipe, a practice which he was obliged to adopt in his wanderings, to mitigate a toothache with which

⁷ *Genuine and True Journal*, p. 29.

he was troubled.⁸ Having drunk a few glasses of wine, and finished his pipe, Charles went to bed.

After Charles went to bed, Miss Flora, at the desire of Mrs. Macdonald, gave her a relation of the prince's adventures, in as far as she had been personally concerned. When she finished her recital, Mrs. Macdonald asked her what had become of the boatmen who brought the prince and her to Skye. Miss Macdonald answered, that they had been sent directly back to South Uist. Mrs. Macdonald observed that it was wrong to have sent the boat back immediately, as in case of capture on their return, the boatmen might disclose the business which brought them to Skye, and the prince's pursuers might in consequence overtake him before he could leave that island. Mrs. Macdonald was right in her conjecture; for the boatmen were seized on their return to South Uist, and being threatened with torture, and ultimately with death, revealed all they knew, giving even a minute description of the prince's dress. To lessen the dangers of a discovery of the prince's route, Flora advised the prince to change his clothes next day, a proposal which met with his cordial approbation, as he found the female attire very cumbersome.

The luxury of a good bed had not been enjoyed by Charles for many weeks. Three, or at most four, hours' sleep was all he had generally been accustomed to during his wanderings; but, on the present occasion he slept ten hours without interruption, and might have added a few more to the number, had he not been wakened by Kingsburgh, who was prevailed upon by Miss Macdonald, contrary to his own inclination, to rouse the prince. In talking of Charles's intended departure, Kingsburgh, acting upon Flora's suggestion, urged upon the prince the propriety of changing his dress, lest

⁸ "Donald Macleod said the prince used to smoke a great deal of tobacco; and as in his wanderings from place to place the pipes behaved to break and turn into short *cutties*, he used to take quills, and putting one into another, 'and all,' said Donald, 'into the end of the *cutty*, this served to make it long enough, and the tobacco to smoke cool.' Donald added, that he never knew, in all his life, any one better at finding out a shift than the prince was, when he happened to be at a pinch, and that the prince would sometimes sing them a song to keep up their hearts."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 401.

the circumstance of his being in female attire might transpire, and Kingsburgh offered him a Highland dress of his own. Charles at once assented to the proposal; but, to prevent suspicion among the servants, and to keep them in ignorance of the nature and description of the new dress in which Charles was to travel, it was arranged that he should leave the house in the same dress he entered it, and, when out of reach of observation, assume that offered to him by his kind entertainer.

Having dressed himself, the ladies went into his chamber to pin his cap, put on his apron, and adjust the other parts of his dress. Before Miss Macdonald put on the cap, Mrs. Macdonald requested her, in Gaelic, to ask Charles for a lock of his hair. Flora declined, desiring her, at the same time, to make the application herself to his Royal Highness. The prince, though unable to comprehend what they were saying, clearly perceived that they were disputing about something, and, desiring to know the subject of altercation, was informed thereof by Mrs. Macdonald. Charles then told her that her request was granted, and laying down his head upon Flora's lap, he desired her to cut off a lock. She complied, and divided the destined relic between them. Before leaving the house Kingsburgh thought there was an article of dress that Charles might instantly change without much risk. This was his shoes, which were so much worn that his toes protruded through them. He, therefore, presented a new pair of his own to his Royal Highness, and, taking up the out-worn brogues, said to Charles, "I will faithfully keep them till you are safely in St. James's; I will introduce myself by shaking them at you, to put you in mind of your night's entertainment and protection under my roof." The prince, amused with the quaintness of the idea, could not refrain from smiling, and, to humour the joke, enjoined his host to keep his promise. Kingsburgh kept the shoes as long as he lived, and after his death they were purchased by a zealous Jacobite gentleman, who gave twenty guineas for them.⁹

On being dressed, the prince partook of breakfast, and having taken a kind leave of

⁹ Boswell's *Tour*.

Mrs. Maedonald, left Kingsburgh house for Portree, where it had been concerted he should embark for the island of Raasay. He was accompanied by Miss Flora and Kingsburgh, who carried under his arm the suit of clothes designed for the prince. When Charles left the house, Mrs. Maedonald went up stairs to the room in which he had slept, and, folding the sheets in which he had lain, put them carefully aside, declaring that henceforth they should never again be washed or used till her death, when they should serve her as a winding sheet; to which use they were accordingly applied, in fulfilment of injunctions she delivered before her death.¹ After walking a short distance from the house, Charles and Kingsburgh entered a wood, where the prince threw off his female attire, and put on the clothes which his good friend had provided. These consisted of a tartan short coat and waistcoat, with philibeg and short hose, a plaid, and a wig and bonnet. When Charles had shifted, he embraced Kingsburgh, and thanked him for his valuable services, which he assured him he would never forget. Charles, conducted by a guide, then set out on foot across the hills, and Miss Maedonald took another and a shorter way on horseback, to obtain intelligence, and prevent a discovery.

In consequence of the resolution to proceed to Raasay, Donald Roy had been despatched from Mugstot by Kingsburgh the preceding day, in quest of John Maeleod, the young laird of Raasay, to ascertain from him the place of his father's concealment, in order to communicate to the latter Charles's design of placing himself under his protection. When it is considered, that Maeleod, the laird of Raasay, was himself a fugitive for the part he had taken in the insurrection, such a design may appear singular; but the prince had only a choice of difficulties before him, and the little island of Raasay, which was then clear of troops, appeared to

offer the securest retreat. Donald Roy met young Raasay at Portree, who informed him that his father was skulking in Knoydart; but offered to send an express for him, being certain his father would run any risk to serve the prince in his distress. Donald Roy then proposed that he should conduct Charles to the mainland, to the place where old Raasay was; but young Raasay said that such a step would be too dangerous at that time, and that it would be better to conceal the prince in the isle of Raasay till his father should be informed of Charles's intention to put himself under his protection. As they could not trust a Portree crew, the difficulty of transporting the prince to Raasay, without observation, occurred. Dr. Murdoch Maeleod, a brother of young Raasay, who had been wounded at the battle of Culloden, being informed of this dilemma, said he would risk his life once more for the prince, and it having occurred to him that there was a little boat upon a fresh water lake in the neighbourhood, the two brothers, with the aid of some women, by extraordinary exertions, brought the boat to sea, over a Highland mile of land, one half of which was bog, and the other a steep precipice. The two brothers, with the assistance of a little boy, rowed the boat, which was very old and leaky, to Raasay.

Malcolm Maeleod, young Raasay's cousin, who will be frequently mentioned in the sequel, was then in the island. He had been a captain in the prince's service, and was considered by his cousin a proper person to accompany them on their expedition. They accordingly waited on Malcolm, who offered to provide a boat; but he proposed, that as his cousin, young Raasay, had not been engaged in the insurrection, he should not run any risk by holding communication with the prince, more particularly as Charles could be brought over without his assistance. Young Raasay declared his resolution to see the prince, if the result should be the loss both of his estate and his head; and Malcolm, seeing that any further attempt to dissuade him would be fruitless, exclaimed, "In God's name then let us proceed." Malcolm Maeleod pitched upon two strong men, named John Maekenzie and Donald Maefriar, to row the boat; but, when they came to the beach, they declined to leave the shore till informed

¹ When Dr. Johnson visited Kingsburgh, in company with Mr. Boswell, in 1774, he slept in the same bed that Charles had occupied twenty-eight years before. "To see (says Boswell) Dr. Samuel Johnson in that bed, in the isle of Skye, in the house of Miss Flora Maedonald, struck me with such a group of ideas, as it is not easy for words to describe, as they passed through the mind. He smiled and said, 'I have had no ambitious thoughts in it.'"—*Tour to the Hebrides.*

of their destination. They were then sworn to secrecy, and being told the object of their voyage, professed the utmost alacrity to go to sea. The whole party accordingly set off from Raasay on Monday evening, the 30th of June, and landed about half a mile from Portree. By this time Miss Macdonald had arrived at the inn, where Donald Roy was in waiting to receive her and the prince. Leaving young Raasay and his brother in the boat, Malcolm Macleod, accompanied by Macfriar, went towards the inn, and in walking from the shore he observed three persons proceeding in the direction of the inn, who happened to be the prince, Neil Mac Eachan, and a little boy who had served as Charles's guide from Kingsburgh.

Donald Roy Macdonald had left the inn shortly after Miss Macdonald's arrival, for the purpose of meeting Charles; but, after remaining out about twenty minutes without seeing him, he returned to the house, afraid lest the rain, which fell in torrents, might fester a wound in his foot which he had received at the battle of Culloden, and which was still open. He had scarcely entered the inn, when Macnab, the landlord, informed him that a boy wanted to see him. The boy, whose name was Macqueen, having informed Donald Roy that a gentleman who was waiting a little above the house wished to speak with him, he went out and met the prince, who caught him in his arms. Donald then conducted him into the inn. Charles was wet to the skin, and the water poured down from his clothes. The first thing he asked for was a dram, on taking which he proceeded to shift himself. He put on a dry shirt; but before he had replaced the other habiliments which he had thrown off, a supply of roasted fish, bread, cheese, and butter was brought into the room, which the prince attacked with such avidity that Donald Roy could not help smiling; and being observed by the prince, he remarked that he believed the prince was following the English fashion. "What fashion do you mean?" said the prince. "Why," replied Donald Roy, "they say the English, when they are to eat heartily, throw off their clothes." The prince smiling, said, "They are in the right, lest anything should incommode their hands when they are at work." Asking for some drink, Charles was told that

there were no liquors of any sort in the house but whisky and water, not even milk, of which he had desired a little. The only substitute in the room for a tumbler or jug was a dirty-looking bucket, which the landlord used for throwing the water out of his boat, and the mouth of which was broken and rough from the frequent use to which it had been thus applied. Donald Roy, who had previously quaffed out of the bucket, handed it to Charles, who took it out of his hand, and after looking at it, stared Donald in the face. As the landlord was in the room, Donald was afraid that, from the shyness of Charles to drink out of a dish to which no objection perhaps had ever before been stated, he might think he had a visitor of distinction in his house, and he therefore went up to Charles, and in a gentle whisper desired him to drink out of the obnoxious vessel without ceremony. Charles taking the hint, put the pail to his head, and took a hearty draught of water.²

Malcolm Macleod, on being informed of the prince's arrival at the inn, had returned to the boat, and with his cousins waited anxiously for the prince. On the landlord of the inn leaving the room, Donald Roy, who had grown impatient to get away, urged the prince to depart; but Charles showed no inclination to leave the inn, and even proposed to remain there all night, as the rain was still heavy. Donald told him that as the house he was in was frequented by all kinds of people, he would incur danger by remaining; for the very appearance of a stranger would excite speculation among the country people, who were always desirous to know who the persons were that came among them. Charles assented to the correctness of Donald's observations, but called for some tobacco that he might smoke a pipe before his departure. There being no tobacco in the house but roll or pigtail, Charles said it would answer very well; and the landlord, at the request of Donald Roy, brought in a quarter of a pound in the scales in which it had been weighed. The price was fourpence halfpenny, and Charles gave the landlord a sixpence. Donald Roy desired him to bring in the difference. The prince smiled, and on the change

² Donald Roy's Narrative among the *Forbes Papers*.

being brought he refused to receive it. Donald, however, insisted that he should take the three halfpence, because he considered that in his present situation he might find "bawbees" very useful.³

When about to leave the inn, Charles solicited Donald Roy to accompany him to Raasay, observing that he had always found himself safe in the hands of the Macdonalds, and that as long as he had a Macdonald with him he would still think himself safe. This faithful attendant, whilst he stated his inclination to serve the prince in his distress, represented to him the impossibility of following him from place to place, in consequence of the wound in his left foot, which rendered him incapable of enduring fatigue; and that as he would be obliged from his lameness to travel occasionally on horseback, his presence would only endanger the safety of the prince. He agreed, however, to meet Charles in Raasay in a few days, and stated that, in the mean time, he would remain in Skye, and collect for the future guidance of the prince such information as he could, in relation to the movements and plans of his pursuers.

Before leaving Portree Charles had a most painful task to perform, that of parting with the amiable and high-minded young woman, who, during three eventful days, had with generous sympathy, and at the imminent hazard of her own life, watched over him with the tenderest solicitude and affection, and rescued him from the many perils with which he had been environed. He repaid Miss Flora a small sum of money he had borrowed from her, and, presenting her with his own portrait in miniature, saluted her. He then returned her his sincere thanks for the great assistance she had afforded him, and taking leave, expressed a hope that, notwithstanding the present unfavourable aspect of his affairs, he should yet meet her in St. James's. He also took farewell of Neil Mac Eachan, who certainly at that time had no expectation that he was to be one of those who were afterwards to accompany the prince to France.

Charles had brought along with him from Kingsburgh, four shirts, a cold fowl, some

sugar, and a bottle of brandy. To this small stock he added at Portree a bottle of usquebaugh. He tied this bottle to his belt at one side, and at the other the bottle of brandy, and the shirts and cold fowl which were put up in a handkerchief. Thus provided, Charles left the inn, accompanied by Donald Roy, on the morning of the 1st of July, while it was yet dark. The landlord, surprised perhaps at the early departure of his guests, cast a look after them as they went out at the door, which being observed by Charles's conductor, he led the prince off in a direction opposite to that they had to go, till out of view of the landlord, and then making a circle they went down towards the shore, and in their way met Malcolm Macleod, who conducted the prince to the boat. He then took leave of Donald Roy, whom he enjoined not to mention the place of his destination to any person, not even to his fair protectress. Donald returned to the inn, and was immediately accosted by his host, who expressed a strong desire to know the name of the gentleman who had left his house. Donald told him, with apparent unconcern, that the stranger who had gone away was Sir John Macdonald, an Irish gentleman, and a brother rebel, who, having got free of his enemies, had been skulking among his friends, the Macdonalds of Skye; and that, tired of remaining in one place, and afraid of being discovered in the island, he had set out for the mainland to seek an asylum among the other Macdonalds. The landlord, whom he enjoined to secrecy, apparently satisfied with this explanation, said that he was strongly impressed with an idea that the gentleman was the prince in disguise, as he observed something about him that looked very noble.⁴

Portree, a small bay opposite the island of Raasay, from which Charles was about to depart, had derived its name, which signifies the King's Port, from the circumstance of King James the Fifth having landed there during his excursion amongst the western islands. Charles left this creek after midnight, under the protection of the enthusiastic young laird of Raasay, to whom Malcolm Macleod introduced him when he entered the boat. As the two boat-

³ Donald Roy's Narrative.

⁴ Macleod's Narrative.

men had served in the prince's army, the whole party, with the exception of young Raasay himself, were under the ban of the government, and the young laird, whose only motive in not joining the insurrection was probably a desire to save the estate, now fearlessly put his life and fortune in jeopardy, when the risk was even greater.

Charles slept a little upon the passage, and reached Raasay about day-break, a few hours after his departure from Portree. The party landed at a place called Glam, about the distance of ten miles from that haven. Charles, Malcolm, and Murdoch Macleod took up their abode in a wretched hut which some shepherds had lately erected. They had no bedding of any sort, and were obliged to repose upon some heath. On entering the hut they kindled a fire and partook of some provisions. On this, as on other occasions, Charles, to please the Highlanders, never tasted wheat-bread or brandy while oat-bread and whisky lasted, for, he observed, that these last were his "own country bread and drink." Young Raasay had nothing to dread from his own people; and, lest the military might revisit the island, he placed the two boatmen upon different eminences to watch their approach. He visited Charles and his friends occasionally, and always carried provisions along with him. Though comparatively secure, Charles was very uneasy in his new retreat; and frequent starts and exclamations in his slumbers indicated the agitated workings of his mind. Malcolm Macleod often overheard him in his sleep muttering imperfect sentences, in Italian, French, and English. One of his expressions in English was, "O God! poor Scotland!"⁵

During Charles's stay in Raasay, no person visited the island, but he and his friends were kept in a state of uneasiness by a person who prowled about without any apparent business, and who had come into the island to sell a roll of tobacco. He had arrived about twelve or fourteen days before Charles. Having disposed of his merchandise very speedily, it was expected that he would have departed, but continuing to stroll up and down the island in an idle way, he was suspected to be a spy. Mal-

colm Macleod happening to see him approaching the hut one day, a council of war was held by Charles and his friends. The three Macleods were for putting the poor tobacco vender to death, and Malcolm Macleod offered to go out immediately and shoot him through the head; but Charles indignantly reprobated the inhuman proposal. "God forbid (said he) that we should take away a man's life who may be innocent, while we can preserve our own." John Mackenzie, who sat as sentinel at the door, overhearing the debate, said to himself in Gaelic, "Well, well: he must be shot: you are the king, but we are the parliament, and will do what we choose." Observing his friends smile, Charles asked what John had said; and being told the man's observation in English, the prince observed that he was a clever fellow; and, notwithstanding his perilous situation, laughed loud and heartily.⁶ Notwithstanding Charles's remonstrances, the stranger would have been despatched had he entered the hut, but luckily he walked past without looking into it. It was afterwards ascertained that the stranger himself was a fugitive from the Highland army.⁷ While Charles resided in this hut, he and his companions indulged in a great deal of conversation. Alluding to passing events and his present situation, the prince observed that his life was to be sure a very hard one; but that he would rather live in the way he then did for ten years, than fall into the hands of his enemies, not because he believed they would dare to take away his life publicly, but because he dreaded being poisoned or assassinated. He was very particular in his inquiries at Dr. Macleod about the wound he had received at

⁵ "John Mackenzie is alive (in 1774); I saw him at Raasay's house. About eighteen years ago he hurt one of his legs when dancing, and being obliged to have it cut off, he now was going about with a wooden leg. The story of his being a *Member of Parliament* is not yet forgotten. I took him out a little way from the house, gave him a shilling to drink Raasay's health, and led him into a detail of the particulars which I have just related. With less foundation, some writers have traced the idea of a Parliament, and of the British Constitution in rude and early times. I was curious to know if he had really heard or understood any thing of that subject, which, had he been a greater man, would probably have been eagerly maintained. 'Why, John,' said I, 'did you think he should be controlled by a Parliament?' He answered, 'I thought, Sir, there were many voices against one.'"—*Boswell's*.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 227. *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 270.

⁵ *Boswell's Tour*.

Culloden, from a ball which entered at one shoulder and went across to the other. He threw out some reflections upon the conduct of some of his officers at Culloden, but confessed that perhaps it was rash in him to do so. Talking of the different Highland corps, the Macleods asked Charles which, in his opinion, were the best soldiers; but he evaded a direct answer, said he did not like comparisons among such corps; and that they were all best.⁸

Charles resided two days in Raasay, when becoming uneasy, and thinking the island too narrow and confined for the purpose of concealment, he resolved to depart. Understanding that he expected a French ship at Lochbroom, Malcolm Macleod offered to carry him thither, but Charles declined the proposal on account of the danger of the voyage in a small boat. He expressed a wish to go to Trotternish in Skye, but his friends attempted to dissuade him, as they considered him safer in Raasay. Persisting however in going, the whole party, including the two boatmen, left Raasay on the evening of the 2d of July, in the same boat which they had used to carry them into the island. After they had gone a little off the shore the wind began to blow hard, and soon increased to a gale. The sea became so very rough, that the waves broke over the boat and almost filled it with water. All on board begged the prince to return, but he declined, observing, that as Providence had carried him through so many dangers, he did not doubt of the same care now as before. About eleven o'clock at night they landed at a place in Skye, called Nicolson's rock, near Scorobreck in Trotternish, after a very boisterous voyage of about fifteen miles. There was a large surf on the shore, and there being no convenient landing place, they had to jump out among the water. Charles was the third man who leapt into the sea. Standing in the surf, the whole party, including Charles, laid hold of the boat and drew it up on dry ground.

On this desolate coast, the royal wanderer could find no other resting-place than a cow-house, belonging to Mr. Nicolson of Scorobreck, about two miles from that gentleman's seat. The party entered this wretched hovel

and took a little refreshment of oat cakes, which had mouldered down into very small crumbs, and some cheese. Charles being wet to the skin, Malcolm Macleod advised him to put on a dry shirt. This he declined, and continued to sit in his wet clothes. Overcome with fatigue he fell asleep; but he enjoyed little sound repose. He would frequently start in his sleep, look briskly up, and stare boldly around him, as if about to fight the persons around him. "Oh poor England! poor England!" were the exclamations he would sometimes utter, with a deep sigh, during these disturbed moments.

In all his wanderings it was the constant practice of Charles to conceal his future movements from every person with whose services he was about to dispense, so as to prevent any clue to his discovery. Wishing to get quit of young Raasay and his brother, he despatched the former to look out for Donald Roy, and he desired the latter to go to a place called Cammistinawag, where he would meet him. Murdoch Macleod and the two boatmen then took leave. At parting he presented Murdoch with a case, containing a silver spoon, knife, and fork, which he requested him to keep till they met.

The prince and Malcolm Macleod remained in the hut till seven o'clock in the morning, when Charles, taking the little baggage in his hand, walked out, and desired Malcolm to follow him. Macleod took the bundle out of Charles's hand, and followed him in silence till out of sight of the cow-house, when Charles taking a direction Malcolm did not like, this faithful adherent went up to him and asked him where he was going, as he was afraid that he might fall into the hands of one of the numerous military parties, who were dispersed over the island. "Why, Macleod, (replied Charles,) I now throw myself entirely into your hands, and leave you to do with me what you please; only I want to go to Strath, Mackinnon's country. I hope you will accompany me, if you think you can lead me safe enough into Strath." Malcolm declared that he would go with his royal highness wherever he pleased, and offered to bring him safe into that part of Skye which belonged to the chief of Mackinnon, provided he would consent to

⁸ Boswell's *Tour*.

go by sea; but Macleod objected to a journey over land which he considered would be attended with dangers from the soldiers. Charles, however, insisted on going by land, and observed that they could now do nothing without danger. The better to prevent a discovery, Charles proposed that he should act the part of Macleod's servant, and that he should assume the name of Lewis Caw, there being at the time a young surgeon of that name, who had been in the prince's service, skulking in Skye, where he had some relations. Observing that his scarlet tartan waistcoat with gold twist buttons, was finer than that worn by Macleod, which was of plain ordinary tartan, Charles exchanged it for Macleod's. Then taking the bag which contained his linen out of Malcolm's hands, Charles threw it over his shoulder, and set out on his perilous journey, preceded by the faithful Malcolm, who, to complete the deception, had proposed that Charles should keep up his new character of a gilly, or footman, by walking in the rear.

Strath, the country of the Mackinnons, was at a considerable distance, and the route to it which these two travellers took lay through one of the wildest and most mountainous districts of the island. Though a good pedestrian, Malcolm could scarcely keep his distance ahead of Charles, whose locomotive powers were surprising, there being few persons who could match him at walking. Alluding to his celerity of foot, he told Malcolm that provided he got out of musket-shot, he had no dread of a pursuit by English soldiers, but he had not the same confidence if chased by a party of Highland militia. He asked Malcolm what they would do in the event of meeting any person among the mountains, who might attempt to kill or take them. "That depends upon their numbers," replied Malcolm; "if there should be no more than four of them, I'll engage to manage two." "And I," rejoined Charles, "will engage to manage the other two." Malcolm, in his turn, asked Charles what they should do if attacked by a party of English soldiers, "Fight, to be sure," was the reply.

As Malcolm expected that they would fall in with some of the country people before they came to the end of their journey, by whom,

from his being well known in the island, he might be recognised, he desired Charles not to evince any anxiety when he (Malcolm) should speak to them, but remove to a short distance and sit down till the conversation ended. They met a few of these people from time to time, on which occasion Charles not only observed the injunction of Malcolm, but superadded the customary menial duty, of touching his bonnet when addressed by his supposed master. With the exception of a bottle of brandy, the two travellers appear to have had no other sustenance during their long and fatiguing journey. When reduced to a single glass, Charles urged Malcolm to take it, lest he should faint with the excessive fatigue. Malcolm refused, and insisted that the prince himself should drink it, but Charles resolutely refused, and compelled Malcolm to drain the bottle. Malcolm then hid the bottle in a thick bush of heath, where he found it about three years thereafter. Honest Macleod long preserved it "as a curious piece," which he expected would one day make a figure in Westminster.⁹

When opportunity offered, the prince and Malcolm relieved the tediousness of the journey, by conversing on a variety of topics. The conversation happening to turn upon Lord George Murray, Charles observed that his lordship, whether from ignorance or with a view to betray him, he would not say, misconducted himself in not obeying orders, and that in particular, for two or three days before the battle of Culloden, Lord George scarcely did anything he desired him to do. When Malcolm told him of the many atrocities committed after that battle, he appeared amazed, and said, "Surely that man who calls himself the duke, and pretends to be so great a general, cannot be guilty of such cruelties. I cannot believe it." Talking of the fatigues he was obliged to undergo, the prince said, "Do you not think, Macleod, that God Almighty has made this person of mine for doing some good yet? When I was in Italy, and dining at the king's (his father's) table, very often the sweat would have been coming through my coat with the heat of the climate, and now that I

⁹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 473.

am in a cold country, where the climate is more trying, and exposed to different kinds of fatigues, I really find I agree equally with both. I have had (pointing to his kilt) this philibeg on now for some days, and I find I do as well with it as any of the best breeches I ever put on. I hope in God, Macleod, to walk the streets of London with it yet."¹ A man holding such sentiments as these was not likely to be easily discouraged.

When approaching Mackinnon's bounds, Malcolm stated to the prince his apprehensions, that, disguised as he was, he was afraid he would still be recognised by some of Mackinnon's people, who had been out in his service. He, therefore, suggested that Charles should disguise himself still further. The prince then proposed to blacken his face with powder; but Macleod objected to this plan, which, he said, would tend rather to discover than to conceal him. "Then," observed Charles, "I must be put into the greatest dishabille possible;" and pulling off his wig, and putting it into his pocket, took out a dirty white napkin, which Malcolm, at his desire, tied about his head close to his eyebrows. He then put off his bennet, tore the ruffles from his shirt, and took the buckles out of his shoes, and made Macleod fasten them with strings. Charles now asked his friend if he thought he would still be recognised, and on Malcolm answering that he thought he would, Charles said, "I have so odd a face, that no man that ever saw me once but would know me again." In Malcolm's opinion, Charles, though almost a Pretens, could never disguise his majestic mien and carriage; and he declared that there was not a person who knew what the air of a noble or great man was, that would not, upon seeing the prince, however disguised he might be, at once perceive something about him that was not ordinary,—something of the stately and grand.²

They had not gone far after this conversation, when Malcolm Macleod's opinion was verified, for no sooner had the travellers entered Strath, than Charles was recognised by two men of Mackinnon's clan, who had been out in the insurrection. They stared at the prince

for a little, and on discovering him, lifted up their hands and wept bitterly. Malcolm begged that they would compose themselves, lest by showing so much concern they might discover the prince. After cautioning them not to mention the meeting to any one, he swore them to secrecy upon his naked dirk, and then dismissed them. They kept their word.

Being within two miles of the laird of Mackinnon's house, Malcolm asked him if he wished to see the old chief; "No," said Charles, "by no means. I know Mackinnon to be as good and as honest a man as any in the world; but he is not fit for my purpose at present. You must conduct me to some other house, but let it be a gentleman's house." They then proceeded, at Malcolm's suggestion, to a place called Ellagol, or rather Ellighiul, near Kilmory or Kilmaree, where they arrived in the morning after a journey of twenty-four Highland miles, being upwards of thirty English miles. At Ellagol there lived one John Mackinnon, who had served as captain under the laird of Mackinnon, and had married a sister of Malcolm. Being desirous to ascertain the state of matters in the neighbourhood before conducting Charles into the house of his brother-in-law, Malcolm left the prince at a little distance from the house, and went forward to make the necessary inquiries. He found that Mackinnon was from home; and on inferring his sister that he had come to stay a short time at Ellagol, if he could do so with safety, she assured him that he would be perfectly safe, as there were no military people about the place, and that he was very welcome. Malcolm then told her that he had nobody along with him but one Lewis Caw, son of Mr. Caw, a surgeon in Crieff, whom, being a fugitive like himself, he had engaged as his servant, but that he had fallen sick. Mrs. Mackinnon felt interested in the stranger, and requested her brother to bring him in.

Charles accordingly entered with the baggage on his back, and, taking off his bonnet, made a low bow, and sat down at a distance from Malcolm. Mrs. Mackinnon looked at the prince, and instantly her sympathy was excited. "Poor man!" she exclaimed, "I pity him. At the same time, my heart warms to a man of his appearance." Malcolm having told his

¹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, pp. 477-8.

² *Idem*, p. 490.

sister that he was almost famishing with hunger, she set before him a plentiful Highland breakfast. Charles still sitting at a respectful distance, Malcolm invited him, as there were no strangers in the house, to draw near and share with him, there being abundance for both. Charles appeared very backward to obey the summons to eat, and said that though in an humble station, he knew better how to conduct himself than by sitting at the same table with his master; but Malcolm pretended to insist upon compliance, Charles rose from his seat, made a profound bow, and advancing towards the table, sat down, and attacked the viands without farther ceremony.

In the course of their journey, Charles and his companion had fallen into a bog during the night, and as their feet and legs were still dirty, Malcolm desired the servant-maid in Gaelic, as she could not speak English, to bring some water into the room, and as he was much fatigued, to wash them. Whilst in the act of washing Macleod's feet, he said to the girl, "You see that poor sick man there. I hope you'll wash his feet too: it will be a great charity; for he has as much need as I have." "No such thing," said she, "although I wash the master's feet, I am not obliged to wash the servant's. What! he's but a low country woman's son. I will not wash his feet indeed." Malcolm, however, with much entreaty, prevailed upon the girl to wash Charles's feet and legs; but being rather rough in her treatment, he implored Malcolm to desire her not to rub so hard.³

After this operation the wearied travellers went to bed; and at the desire of Malcolm, Mrs. Mackinnon went out of the house, and sat down upon a neighbouring knoll, where she kept watch, whilst her guests remained in bed. Charles, who had thrown himself upon the bed in his clothes, slept two hours only;

³ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 482. Boswell, in his *Tour*, gives a different version of this story. "After this (breakfast) there came in an old woman, who, after the mode of ancient hospitality, brought warm water, and washed Malcolm's feet. He desired her to wash the feet of the poor man who attended him. She at first seemed averse to this from pride, as thinking him beneath her, and in the periphrastic language of the Highlanders and the Irish, said warmly, 'Though I wash your father's son's feet, why should I wash his father's son's feet?' She was, however, persuaded to do it."

but Malcolm slept much longer. When Malcolm awoke, he was surprised to find Charles out of bed dandling Mrs. Mackinnon's child, singing to it, and appearing as alert as if he had been in bed all night. He expressed a hope that the little boy—Neil Mackinnon—whom he carried in his arms, would be one day a captain in his service.

Informed that his brother-in-law was seen approaching the house, Malcolm went out to meet him. After the usual salutations, Malcolm, pointing to some ships of war that were hovering about the coast, said to Mackinnon, "What if the prince be on board one of them?" "God forbid," replied Mackinnon, "I would not wish that for anything." "What," said Malcolm, "if he were here, John? Do you think he would be safe enough?" "I wish we had him here," rejoined Mackinnon, "for he would be safe enough." Macleod, now fully assured that his brother-in-law might be confided in, said, "Well, then, he is now in your house." Mackinnon, transported with joy, was for running directly in and paying his obeisance to the prince; but Malcolm stopped him for a little, till he should recover from his surprise. "When you go in," continued Malcolm, "you must not take any notice of him, lest the servants or others observe you. He passes for one Lewis Caw, my servant." Mackinnon promised to observe faithfully the injunction given him, which he thought he would be able to fulfil; but, as soon as he entered the house, he could not avoid fixing his eyes upon Charles; and unable to repress his feelings at the spectacle he beheld, this generous and faithful Highlander, turning his face aside, burst into tears. To prevent suspicion, Mackinnon, at Malcolm's desire, left the room to compose himself.

Before being introduced to the prince, Mackinnon sent away all his servants from the house on different messages, and, during their absence, a consultation was held as to Charles's future destination. It was then resolved that he should proceed to the mainland immediately; and John Mackinnon was directed to go and hire a boat, as if for the sole use of his brother-in-law. As the laird of Mackinnon was old and infirm, and could be of little service to Charles in his present situation, Mac

kinnon was enjoined not to say anything about Charles to his chief, should he fall in with him. Meeting the old chieftain, however, on his way, Mackinnon, unable or unwilling to conceal the fact of the prince's arrival at Ellagol, disclosed the secret, and mentioned that he was going to hire a boat to carry Charles to the mainland. Gratified with the intelligence, the chief desired his clansman not to give himself any further trouble about a boat, as he would provide a good one himself, and would wait upon the prince immediately. John returned to Ellagol, and having informed Charles of the interview with the laird, the latter said that he was sorry that Mackinnon had divulged the secret; but as there was now no help for it, he would comport himself according to circumstances. In a short time the aged chief appeared, and after doing homage to the royal wanderer, conducted the prince to a neighbouring cave, where he found Lady Mackinnon, who had laid out a refreshment of cold meat and wine, of which the whole party partook.

Before the arrival of the chief, Malcolm Macleod had represented to the prince, that, being within the laird's bounds, it would be necessary to allow him to direct everything in relation to the voyage, and, to prevent a difference of opinion arising between him and the chief, he suggested the propriety of remaining behind. Charles, extremely unwilling to part with one who had rendered him such important services, insisted upon his going along with him to the mainland; but Malcolm insisting on the other hand that the measure was proper, Charles, with much reluctance, consented to part with the faithful Macleod.

About eight o'clock at night the party left the cave, and proceeded towards the place where the boat lay. In their way they observed two English men-of-war standing in for the island, before the wind, under a press of sail. Malcolm thereupon entreated the prince to defer his voyage till such time, at least, as these vessels should take another course, more particularly as the wind was against him; but Charles disregarded the admonition, and observed, that after so many escapes, he had no apprehensions of being caught at that time; that Providence would still take care of him; and

that he had no doubt of obtaining a favourable wind immediately. Recollecting his sham appointment with Murdoch Macleod, for not keeping which Malcolm promised to make his apology, Charles thought the least thing he could do was to notify his departure, which he accordingly did, by writing him a short note, delivering it to Malcolm.⁴ He then desired Malcolm to light his pipe, as he wished to enjoy a smoke with him before parting. Snapping his gun, Malcolm, by means of the flash in the pan, lighted some tow which he held at the mouth of the pipe whilst Charles blew it. As the pipe was extremely short, Charles's cheek was scorched with the blaze of the tow. At parting, Charles presented him with a silver stock-buckle, and then embracing Malcolm in his arms, saluted him twice, and begging God to bless him, put ten guineas into his hand. Malcolm at first positively refused to accept the money, as he perceived that the prince's purse was much exhausted; but Charles insisted upon his taking it, and assuring him that he would get enough for all his wants upon the mainland, Malcolm yielded. Having procured a better pipe, Charles presented the one with which he had been smoking to Malcolm, who preserved it with great care.⁵

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of Friday, the 4th of July, the prince de-

⁴ The following is a copy of the note :—

"SIR,—I thank God I am in good health, and have got off as designed. Remember me to all friends, and thank them for the trouble they have been at.—I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"JAMES THOMSON."

"ELLIGHIUL, July 4th, 1746."

⁵ This 'cutty,' as a small tobacco-pipe, almost worn to the stump, is called in Scotland, was presented by Malcolm, when at London, to Dr. Burton of York, a fellow-prisoner, who got a fine shagreen case made for it.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 487. Mr. Boswell gives the following sketch of this worthy Highlander in his Tour to the Hebrides: "He was now (1774) sixty-two years of age, hale and well proportioned, with a manly countenance, tanned by the weather, yet having a ruddiness in his cheeks, over a great part of which his rough beard extended. His eye was quick and lively, yet his look was not fierce; but he appeared at once firm and good-humoured. He wore a pair of brogues, tartan hose which came up nearly to his knees, a purple camblet kilt, a black waistcoat, a short green cloth coat bound with gold cord, a yellow bushy wig, a large blue bonnet with a gold thread button. I never saw a figure which gave a more perfect representation of a Highland gentleman. I wished much to have a picture of him just as he was. I found him frank and polite in the true sense of the word."

parted for the mainland, accompanied by the chief and John Mackinnon. The observation of Charles, that he would obtain a fair wind after putting to sea, had made a deep impression upon the superstitious mind of the generous Malcolm, who accordingly sat down upon the side of a hill to watch the expected change, which, according to him, took place very soon, for the crew had not rowed the boat half a mile from the shore in the direction of the ships, before the wind chopped about, and whilst it favoured the prince, drove the men-of-war out of sight.¹

After a rough voyage, the party reached a place called Little Mallag or Malleck, on the south side of Loch Nevis between Morar and Knoydart, distant about thirty miles from the place where they had embarked. At sea they met a boat, containing some armed militia. No attempt was made to board, and a few words were exchanged in passing. Charles's visit to Skye soon became public, and the fact of his having been harboured and protected by certain persons in that island could not be disguised. Malcolm Macleod's connexion with the prince being reported, he was apprehended a few days after Charles's departure for the mainland, put on board a ship, and conveyed to London, where he remained a prisoner till the 1st of July, 1747, when he was discharged without being asked a single question. Kingsburgh also was taken up and conveyed to Fort Augustus, where, after being plundered of his shoe-buckles, garters, watch, and money, he was thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. He was discharged by mistake for another person of the same name, but was brought back, and afterwards conveyed to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle, in which he remained till the 4th of July, in the same year.

Flora Macdonald was also apprehended about the same time by a party of militia, while on her way to the house of Donald Macdonald of Castleton in Skye, who had sent her notice that Macleod of Talisker, an officer of an independent company, had requested him to send for her. She was put on board the Furnace Bomb, and afterwards removed to Commodore Smith's sloop, and treated with

great kindness and attention by him and General Campbell. She was confined a short time in Dunstaffnage castle. After being conveyed from place to place, she was put on board the Royal Sovereign, lying at the Nore, on the 28th of November, and carried up to London on the 6th of December following, where she remained in confinement till July in the following year, when she was discharged, at the especial request—according to the tradition of her family—of Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III., without a single question having been put to her. After her liberation, Miss Macdonald was invited to the house of Lady Primrose, a zealous Jacobite lady, where she was visited by a number of distinguished persons, who loaded her with presents. She and Malcolm Macleod returned to Scotland together in a post-chaise provided by Lady Primrose, and, on their way, paid a visit to Dr. Burton at York, who had been previously liberated from jail. This gentleman having asked Malcolm his opinion of the prince, the trusty Highlander replied, that "he was the most cautious man he ever saw, not to be a coward, and the bravest, not to be rash." Few persons, now-a-days, will be disposed to concur in this eulogium, for though personally brave, Charles was extremely rash and inconsiderate.²

² The subsequent history of the estimable Flora Macdonald may be stated in a few words. After her return to Skye, she married, in 1750, young Macdonald of Kingsburgh, whom she accompanied to North Carolina, America, probably in 1774. Young Kingsburgh joined the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, embodied in 1775, but was taken prisoner in 1776 and committed to Halifax gaol. He afterwards served with the regiment in Canada, holding the rank of captain, and, at the close of the war, returned to Scotland on half-pay. The vessel in which Flora and her husband sailed was attacked by a French privateer, and while Flora, with characteristic spirit, stood on deck, animating the seamen, she was thrown down and had her arm broken. The wanderers, however, arrived in Skye, and never afterwards left it. Flora died on the 4th of March 1790, aged 68, and was interred in the churchyard of Kilmuir, in a spot set apart for the graves of the Kingsburgh family. Kingsburgh died on the 20th September 1795. Flora had seven children—five sons and two daughters; the sons all became officers in the army, and the daughters officers' wives. Dr Johnson and Boswell visited Skye in the autumn of 1773, and were entertained at Kingsburgh house by Flora and her husband. Flora, then aged about 51, is described by Johnson as a woman of middle stature, soft features, gentle manners, and elegant presence; and by Boswell as "a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well-bred."—See Carruthers' Edition of Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 143.

¹ True Journal, p. 47.

As parties of the military were known to be stationed at a short distance from the place where Charles and his party landed, they were afraid to leave it, and slept three nights in the open air on the banks of Loch Nevis. On the fourth day the old laird and one of the boatmen ventured a little way into the country in quest of a place of concealment; and the prince, along with John Mackinnon and the other three boatmen, proceeded up the loch close to the shore. In turning a point, they unexpectedly came upon a boat tied to a rock, and so near as to touch her with their oars. This boat belonged to a militia party who were seen standing on the shore, and were at once recognised by their badge, which was a red cross on their bonnets. This party immediately hailed the boat, and demanded to know whence they came. The boatmen answered that they were from Sleat. The militiamen then ordered the boat to come ashore; but the boatmen continuing to row, the military jumped into their boat and gave chase. Charles, who lay in the bottom of the boat with John Mackinnon's plaid spread over him, wished to get up and attempt to escape by jumping ashore, but Mackinnon would not allow him, as he considered the experiment very dangerous. During the pursuit, Charles, who was anxious to know the relative progress of the two boats, kept up a conversation with the trusty Highlander, who assured him from time to time that the pursuers did not gain upon them. Both parties were equal in point of numbers; and as Mackinnon contemplated the possibility of the militiamen overtaking them, he directed the boatmen to keep their muskets close by them, but not to fire till he should give the word of command by firing first. "Be sure, (said John,) to take an aim. Mark well, and there is no fear. We will be able to manage these rogues, if we come to engage them." Charles, begging that no lives might be sacrificed without an absolute necessity, Mackinnon said he would not fire if it could be avoided; but if compelled to do so in self-defence, their own preservation required that none of the assailants should escape to tell the news of their disaster. Observing a wood at some distance which reached down to the water, Mackinnon directed the boatmen to pull in that

direction; and on reaching the shore, the prince, followed by Mackinnon and one of the boatmen, sprang out of the boat, and plunging into the wood, nimbly ascended the hill. The alarm into which they had been thrown gave place to feelings of a very different description, when, on reaching the summit of the hill, they perceived their pursuers returning from their fruitless chase.³

Finding himself much fatigued, Charles slept three hours on this eminence, and returning down the hill, crossed the loch to a small island near the seat of Macdonald of Scotchouse. Understanding that old Clanranald was there on a visit, Charles sent Mackinnon to solicit his protection, but the old chief positively refused to receive him. Upon Mackinnon's return the party repassed the loch, and returned to Mallag, where they rejoined the old laird. After refreshing themselves, they set out for the seat of Macdonald of Morar, about eight miles distant. In crossing the promontory between Loch Nevis and Loch Morar they passed a shieling, or cottage, where they observed some people coming down towards the road. Afraid that he would be known, the prince made John Mackinnon fold his plaid for him, and threw it over his shoulder with his knapsack upon it. To disguise himself still further, he tied a handkerchief about his head. In this attire Charles passed for Mackinnon's servant. A grandson of Macdonald of Scotchouse, who was at the shieling, gave the party a draught of milk. At another shieling they procured another draught; and, as the night was dark and the road bad, they took a guide along with them to conduct them across the ford to Morar's house. When they came to this ford, an amusing occurrence took place. Mackinnon, desirous to keep Charles dry in crossing, desired the guide to be so good as carry "this poor sick fellow," (pointing to the prince,) upon his back across the ford, as it was then pretty deep; but the guide indignantly answered, "The deil be on the back he comes, or any fellow of a servant like him; but I'll take *you* on my back, Sir, if you please, and carry you safely through the ford." "No, by no means," said Mackinnon, "if the lad

³ *Jacobite Memoirs*, pp. 483-90, 492.

must wade, I'll wado along with him, and help him, lest any harm should happen to him;" on saying which, he laid hold of Charles's arm, and they crossed the ford together. Both Charles and Mackinnon were pleased to find that the guide had no suspicion that the pretended sick person was the prince.

A little before day-break the party arrived at the end of their journey, but were disappointed to find that the mansion, where they expected to meet with a hospitable reception, had been burnt to the ground, and that its proprietor had been obliged to take up his abode in a bothy or hut in the neighbourhood. Morar, who had acted as lieutenant-colonel of Clanranald's regiment, gave the prince a hearty welcome. Having entertained Charles and his party, he conducted them to a cayo for security, and went off in quest of young Clanranald, whom the prince was most anxious to see. After some hours' absence Morar returned, and, reporting that he could not find Clanranald, Charles told him that as he had failed in meeting with that young chief, he would put himself under Morar's charge. According to Mackinnon's statement, Morar declined to take such a responsibility upon him, and even declared that he did not know any person to whose care he could commit Charles's person. The prince, stung by the altered demeanour of Morar, thus accosted him: "This is very hard. You were very kind yesternight, Morar! and said you could find out a hiding-place, proof against all the search of the enemy's forces; and now you say you can do nothing at all for me! You can travel to no place but what I will travel to; no eatables or drinkables can you take but what I can take a share along with you, and be well content with them, and even pay handsomely for them. When fortune smiled upon me and I had pay to give, I then found some people ready enough to serve me; but now that fortune frowns on me, and I have no pay to give, they forsake me in my necessity." The chief of Mackinnon and his clansman were highly indignant at Morar, and insisted that he must have seen young Clanranald, and that he had been advised to his present course, but Morar resolutely denied the charge. Charles in great distress exclaimed, "O God Almighty! look down upon

my circumstanees, and pity me; for I am in a most melancholy situation. Some of those who joined me at first, and appeared to be fast friends, now turn their backs upon me in my greatest need: and some of those again who refused to join me, and stood at a distance, are now among my best friends; for it is remarkable that those of Sir Alexander Macdonald's following have been most faithful to me in my distress, and contributed greatly to my preservation." Then turning round to Mackinnon, he said, "I hope, Mr. Mackinnon, you will not desert me too, and leave me in the lurch; but that you will do all for my preservation you can." The old laird, thinking that these words were meant for him, said, with tears in his eyes, "I never will leave your royal highness in the day of danger; but will, under God, do all I can for you, and go with you wherever you order me."—"Oh no!" rejoined Charles, "that is too much for one of your advanced years, Sir; I heartily thank you for your readiness to take care of me, as I am well satisfied of your zeal for me and my cause; but one of your age cannot well hold out with the fatigues and dangers I must undergo. It was to your friend John here, a stout young man, I was addressing myself."—"Well then," said John, "with the help of God, I will go through the wide world with your royal highness, if you desire me."⁴

Disappointed in his inquiries after Clanranald, and unsuccessful, if John Mackinnon's statement be correct, in his application to Morar, Charles resolved to go to Borodale, and solicit the assistance of "honest old Æneas Macdonald." Accordingly, after taking leave of the laird of Mackinnon, Charles set off for Borodale, accompanied by John Mackinnon, under the direction of a boy, a son of Morar, as guide. The party reached Borodale, on the morning of the 10th of July, before day-break. As was the case at Morar, the house of the proprietor had been burnt by a body of troops, under Captain Ferguson, and Borodale was residing in a hut hard by the ruins of his mansion. Borodale was in bed when Charles arrived, and the door was shut. Mackinnon called upon Borodale to rise, who, knowing his voice, got up, and

⁴ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 494.

throwing some blankets about him, went to the door. Maekinnon asked him if he had heard any thing of the prince. "No," replied the old gentleman. "What would you give," rejoined John, "for a sight of him?" "Time was," said the warm-hearted Highlander, "that I would have given a hearty bottle to see him safe; but since I see you I expect to hear some news of him." "Well, then," replied Maekinnon, "I have brought him here, and will commit him to your charge. I have done my duty, do you yours." "I am glad of it," said Borodale, "and shall not fail to take care of him: I shall lodge him so secure that all the forces in Britain shall not find him out." John Maekinnon then took his leave, and returned to Ellagol; but he had scarcely reached his house when he was apprehended by a party of militia, and along with his chief, who was also captured by another party at Morar, the morning after Charles's departure, conveyed to London, and kept in confinement till July, 1747.

Borodale conducted his guest to a hut in a neighbouring wood, where he entertained him in the best manner he could for three days, and in the meantime, Charles despatched John Maedonald, junior, one of Borodale's sons, with a letter to Alexander Maedonald of Glenaladale, who had been in his service as Major of the Clanranald regiment.⁵ Receiving, shortly after this express had been sent, information of the laird of Maekinnon's capture, and judging that his residence in the wood was not safe, Borodale, accompanied by his son Ronald, who had been a lieutenant in Clanranald's own company, conducted Charles to an almost inaccessible cave four miles eastward, in which he directed him to remain till Glenaladale should arrive.

Charles's letter was punctually delivered to Glenaladale, who, two days after it was written, viz. on the 15th of July, met Borodale at an appointed place, and paid a visit to Charles. Next day Borodale received a letter from his son-in-law, Angus Mac Eachan, residing in the glen of Morar, who had served as surgeon to Glengarry's regiment, informing him that a rumour was beginning to prevail in the country, that the prince was in concealment about Boro-

dale; and representing the danger Charles would be in, by remaining on Borodale's lands any longer, he offered him a more secure asylum, in a place he had prepared for him. Before accepting this offer, Ronald Maedonald was sent to reconnoitre the place. Next day, John Maedonald was despatched to view the coast, and ascertain the motions of the military; and having brought intelligence that he saw a boat approaching that part of the coast where the grotto was situated, Charles, without waiting for the return of Ronald Maedonald, immediately left the cave, and set off for the glen of Morar, to the place prepared for him. He was accompanied by Glenaladale, Borodale, and John Maedonald junior, son of the latter. They were met, at a place called Corrybeine Cabir, by Borodale's son-in-law, who informed Charles that Clanranald was waiting a few miles off, to conduct him to a safe place of concealment he had prepared for him. Charles would have proceeded to meet Clanranald, but as the evening was far advanced, and as he was much nearer his intended quarters in Glen Morar than the place where Clanranald was, he proceeded onward, intending to communicate with him next day.

Borodale, who had proceeded to Glen Morar in advance of the party to procure some necessaries, received information, on his arrival there, that some men-of-war with troops on board, under General Campbell, had anchored in Loeh Nevis. He thereupon despatched two men to Loeh Nevis, by way of Loeh Morar, to observe General Campbell's movements, and having received farther intelligence, that Captain Scott had arrived with a party in the lower part of Arisaig, he returned to Charles, and communicated to him the information he had received. Being assured that Charles was upon one of the promontories betwixt Loeh Hourn and Loeh Shiel, the English commanders had formed a chain of posts across the heads of these and the intermediate arms of the sea, so as to intercept him should he attempt to escape by land into the interior; and to catch him, should he venture to return to the islands, cruizers and boats were stationed at the mouths of the lochs. The sentinels along this line, which extended to the length of thirty miles, were placed so near one another in the day

⁵ Author of the Journal and Memoirs, printed among the Lockhart papers, beginning at p. 579.

time, that no person could pass without being seen by them, and at night fires were lighted at every post, and the opposite sentinels passed, and re-passed one another, from fire to fire. To cross such a chain during the day was quite impossible, nor did a passage by night appear more practicable.

Finding thus, that Clanranald's country was wholly surrounded by the government troops, and that he would not be able to join that chief, Charles resolved to leave it immediately. To lessen the risk of discovery, by reducing the number of his companions, he took leave of Borodale and his son-in-law, and attended by Glenaladale, his brother Lieutenant John Macdonald, who had been an officer in the French service, and John Macdonald junior, Borodale's son, set out in the morning of the 18th of July, and by mid-day reached the summit of a hill called Scoorvuy, at the eastern extremity of Arisaig. Here they rested and took some refreshment, and Glenaladale's brother was then despatched to Glenfinnan, to obtain intelligence, and to direct two men whom Glenaladale had stationed there, to join the prince about ten o'clock at night, on the top of a hill called Swernink Corrichan, above Loch Arkaig in Lochiell's country. After Lieutenant John Macdonald's departure, Charles set out with his two remaining companions, and at two o'clock came to the top of a neighbouring hill, called Fruigh-vein. Observing some cattle in motion, Glenaladale went forward to ascertain the cause, and found that these cattle belonged to some of his own tenants, who were driving them away out of the reach of a body of 600 or 700 troops, who had come to the head of Loch Arkaig, to hem in the prince. As Charles and his friends meant to pass in that direction, they were greatly disconcerted at this intelligence, and resolved to alter their course. Glenaladale sent one of his tenants to Glenfinnan, which was only about a mile off, to recall his brother and the two men; and at the same time he sent another messenger for Donald Cameron of Glenpean, who had removed with his effects to a neighbouring hill, on the approach of the troops, that he might ascertain from him the situation of the troops about Fort Augustus, and to obtain his assistance in

conducting the prince through the chain of posts. As they waited the return of the messengers, one of the tenants' wives, regretting the condition of Glenaladale her lordlord, and desirous of giving him some refreshment, milked some of her cows, and brought the milk to him. Observing the woman approaching, Charles covered his head with a handkerchief, and passed for one of Glenaladale's servants, who had got a headach. Though this refreshment, from the excessive heat of the day, was very seasonable, yet they would have gladly dispensed with the obtrusive kindness of the warm-hearted female. That Charles might participate in the present, without observation from the donor, Glenaladale prevailed upon her, though with some difficulty, to retire, and leave her dish behind.

After a short absence the messenger who had been despatched to Glenfinnan returned without finding Glenaladale's brother, or the two men who had, before his arrival there, departed for the appointed place of rendezvous. He brought the alarming intelligence, that a hundred of the Argyleshire militia had arrived at the foot of the hill on which the prince now stood. Without waiting for the return of the other messenger, the party set out about sunset on their hazardous attempt. They travelled at a pretty quick pace till about eleven o'clock at night; when passing through a hollow way between two hills, they observed a man coming down one of them in their direction. Charles and young Macdonald kept behind, and Glenaladale went forward to ascertain whether this person was friend or foe. Strange to tell, the suspected individual was Donald Cameron of Glenpean, the very person whom, of all others, Glenaladale wished to see. He was immediately conducted to Charles, to whom he communicated such information as he had obtained about the government troops.

Undertaking to guide the prince and his companions past the guards, Cameron conducted them over roads almost impassable in day-light; and after travelling all night, they arrived about four o'clock in the morning of the 19th of July, on the top of a hill in the braes of Loch Arkaig, called Mambyn-Callum, from which they could perceive the enemy's camp about a mile distant. Being informed

by their guide, that the hill on which they now stood had been searched the previous day, they supposed there would not be a second search for some time, and they therefore resolved to remain on the hill all the day. They lay down to rest, and after sleeping two hours, the whole party, with the exception of Charles, rose to keep watch. About ten o'clock they observed a man at a little distance coming up the hill. As there was a probability that Cameron, being generally acquainted with the inhabitants of that part of the country, might know this person, he was sent forward to speak

with him, and was agreeably surprised to find that he was no other than Glenaladale's brother, who not meeting the prince at the place appointed, had become alarmed for his safety, and was in search of him.

The whole party remained on the top of the hill all the day, and about nine o'clock at night set out in a southern direction. About one o'clock in the morning they came to a place called Corrinangaul, on the confines of Knoydart and Loeh Arkaig, where Cameron expected to have met some of the Loeh Arkaig people, who had fled with their cattle on the approach



Loch Arkaig.—Achnacarry, seat of Cameron of Lochiel, in middle distance.

of the soldiery. Cameron had calculated on getting a supply of provisions from these people, as the prince and his party had only a small quantity of butter and oatmeal, which they could not prepare for want of fire. Perceiving some huts down the face of the hill, Glenaladale's brother and the guide, at the risk of being observed by some of the sentinels who were going their rounds, ventured down to them, in expectation of meeting some of the country people, and obtaining a supply of provisions; but they found these shielings uninhabited. Judging themselves no longer safe

on the top of the hill, the whole party shifted their quarters, and went to a fastness in the brow of a hill at the head of Lechnaigh, about a mile distant from the troops. They lay down in this retreat to take some rest. With the exception of Charles, they all awoke after a short repose; and it was resolved that, dangerous as the experiment might be, Glenaladale's brother and the guide should again go in quest of provisions, of which they now stood in very great need. Leaving, therefore, Glenaladale, and Borodale's son to stand sentry over Charles, they set off, while it was yet dark, on

their errand. The place which the weary wanderers had chosen for their nocturnal abode commanded a view of the lake, and when the sun rose, Charles and his friends observed the enemy's camp at the head of Lochnaigh. They would have gladly removed to a greater distance, but they resolved to wait for the return of the foraging party, who arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon, with two small cheeses, which were all the provisions they could procure. They also brought the alarming intelligence, that about a hundred soldiers were marching up the opposite side of the hill to search for some of the country people, who were supposed to have fled thither for shelter.

As it was not improbable that this party would in the course of their examination find out the place where Charles and his friends lay concealed, the most direful apprehensions must have seized the minds of the unhappy fugitives. Seeing no possibility of leaving their retreat without observation, whilst the soldiers were on the hill, they resolved to remain and abide the result. The soldiers made a general and narrow search all around, but fortunately did not come to the place where the wanderers lay. After the search was over the soldiers returned to their camp; and about eight o'clock in the evening Charles and his friends left their place of concealment, and, travelling at a very quick pace till it became dark, ascended a steep hill called Drimachosi, on arriving at the top of which, they observed the fires of a camp directly in their front, which in passing onward they imagined they could scarcely avoid. Determined, however, to make the attempt, whatever might be the consequences, they proceeded forward, and came so near the posts as to hear the soldiers talking together.

In passing over the top of this mountain Charles made a very narrow escape. Down a steep and pathless descent a small stream glided, the waters of which spreading among a mixture of grass and heath, with which the descent was covered, rendered it slippery, and of course very dangerous. When about to descend, Charles's foot slipped, and he would have undoubtedly fallen headlong down the precipice, and been dashed to pieces, had not Cameron, who preceded him, seized him by one of his

arms, and held him fast with one hand, whilst, with the other, he laid hold of the heath to prevent both from tumbling down together. In this situation, Cameron held Charles till Glenaladale came down, who, laying hold of the prince's other arm, rescued him from his danger. Arriving at the bottom, they crept up the next hill, and, on reaching its summit, perceived the fires of another camp at the foot of the hill, directly in the way they intended to go down.

To pass this post seemed to be an undertaking utterly hopeless, and certain destruction appeared inevitable in the attempt; yet extremely dangerous as it was, the party resolved to make it. Unwilling, however, to expose the prince to such great risk, before putting the practicability of the measure to the test, Cameron, entirely regardless of his own safety, proposed to make the experiment himself before Charles ventured to pass. "If I succeed," said the generous Highlander, "and return safe, then your royal highness may venture, and I shall conduct you." At this time Cameron's nose began to itch,—a circumstance which was regarded by Donald as a dangerous omen. Whilst rubbing his nose, he could not avoid stating his apprehensions to Charles; but these superstitious fears did not divert him from his purpose. Cameron accordingly went forward, and, in a short time, returned to his companions with the agreeable information that he had entirely succeeded. No doubt now existing of the practicability and even the safety of the attempt, the whole party set off about two o'clock in the morning. Turning a little westward, Cameron conducted them to the channel of a small brook, through which they crept on their hands and feet to escape observation; and watching their opportunity when the backs of the sentinels were turned towards one another, quietly passed between them. After they were out of danger from the guards, Charles came up to Glenpean, and jocularly said to him, "Well, Donald, how does your nose do now?" "It is better now," answered Cameron, "but it still yucks (itches) a little." "Aye, Donald," rejoined the prince, as if taking the hint, "have we still more guards to go through?"

Having thus fortunately cleared the line

posts, the party proceeded in their course, and, at about the distance of two miles, came to a place called Corriscorridill, on the Glenelg side of the head of Loch Hourn, where they stopped, and, having chosen a secure place, sat down and took some refreshment. They had no bread; but Charles supplied the deficiency by covering a slice of the dry cheese with oatmeal. He partook of this coarse fare cheerfully, and washed it down with some water from a neighbouring spring. They remained in this retreat till eight o'clock in the evening.

It being now evident that Charles could not remain with any chance of safety in the West Highlands, Glenaladale proposed, that instead of going eastward, as Charles intended, he should proceed north into Ross-shire, and seek an asylum among that part of the Mackenzies who had not joined in the insurrection, and whose territory had not, on that account, been visited by the military. Charles resolved to adopt the advice of his kind friend; and as Cameron was unacquainted with the route, he and Glenaladale left the covert to look out for a guide. Before they had gone far, however, they were astonished to find that they had passed all the day within cannon-shot of two little camps, and they perceived, at the same time, a company of soldiers driving some sheep into a hut, for the purpose, as they supposed, of being slaughtered. Returning to their place of concealment, they apprised Charles of their discovery; and as no time was to be lost in providing for their safety, the whole party immediately set off, and about three o'clock next morning, July the 27th, reached Glenshiel, in the Earl of Seaforth's country. As their small stock of provisions was exhausted, Glenaladale and Borodale's son went forward in quest of a supply, and to find out a guide to conduct them to Pollew, where it was reported some French vessels had been. Whilst Glenaladale was conversing with some country people about a guide, a Glengarry man, who had been chased that morning by a party of soldiers from Glengarry, after they had killed his father, came running up. This man, who had served in the prince's army, was recognised at once by Glenaladale, and as he knew him to be trustworthy, he resolved to keep him in reserve as a guide, in case they should be obliged to

change their plan, and to remain about Glengarry. Having procured some provisions, Glenaladale and his companion returned to Charles, and after the whole party had partaken of the food, they retired to the face of an adjacent hill, and lay down to rest in a cave. They slept till between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, when Cameron, who had acted so faithfully, took his leave, as he was unacquainted with that part of the country. After Cameron's departure, Glenaladale, observing the Glengarry man returning to his own country, stepped out of the cave and prevailed upon him to remain in a by-place for a short time, as he said he had something to communicate to him. Glenaladale, on his return, stated his plan to Charles, which was to keep the Glengarry man without explaining to him any thing, till such time as he could ascertain whether he could depend upon getting a guide to Pollew, failing which he would retain the Glengarry man. Charles approved of what Glenaladale had done. About seven o'clock, Glenaladale repaired to a place where he had appointed a man, who had promised to procure a guide, to meet him, and having found this person, was informed by him that he could not get one, and that the only French vessel that had touched at Pollew had gone away. Glenaladale, therefore, dismissed this person, and returning to Charles, informed him of what had passed. They then gave up the idea of proceeding farther into Ross-shire, and the Glengarry man, having been introduced to the prince, cheerfully undertook to conduct him to Strathglass or Glenmoriston, to either of which districts he intended, according to circumstances, to shape his course.⁶

⁶ Mr. Home mentions an interview with one Macraw in the Braes of Kintail, which is not even alluded to in the narrative of the prince's escape, drawn up by Glenaladale and others, and printed among the *Lockhart Papers*. If such an interview took place, its omission can only be fairly accounted for by supposing that the writer of that part of the narrative (Captain Alexander Maedonald, a younger brother of the Laird of Dalley,) was not aware of it. The following is Mr. Home's account of this affair:—

“After having crossed the line of posts, Glenaladale, thinking the West Highlands a very unsafe place for Charles, resolved to conduct him to the Ross-shire Highlands, amongst those Mackenzies who remained loyal, and therefore were not visited with troops. These Mackenzies, Glenaladale thought, would not betray Charles; and the person whom he had pitched upon to confide in was Sir Alexander Mackenzie of

Accordingly the whole party, accompanied by their new guide, set out through Glenshiel at a late hour; but they had not proceeded more than half-a-mile, when Glenaladale stopped short, and, clapping his hand upon his side, declared that his purse, containing 40 guineas, which the prince had given him for defraying expenses, was gone. Thinking that he had left it at their last resting place, Glenaladale proposed to go back in quest of it, and desired the prince to remain behind an adjacent hill till he returned; but Charles was averse to the proposal, though the purse contained his whole stock of money. Glenaladale, however, went back along with Borodale's son, and, on arriving at their last resting place, found the purse, but its contents were gone. Recollecting that a little boy had been at the place with a present of milk from a person whom Glenaladale had visited, he supposed that the boy might have taken away the purse, and he and his companion proceeded to the house of Gilchrist M'Rath, the person alluded to, and found the boy, who, as he had conjectured, had stolen the purse of gold. By means of Gilchrist, the money was restored to Glenaladale, with the exception of a trifle.

The temporary loss of the purse was a very

Coul. Charles and his attendants, setting out for Ross-shire on foot, suffered greatly in their journey from want of provisions; and when they came to the Bracs of Kintail, inhabited by the Macraws, a barbarous people, among whom there are but few gentlemen, necessity obliged them to call at the house of one Christopher Macraw. Glenaladale, leaving Charles and the French officer at some distance, went to Macraw's house, and told him that he and two of his friends were like to perish for want of food, and desired him to furnish them with some victuals, for which they would pay. Macraw insisted upon knowing who his two friends were, which Glenaladale seemed unwilling to tell. Macraw still insisted, and Glenaladale told him at last that it was young Clan Ronald and a relation of his. Notwithstanding the consequence of the persons, Macraw, though rich for an ordinary Highlander, made Glenaladale pay very dear for some provisions he gave him. Having received the money, he grew better humoured, and desired Glenaladale and the other two to pass the night in his house, which they did. In the course of the conversation they talked of the times, and Macraw exclaimed against the Highlanders who had taken arms with Charles, and said that they and those who still protected him were fools and madmen; that they ought to deliver themselves and their country from distress by giving him up, and taking the reward which government had offered. That night a Macdonald who had been in the rebel army came to Macraw's house. At first sight he knew Charles, and took an opportunity of warning Glenaladale to take care that Christopher should not discover the quality of his guest."

fortunate occurrence for Charles and his friends, as, during Glenaladale's absence, an officer and two privates passed close by the place where Charles stood, having come by the very road he and his party had intended to proceed. As they went in the direction taken by Glenaladale and his companion, Charles grew very uneasy about his friends, lest they should, on their return, meet with this party; but returning by a different way, they rejoined the prince without interruption. Charles was overjoyed at the return of his friend; and, with reference to his late providential escape, observed, "Glenaladale, my hour, I see, is not come; for I believe I should not be taken though I had a mind to it." The party now continued their journey. In passing over the field of Glenshiel, the Glengarry man entertained Charles with an account of the action which happened there in 1719. Charles, it is said, could not help admiring the sagacity of his guide, who, though he had not been in the battle, gave as circumstantial and accurate an account of it as if he had been present.⁷

Travelling all night, Charles and his friends arrived on the side of a hill above Strathchluaine, where, fixing upon a secure place of retreat, they reposed till near three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, viz., 28th of July. They then continued their journey along the hill-side; but they had not travelled above a mile when they heard the firing of small arms on the hill above them, which they judged to proceed from some of the troops who were engaged in their usual occupation of shooting the people who had fled to the mountains with their cattle and effects. To avoid these bloodhounds the party took a northern route, and ascended a high hill between the Braes of Glenmoriston and Strathglass. They reached the summit of this mountain at a late hour, and sought repose for the night in an open cave, in which they could neither lie nor sleep. They had no fuel, and as they were wet to the skin with a heavy rain which fell during the whole of the day, they passed a most uncomfortable night. Charles felt himself very cold, and he endeavoured to warm himself by smoking a pipe.

⁷ *Kirkconnel MS.*

Resolving again to go to Pollew, Glenaladale's brother and the Glengarry man were despatched, about three o'clock in the morning of the 29th, in quest of some trusty persons to conduct the prince thither, and were appointed to meet Charles and the rest of the party on the top of a neighbouring hill. Charles and his friends set off about five o'clock, and, after a walk of two hours; reached the top of the appointed hill, where they met the guide, who stated that he was directed by some proper persons he had found out, to desire Glenaladale to repair to a hill in the Braes of Glenmoriston, called Corambian, where they promised to come at an appointed hour with some victuals. The persons alluded to were a party of seven men, who, having been engaged in the insurrection, had formed themselves into a sort of predatory fraternity; intending, perhaps, to resume their former habits of industry when the persecutions of the government ceased. These had taken up their abode in a romantic cave on the side of Corambian, and seldom removed to any considerable distance from their rocky den, unless compelled by the necessity of providing for their immediate wants.

As directed, Charles and his friends proceeded to Corambian, and when they came near the cave, Glenaladale and the guide went forward, leaving Charles and the other two Macdonalds at a little distance. All the inmates of the den were present except one, and having killed a sheep that day, had just sat down to dinner. Glenaladale said he was glad to see them so well provided, and they invited him to sit down and share with them. He then said he had a friend with him, outside, for whom he must beg the same favour. Being asked by them who the friend was, he answered that it was young Clanranald, his chief. Nobody could be more welcome, they said, than the young chief; and they added, that they were willing to purchase food for him at the point of their swords. Glenaladale then left the cave and brought in Charles, who, being immediately recognised by its residents, had every respect shown him by these men, who fell on their knees before him. It is almost unnecessary to add, that Charles, who had scarcely tasted food for forty-eight hours, made ample amends for his long fast. After

dinner, Charles's entertainers made up a bed for him of ferns and tops of heath, on which he was soon lulled asleep by the gentle murmurs of a purling stream that ran through the grotto close to his bedside.

The dress which Charles wore at this time is thus described by Mr. Home, who obtained his information from Hugh Chisholm, one of the seven persons who were in the cave at the time Charles resided in it.⁸ Upon his head he had a wretched yellow wig and a bonnet, and about his neck a clouted handkerchief. He wore a coat of coarse, dark-coloured cloth, a Stirling tartan vest, much worn, a pretty good belted plaid, tartan hose, and Highland bregues tied with thongs, so much worn that they would scarcely stick upon his feet. His shirt, the only one he had, was of the colour of saffron. The inhabitants of the cave had no change of dress to offer their guest; but an incident occurred which enabled them to supply his wants. Hearing that a detachment of government troops, under Lord George Sackville, was marching from Fort-Augustus to Strathglass, and knowing that they must pass at no great distance from their abode, the robbers resolved to make an attempt upon their baggage. For this purpose they placed themselves between two hills, near the road to Strathglass, where, free from observation, they awaited the detachment. It soon appeared, and after it had passed, the Highlanders fired at some officers' servants, who were a considerable distance behind, and, rushing down upon them, seized and carried off some portmanteaus, in which they found every thing that Charles stood in need of.

The search for Charles, which had hitherto been pursued with the most persevering assiduity, now began to slacken, in consequence of an occurrence, which, it was supposed, rendered further search unnecessary. Among other persons who had joined Charles at Edinburgh, there was a young man of respectable family, named Roderick Mackenzie. He had

⁸ Chisholm was at Edinburgh many years after the rebellion, and was visited by several persons out of curiosity, some of whom gave him money. In shaking hands with his benefactors he always gave the left hand, and excused himself for offering that hand by stating that as he had shaken hands at parting with the prince, he was resolved never to give his right hand to any man till he saw the prince again.

served as one of the prince's life-guards. Being about the same ago as Charles, tall and somewhat slender, like the prince, and with features resembling, in some degree, those of Charles, he might, with ordinary observers, who had not been accustomed to see them together, have passed for the prince. As he could not venture with safety to Edinburgh, where he had two maiden sisters living, he fled to the Highlands after the battle of Culloden, and, while skulking among the hills of Glenmoriston, was surprised by a party of soldiers, about the middle of July. Mackenzie endeavoured to escape; but being overtaken, he turned round upon his pursuers, and, drawing his sword, bravely defended himself. He was shot by one of the soldiers, and as he fell, he exclaimed, "You have killed your prince! you have killed your prince!" and immediately expired. Overjoyed at their supposed good fortune, the soldiers cut off the young man's head, and hurried to Fort-Augustus with their prize. The Duke of Cumberland, convinced that he had got the head of his relative, had it, it is said, packed up, and ordering a post-chaise, went off to London, carrying the head along with him. Shortly after his arrival, however, the deception, which had been of essential service to Charles, was discovered.⁹

Being pretty secure in Coiraghoth, as the cave was called, Charles remained three days in this retreat, during which he recruited so well that he considered himself able to encounter any hardships. The whole party then shifted their quarters to another hill, about two miles off, and took up their abode in another cave, on the 2d of August. After staying four days in their new dwelling they were again obliged to shift, in consequence of information they received, that one Campbell, a steward of Lord Seaforth and captain of militia, had pitched his camp at a little distance, to graze a large herd of cattle. Leaving one of their party behind to watch Campbell's motions, they set off in a northerly direction, and travelled to the heights of Strathglass. Charles was conducted to a sheep-cot, in which a bed was made up for him, consisting of turf, with the grass-side uppermost, and a pillow of

the same. He remained in this hovel three days, during which an express was sent to Pollew, to ascertain whether a report which had reached him of some French vessels having been seen off the coast, was correct. On the supposition that the report would turn out to be well founded, the party followed the express, and crossing along the moor, put up at another shieling for the night, and about twelve o'clock, next day, August the 10th, arrived at a place called Glencanna, and passing the day in a neighbouring wood, repaired at night to a village hard by. About two o'clock next morning they scrambled up a hill on the north side of Glencanna, and sending off two of their number to forage for provisions, they waited two days in a neighbouring shieling for the return of their messenger from Pollew. The express arrived, and brought notice that a French ship had been upon the coast, and had landed two gentlemen, who had gone to Lochiel's country in quest of the prince. In expectation of meeting these gentlemen, Charles resolved to retrace his steps.

Upon the 13th of August they crossed the water of Casina, and passing near the house of young Chisholm, arrived at a place called Fasanacoil in Strathglass, about two o'clock in the morning. They concealed themselves in a thick wood, and some of the party were despatched as scouts to the Braes of Glengarry and Lochaber, to ascertain whether the search for the prince was over, and if the troops had returned to their camp at Fort-Augustus. Having ascertained on the return of their spies that the government troops had returned to their head-quarters, the whole party left the wood, where they had remained three days, and, on the morning of the 17th of August, set out through an unfrequented road, and again reached the Braes of Glenmoriston. Passing the day on the top of a hill, they continued their journey at night; but they had gone scarcely a mile, when they received information that a strong party of military were among the heights of Glengarry in quest of the prince. They, therefore, stopped short in their journey till they should ascertain the motions of the enemy, and passed the remainder of the night in a shieling.

⁹ Chambers's *Rebellion*. Stewart's *Sketches*, i. 59.

Charles being now extremely desirous of

opening a communication with his friends in Lochaber, which was by this time almost free from troops, despatched two messengers on the morning of the 18th of August to Loch Arkaig in quest of Cameron of Clunes, to inform him that Glenaladale wished to meet him at a convenient place. Another of the party was, at the same time, sent to the Braes of Glengarry to ascertain if the troops were still in that quarter. Having ascertained, by the return of this messenger, who came back next day, that the roads were clear, Charles and his party, consisting altogether of ten persons, set out in the afternoon of the 19th, and passing under the favour of a fog through Glenmoriston and Glenlyne, arrived late at night in the Braes of Glengarry. The river Garry was swollen to a great height by the heavy rains which had fallen for some days; but some of the party having ascertained that it was fordable, Charles and his friends waded across with the water up to their middle. After passing the river, they proceeded onward about a mile in a very dark night, and finding no covert, remained on the side of the hill during the night, without shelter, amid a torrent of rain. Next morning they continued their course over hills and moors till they reached a height near a place called Achnasalt, or Achnasual, where the messengers sent to Loch Arkaig had been appointed to meet them. The rain having poured down without intermission all night and during the day, the situation of these forlorn wanderers had become very uncomfortable; and, to add to their distress, their whole stock of provision was exhausted. As none of the messengers had arrived, they were exceedingly perplexed what to do; but they were soon relieved from their anxiety by the appearance of Peter Grant, one of the most active of the seven men, who brought notice from Cameron of Clunes that he could not meet Glenaladale that night, but that he would visit him at the appointed place of rendezvous next morning, and in the meantime directed him to pass the night in a wood about two miles distant. Before setting out for their new quarters, of which they received a favourable report from two of the party, who were sent to examine the place, Glenaladale, with the consent of the prince, sent a messenger to Lochgarry, who lay concealed a few miles

off, acquainting him with their arrival at Achnasual, and requesting him to meet them in the wood. After entering the wood, fortune threw a buck in their way, which one of the party immediately shot. Having kindled a fire, they roasted the flesh, and made a hearty meal, but without bread or salt. Lochgarry joined them the same night.

At ten o'clock next morning, August the 15th, Cameron of Clunes came to the wood, and conducted Charles to another forest at the foot of Loch Arkaig, in which he lay all night. With the exception of Hugh Chisholm and Peter Grant, all the Glenmoriston men took their leave. Charles expressed a wish to go to Rannoch, or Badenoch, where Lochiel and Cluny were; but upon Clunes informing him that he could not pass without great danger, as all the ferries were strictly guarded, he gave up his design, and, early next morning, sent a messenger to Lochiel, desiring his attendance. Concluding that Charles was to the north of the lakes, these chiefs had, about this period, sent Dr. Cameron and the Rev. John Cameron by different routes, to obtain information respecting the prince. On arriving within a few miles of the place where Lochiel was, Charles's messenger met the Doctor and the two French officers who had lately landed. As the messenger was desired to communicate no information about Charles to any person but Lochiel himself, he declined to answer any questions respecting the prince; but having stated that he had business of the utmost importance with Lochiel, the Doctor conducted him to his brother. Lochiel being unable, from the state of his wounds, to travel to a distance, then sent his brother to wait upon the prince, and to make his apology.

Dr. Cameron, accompanied by two servants, arrived at the foot of Loch Arkaig on the 19th of August, and when near the place of Charles's concealment, he met Cameron of Clunes. At this time Charles and one of Clunes's sons were sleeping on the mountain, and Peter Grant was keeping watch; but, nodding upon his post, Grant did not observe the approach of the party till they were pretty near. He instantly awaked Charles and his companion. Cameron and Grant proposed that they should flee to the top of the mountain, but Charles thought dif-

ferently. He said he considered there was more danger in attempting to escape than in remaining where they were; and he proposed that they should take up a position behind some stones, take aim, and fire upon the party when they came nearer. He said that, as Grant and he were good marksmen, they would certainly do some execution, and that he had in reserve a brace of pocket pistols, which, for the first time, he produced. Fortunately, however, before a single shot was fired, the person of Clunes was recognised among the party. The joy of Charles and of young Cameron, at the narrow escape which the friends of the one and the father of the other had made, may be easily conceived. When informed by Dr. Cameron that Lochiel was well, and almost recovered of his wounds, the prince expressed the unbounded satisfaction he felt by fervently returning thanks to God three times. The appearance of Charles at this time was singular, and even terrific. He was bare-footed, and his beard had grown to a great length. He wore a dirty shirt, an old black tartan coat, a plaid, and a philibeg, carried a musket in his hand, and wore a pistol and dirk by his side. Had he not had one of the best and soundest constitutions ever enjoyed by a prince, he must ere this have fallen a victim to the numerous privations he had suffered; but his health remained unimpaired, and his flow of spirits continued. His companions had killed a cow on the present occasion, and when Dr. Cameron arrived a part of it was preparing for dinner. Charles partook heartily of the beef, which was seasoned by a supply of bread from Fort-Augustus, a commodity to which he had been for some time unaccustomed.

Next day the party went to a wood called Torvuilt, opposite to Achnacarry, where they held a council. Charles now proposed to go south, and join Lochiel; but one of the party mentioning that he had seen a paragraph in some newspapers, that had been brought from Fort-Augustus, which stated that he and Lochiel had passed Corryarrick with 30 men, he judged it advisable to defer his journey for a few days, as a search might be made for him about that mountain. In the meantime it was agreed that Dr. Cameron should visit Lochaber to procure intelligence, and that Lochgarry

should go to the east end of Loch Lochy, and remain upon the isthmus between the lakes, to watch the motions of the troops. They accordingly left Charles the same day, and Cameron and Clunes, after conducting the prince and his party to another hut in the neighbourhood, also took leave.

Charles remained eight days in the neighbourhood of Achnacarry. Having expressed a strong desire to see the French officers who had landed at Pollew, they were brought to him. These gentlemen had come from Dunkirk in a small vessel, with 60 others, who had formed themselves into a company of volunteers under these two officers. Two of the volunteers landed along with the officers, and were taken prisoners. One of them, named Fitzgerald, a Spanish officer, was hanged at Fort William, on the ground of having been a spy in Flanders, and the other, a M. de Berard, a French officer, was afterwards exchanged upon the cartel. The officers fell in with Mr. Alexander Macleod, one of Charles's aides-de-camp, to whom they delivered some despatches they had brought over to the French ambassador, and they continued to wander in Seaforth's country till Lochgarry, hearing that they had letters to the prince, sent a Captain Maeraw and his own servant to find them out and bring them to Lochiel, as the prince could not be found. When brought to Lochiel, he suspected them to be government spies. On Charles expressing his wish to see these officers, the Rev. John Cameron, who had lately joined, told him what his brother Lochiel thought of them, and advised him to act with great caution. The prince confessed that it appeared a very suspicious circumstance, that two men, without knowing a word of Gaelic, and being perfect strangers in the country, should have escaped so long if they were not really spies; but as they had told Lochiel that they had never seen the prince, he thought that he might see them safely by a stratagem, without being known to them. He therefore wrote them a letter to this effect:—that, in order to avoid falling into his enemies' hands, he had been under the necessity of retiring to a distant part of the country, where he had no person with him except one Captain Drummond and a servant, and, as he could not remove from the place of his concealment with-

out danger, he had sent Captain Drummond with the letter; and as he could repose entire confidence in him, he desired them to deliver any message they had to Drummond. This letter the prince proposed to deliver himself, as Captain Drummond, and the officers being sent for, were introduced to him under his assumed name. He delivered them the letter, which they perused, and he then obtained from them all the information they had to communicate, which, as his affairs then stood, was of little importance. They remained with him two days, and put many questions about the prince's health, his manner of living, &c. Thinking the packet they had delivered to Mr. Macleod might be of use, Charles sent for it; but as the letters were in cipher he could make nothing of them, not having the key.

About this time Charles made a very narrow escape, under the following circumstances. Information having been sent to the camp at Fort-Augustus that Charles or some of his principal adherents were in the neighbourhood of Loch Arkaig, a party was despatched in quest of them. One of Clunes's sons and Cameron the minister had gone to the strath of Clunes to obtain intelligence, and had entered a hut which Clunes had built for his family after his house had been burnt. They had not, however, been half-an-hour within, when a little girl came running into the house, in great haste, and said that she saw some soldiers approaching. At first they thought that the child was mistaken, as Lochgarry had promised to place a guard between Fort-Augustus and Clunes, to give intelligence of the approach of troops; but going out of the house, they found that the girl was correct in her information. It was then about eight o'clock in the morning, and the prince, with one of Clunes's sons and Peter Grant, was sleeping in a hut on the face of the hill on the other side of the water of Kaig, about a mile from Clunes's hut. Whilst old Cameron, therefore, remained to watch the motions of this party, one of his sons and the minister went off to arouse Charles. Crossing the water under cover of the wood, they came within pistol-shot of the soldiers, who proceeded down into the strath. When awaked and informed of his danger, Charles, with great composure,

called for his gun, and, looking down the vale, saw a number of soldiers demolishing Clunes's hut and searching the adjacent woods.¹ Charles and his attendants immediately resolved to remove to a distance, and to conceal their flight, ascended the hill along the channel of a torrent which the winter rains had worn in the face of the mountain. Clearing this hill without being seen, they proceeded to another mountain, called Mullentagart, of a prodigious height, and very steep and craggy. They remained all day on this hill without a morsel of food. One of Clunes's sons came to them about twelve o'clock at night with some whisky, bread, and cheese, and told them that his father would meet them at a certain place in the hills, at a considerable distance, with provisions, and the young man returned to let his father know that he might expect them. Charles and his attendants set out for the appointed place at night, and travelled through most dreadful ways, amongst rocks and stumps of trees, which tore their clothes and limbs. Such were the difficulties they encountered, that the guides proposed to halt and rest till the morning, but Charles, though exceedingly exhausted, insisted on going on, that they might not break their appointment with Clunes. Worn out at last with fatigue and want of food, the prince was not able to proceed farther without assistance. Though almost in the same situation themselves, the Highlanders offered him their aid, and two of them laying hold each of an arm, supported him till he arrived at the end of this very laborious journey. They met Clunes and his son, who had already killed a cow and dressed a part of it for their use.

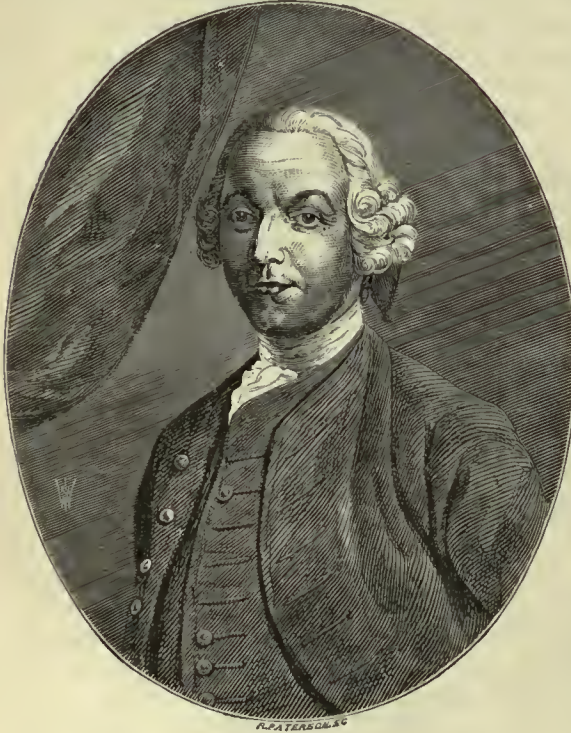
Charles remained in this remote place with his companions till the arrival of Lochgarry and Dr. Cameron. They informed him that they had been with Lochiel and Cluny, and that it had been concerted among them that the prince should come to their asylum for some time; and they added, that Cluny would meet his Royal Highness at Auchuacarry, on a certain day, in order to conduct him to Badenoch. Being also informed by them that the passes

¹ The party in question consisted of about two hundred of Lord Loudon's Highlanders, under Captain Grant of Knockando, Strathspey.

were not so strictly guarded as formerly, Charles crossed Loch Arkaig, and took up his abode in a fir wood belonging to Lochiel, on the west side of the lake, to wait the arrival of Cluny. Impatient to see two such tried friends as Lochiel and Cluny, Charles would not wait for Cluny's coming to Auchnacarry, but set out for Badenoch with such guides as he had. Next day Charles arrived at a place called Corinaur, in Badenoch, where he passed the night. Cluny had passed on to Auchnacarry the same day by another way. Lochiel,

in a small miserable hovel on the side of the hill, at a place called Mellenaur, or Millanuir, attended by Maepheron of Breakachie, Allan Cameron, his principal servant, and two servants of Cluny.

On the morning of the 30th of August, Charles, accompanied by Lochgarry, Dr. Cameron and two servants, set out for Mellenaur. They were all armed, and on approaching the hut they were mistaken by Lochiel for a party of militia, who, he supposed, had been sent out in search of him from a camp a few miles off. From the lameness in his feet, Lochiel was not in a condition to attempt an escape, but there seemed to be little danger, as both parties were equal in point of numbers, and the party in the hut had this advantage, that they could fire their first volley without being observed, and as they had a considerable quantity of fire arms, they could discharge another volley or two before the advancing party could reload their pieces. The danger to which Charles and his friends were now exposed was greater than that which Dr. Cameron and Clunes had run, as, on the present occasion, the party in the hut, resolving to receive their supposed enemies with a general discharge of all the firearms, had actually planted and levelled their pieces; but happily for Charles and his friends, they were recognised just as Lochiel and his attendants were about giving their fire. Upon making this fortunate discovery Lochiel left the hut, and, though very lame, went forward



Dr Archibald Cameron, from rare print in the Burney Collection in British Museum.

who had skulked in his own country about two months, had sought an asylum among the Braes of Rannoeh, where he was attended by Sir Stewart Thriepland, an Edinburgh physician, for the cure of the wounds he had received in his aneles. On the 20th of June they fell in with Macpherson of Cluny, who conducted them to a more secure retreat on Benalder, a hill of immense circumference, on his own property, on the borders of Rannoeh. Lochiel, who had since that time lived on this mountain with his friend Cluny, was now residing

to meet the prince. On coming up to Charles, Lochiel was about to kneel, but Charles prevented him, and elapping him on the shoulder, said, "Oh no, my dear Lochiel, we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills, and if they see any such motions they will immediately conclude that I am here." Charles always considered Lochiel as one of his best friends, and placed the greatest confidence in him; and the generous chief showed, by his unbounded attachment to the prince, that this confidence was not misplaced. The meet-

ing, therefore, of two such friends, after so many perils and escapes, was extremely joyous.

After they had recovered from the first transports of their joy, Loehiel conducted Charles into the hut, where the latter beheld a sight to which his eyes had not been accustomed for many months. Besides abundance of mutton, the hut contained an anchor of whisky, of twenty Scotch pints, some good dried beef sausages, a large well-cured bacon ham, and plenty of butter and cheese. On entering the prince took a hearty dram, and drank to the health of his friends. Some minced collops were then prepared for him with butter in a large saucepan, which Loehiel and Cluny always carried about with them, being the only fire-vessel they had. The pan was set before Charles with a silver spoon. He took this repast with great gusto, and was so delighted with this little change in his circumstances, that he could not help exclaiming, with a cheerful countenance, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince." After dinner he asked Loehiel if he had always fared so well during his retreat. "Yes, Sir," answered Loehiel; "for near three months past I have been hereabout with my cousin Cluny; he has provided for me so well that I have had plenty of such as you see, and I thank Heaven your Royal Highness has got through so many dangers to take a part." Finding, on his arrival at Auehmacarry, that Charles had departed with his friends for Badenoch, Cluny had retraced his steps, and he reached Mellenaur two days after Charles's arrival there. On entering the hut Cluny would have kneeled before Charles, but the prince prevented him, and giving him a kiss, said, "I am sorry, Cluny, you and your regiment were not at Culloden: I did not hear till very lately that you were so near us that day."

The day after his return to Mellenaur, Cluny, thinking it time to remove to another retreat, conducted the prince and his attendants to a little shieling called Uiskehibra, about two miles farther into Benalder. This hut was very bad and extremely smoky; but Charles accommodated himself, as he had always done, to circumstances. After passing two nights in this miserable abode, he was conducted to a very extraordinary and romantic habitation, called the Cage, which Cluny had fitted up

for Charles's reception. From the description given by Cluny of this remarkable retreat, it will be seen how well adapted it was for the purpose of concealment.

"It was," says Donald Macpherson. "situated in the face of a very rough, high, and rocky mountain, called Letternilichk, still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the Cage, in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor for the habitation; and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other; and these trees, in the way of joists or planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape; and the whole thatched and covered over with fog. This whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which reclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney, where the fire was placed. The smoke had its vent out here, all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour, that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons; four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking out, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking."²

² Appendix to Home's Works, vol. iii. No. 46. Cluny himself had several places of concealment on his estate. "He lived for nine years chiefly in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which was burnt to the ground by the king's troops. This cave was in the front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighbourhood, in order that no vestige of their labour might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time had slackened the rigour of the search. Upwards of one hundred persons knew where he was concealed, and a reward of £1,000 was offered to any one who should give

Charles's deliverance was now nearer at hand than he or his friends probably expected. Several small vessels had arrived on the west coast, from time to time, to carry him off to France; but the persons in charge of these not being able to find him had returned home. Charles knew this, and now that he was able to keep up a communication with his friends, he took care to provide against a similar recurrence. He was at a considerable distance from the coast, but matters were so concerted that, if a French vessel appeared, he could easily get the intelligence. There were some of his partizans skulking near the west coast, who, though they did not know where he himself was, had instructions to convey the news to others who information against him; and as it was known that he was concealed on his estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties occasionally marching into the country to intimidate his tenantry, and induce them to disclose the place of his concealment. But though the soldiers were animated with the hope of the reward, and though a step of promotion to the officer who should apprehend him was superadded, yet so true were his people, so strict to their promise of secrecy, and so dexterous in conveying to him the necessaries he required, in his long confinement, that not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. At length, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year."—*Stewart's Sketches*, 3d Edition, vol. i. p. 62.

"The late Sir Hector Munro, then a lieutenant in the 34th regiment, and from his zeal and knowledge of the country and the people, intrusted with the command of a large party, continued two whole years in Badenoch, for the purpose of discovering the chief's retreat. The unwearied vigilance of the clan could alone have saved him from the diligence of this party. At night Cluny came from his retreat to vary the monotony of his existence, by spending a few of the dark hours convivially with his friends. On one occasion he had been suspected, and got out by a back window just as the military were breaking open the door. At another time, seeing the windows of a house kept close, and several persons going to visit the family after dark, the commander broke in at the window of the suspected chamber, with two loaded pistols, and thus endangered the life of a lady newly delivered of a child, on account of whose confinement these suspicious circumstances had taken place. This shows that there was no want of diligence on the part of the pursuers. Cluny himself became so cautious, while living the life of an outlaw, that on parting with his wife, or his most attached friends, he never told them to which of his concealments he was going, or suffered any one to accompany him,—thus enabling them, when questioned, to answer, that they knew not where he was."—*Idem*.

It may be here stated *en passant* that Cluny did not leave Scotland from his "dreary and hopeless state of existence," but in compliance with a special request made to him by Prince Charles. See a letter from the prince to Cluny, of 4th Sept., 1754, among the *Stuart Papers*.

were concealed in the interior, who would again communicate it to persons in the knowledge of the prince's place of retreat. For some time Colonel Warren, of Dillon's regiment, had been exerting himself to induce the French government to fit out an expedition to rescue Charles from his toils. He at last succeeded in procuring two vessels of war, L'Heureux and La Princesse de Conti, with which he departed from St. Malo about the end of August. In the event of his bringing the prince safe away, the Chevalier de St. George had promised to make him a Knight Baronet, a dignity which he afterwards conferred upon him.³

These vessels arrived in Lochnanugh early in September, and Captain Sheridan, a son of Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a Mr. O'Beirne, a lieutenant in the French service, immediately landed and waited upon Glenaladale, who, they were informed, knew where Charles was. This faithful friend, happy at the prospect of escape which now offered, set off the same night for the place where he expected to find Charles, to communicate to him the agreeable intelligence; but to his great sorrow he found the prince gone, and he could fall in with no person who could give him the least information of his route. Clunes, from whom Glenaladale expected to get tidings of Charles, had, in consequence of the destruction of his hut, gone to another quarter, and was not to be found. Whilst ruminating over his disappointment, a poor woman accidentally came to the place where he was, and he had the good fortune to ascertain from her the place of Clunes's retreat. Having found him out, he and Clunes instantly despatched a messenger to Charles with the joyful intelligence; and Glenaladale then returned to Lochnanugh, to notify to Colonel Warren that Charles might be speedily expected in that quarter.

The messenger arrived at Benalder on the 13th of September, on which day Charles left his romantic abode, and, after taking leave of Cluny, set off on his journey for the coast, accompanied by Lochiel and others. He at the same time sent off confidential messengers in different directions, to acquaint such of his

³ Vido several letters from Colonel Warren to the Chevalier de St. George and others, among *Stuart Papers*.

friends as he could reach, announcing the arrival of the ships, that they might have an opportunity of joining him if inclined. As Charles and his friends travelled only by night, they did not reach Borodale, the place of embarkation, till the 19th. On the road Charles was joined by Loehgarry, John Roy Stewart, Dr. Cameron, and other gentlemen who intended to accompany him to France. Besides these, many others had left their different hiding places on hearing of the arrival of the French vessels, and had repaired to the coast of Moidart, also waiting for the arrival of him for whose sake they had forfeited their lives, intending to adopt the bitter alternative of bidding an eternal adieu to their native land. The number of persons assembled was about a hundred.

The career of Charles in the hereditary dominions of his ancestors was now ended. Attended by seven persons only, he had, with daring hardihood, landed about fourteen months before on the spot where he was destined to depart as a fugitive, and, with a handful of men, had raised the standard of insurrection and set the whole power of the government at open defiance. The early part of his progress had been brilliant. With a few thousand undisciplined mountancers, he had overrun land, in the face of three hostile armies, had carried dismay to the capital. The retreat from Derby, the merit of which belongs to Lord George Murray exclusively, quieted for a time the apprehensions of the government; but the defeat at Falkirk again convinced it that the succession settlement was still in danger; and that, perhaps, at no distant day, the young and daring adventurer might place the son of James II. upon the throne from which his father had been expelled. Even after his retreat to Inverness, the supporters of the house of Hanover could have no assurance that the Duke of Cumberland's army might not share the fate of its predecessors, in which event the new dynasty would probably have ceased to reign; but the triumphs of Charles were at an end, and the fatal field of Culloden, after witnessing the bravery of his troops, became the grave of his hopes. Then commenced that series of extraordinary adventures and wonderful escapes, of which some account has been

given, and which could scarcely have been credited had they not been authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute. During the brilliant part of his career Charles had displayed great moderation and forbearance; and though his spirits sank when compelled to retreat, yet in the hour of adversity, when beset with perils and exposed to privations which few princes could have endured, he exhibited uncommon fortitude, strength of mind, and cheerfulness.

In his wanderings Charles laid down a rule to himself, to which he scrupulously adhered, never to intrust any person from whom he was about to depart with the secret of his route, so that, with the exception of the few friends who were about him for the time being, none of those to whom he had been formerly indebted for his preservation knew the place of his retreat. This was a wise precaution, but was attended with this disadvantage, that it prevented him from acquiring early information of the arrival of the French vessels upon the coast. But no means he was able to take for his own security could have saved him, had he not had a guarantee in the incorruptible fidelity of the persons into whose hands he committed himself. At the risk of their own destruction they extended to him the aid of their protection, and relieved his necessities. Many of these persons were of desperate fortunes, and there were others in the lowest ranks of life; yet, among nearly 200 persons to whom Charles must have been known during the five months he wandered as a fugitive, not one ever offered to betray him, though they knew that a price of £30,000 was set upon his head. History nowhere presents such a splendid instance of disinterested attachment to an unfortunate family.

Accompanied by Lochiel, Lochgarry, John Roy Stewart, Dr. Cameron, and a considerable number of other adherents, Charles departed from Lochnanuaigh on the 20th of September, and had a favourable passage to the coast of France, where he landed on Monday the 29th of September. He immediately proceeded to Morlaix, whence he despatched Colonel Warren the same day to Paris, to announce his arrival to the French court. He also sent at the same time a letter to his brother Henry, to the same effect, and enclosed a similar one to his father.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

A. D. 1746—1747.

Commission of *Oyer and Terminer*—Trial of prisoners—Francis Townley—Jimmy Dawson—Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, and Balmerino—Execution of these noblemen—Other executions—Trials at Carlisle and York—Trial and execution of Mr. Ratcliffe—Trial and execution of Lord Lovat—Act of Indemnity passed.

WHILST the issue of the contest remained doubtful, the government took no steps to punish the prisoners who had fallen into their hands at Carlisle; but after the decisive affair of Culloden, when there appeared no chance of the Jacobite party ever having it in their power to retaliate, the government resolved to vindicate the authority of the law by making examples of some of the prisoners.

As it was intended to try the prisoners at different places for the sake of convenience, an act was passed empowering his majesty to try them in any county he might select.

On the 24th and 25th of June bills of indictment were found against 36 of the prisoners taken at Carlisle, and against one David Morgan, a barrister, who had been apprehended in Staffordshire. The court then adjourned till the 3d of July, on which day the prisoners were arraigned. Three only pleaded guilty. The rest applied for a postponement of their trials on the ground that material witnesses for their defence were at a considerable distance. The court in consequence ruled that in cases where witnesses were in England the trial should be put off to the 15th of July, and where they were in Scotland, to the 25th of the same month.

The court accordingly met on the 15th of July, and proceeded with the trial of Francis Townley, Esquire, before a grand jury, at the court-house, Southwark. This unfortunate gentleman had been colonel of the Manchester regiment. He was of a respectable family in Lancashire. Obligated to retire to France in 1728, he had obtained a commission from the King of France, and had served at the siege of Philipsburgh under the Duke of Berwick, who lost his life before the walls of that place. He continued sixteen years in the French service; and after his return to England had received a

commission to raise a regiment. A plea was set up by his council, that holding a commission in the French service he was entitled to the benefit of the cartel as well as any other French officer, but this was overruled, and he was found guilty. On the next and two following days eighteen other persons, chiefly officers in the said regiment, were brought to trial. Five were attainted by their own confession of high treason, twelve on a verdict of high treason of levying war against the king, and one was acquitted. These seventeen persons, along with Townley, were all condemned to death, and nine of them, including Townley, were selected for execution on the 30th. The rest were reprieved for three weeks.

Kennington common was the place destined for the execution of these unfortunate men, most of whom met their fate with fortitude and resignation. The execution was accompanied with the disgusting and barbarous details usual at that time in cases of treason.

Two singular and interesting circumstances occurred at this execution. The one was the attendance of a younger brother of Lieutenant Thomas Deacon's, of the Manchester Regiment, and one of those who had obtained a reprieve. At his own request he was allowed to witness the execution of his brother in a coach under the charge of a guard. The other was one of a very affecting description. Hurried away by the impetuosity of youth, James Dawson, one of the sufferers, the son of a Lancashire gentleman, had abandoned his studies at St. John's college, Cambridge, and had joined the Jacobite standard. He and a young lady of good family and handsome fortune were warmly attached to each other, and had Dawson been acquitted, or, after condemnation, found mercy, the day of his enlargement was to have been that of their marriage. When all hopes of mercy were extinguished, the young lady resolved to witness the execution of her lover, and so firm was her resolution, that no persuasions of her friends could induce her to abandon her determination. On the morning of the execution she accordingly followed the sledges to the place of execution in a hackney coach, accompanied by a gentleman nearly related to her, and one female friend. She got near enough to see the fire kindled which was

to consume that heart she knew was so much devoted to her, and to observe the other appalling preparations without committing any of those extravagances her friends had apprehended. She had even the fortitude to restrain her feelings while the executioner was pulling the cap over the eyes of her lover; but when he was thrown off she in an agony of grief drew back her head into the coach, and, crying out, "My dear, I follow thee, I follow thee;—sweet Jesus, receive both our souls together!" fell upon the neck of her female companion, and instantly expired.⁴

The principal witness against Townley, Deacon, Dawson, and others, was Samuel Maddock, an ensign in the same regiment, who, to save his own life, turned king's evidence against his former comrades.⁵

The individuals next proceeded against were persons of a higher grade. The Marquis of Tullihardine escaped the fate which awaited him, having died of a lingering indisposition in the Tower on the 9th of July; but on the 23d of that month the grand jury of the county of Surrey found bills for high treason against the Earls of Kilmarnock, and Cromarty, and Lord Balmerino. Lord-chancellor Hardwicke was appointed Lord High Steward for the trial of these peers. The indictments being certified, the house of lords fixed the 28th of July for the day of trial. Accordingly, on the day appointed the three lords proceeded from the Tower towards Westminster-hall, where the trial was conducted with great pomp and ceremony.

After the indictments had been read, the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty pleaded "guilty," and threw themselves entirely upon the king's mercy. Before pleading to his indictment, Lord Balmerino stated that he was not at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, being eleven miles off when that city was taken, and he requested to know from his grace if it would avail him any thing to prove that fact. Lord Hardwicke said that such a circumstance might, or might not, be of use to him; but he informed him that it was con-

trary to form to permit him to put any questions before pleading to the indictment, by saying whether he was guilty or not guilty. His grace desiring his lordship to plead, the intrepid⁶ Balmerino apparently not understanding the meaning of that legal term, exclaimed, with great animation, "Plead! Why, I am pleading as fast as I can." The lord-high-steward having explained the import of the phrase, the noble baron answered, "Not guilty."

The trial then proceeded. Four witnesses were examined. One of them proved that he saw Lord Balmerino ride into Carlisle on a bay horse the day after it was taken by the Highlanders;—that he saw him afterwards ride up to the market-place with his sword drawn at the head of his troop of horse, which was the second troop of Charles's body guards, and was called Elphinstone's horse. Another witness deposed that he saw his lordship ride into Manchester at the head of his troop, and that he was there when the young Chevalier was proclaimed regent. Two other witnesses proved that his lordship was called colonel of his troop, that he always acted in that station, gave orders on all occasions to his officers, and that he was in great favour with Prince Charles. The evidence on the part of the crown having been finished, the lord-high-steward asked the prisoner if he had any thing to offer in his defence, or meant to call any witnesses. His lordship replied that he had nothing to say, but to make an exception to the indictment which was incorrect in charging him with being at Carlisle at the time it was taken by the Highlanders. The peers then resolved to take the opinion of the judges upon the point, and these were unanimously of opinion, that, as an overt act of treason and other acts of treason had been proved beyond contradiction, there was no occasion to prove explicitly every thing that was laid in the in-

⁴ Shenstone has commemorated this melancholy event in his plaintive ballad of 'Jemmy Dawson.'

⁵ *Carlisle in* '45, p. 244.

⁶ "He is," says Walpole, "the most natural, brave old fellow I ever saw: the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour. . . . At the bar he plays with his fingers upon the axe, while he talks to the gentleman gaoler; and one day, somebody coming up to listen, he took the blade and held it like a fan between their faces. During the trial a little boy was near him, but not tall enough to see; he made room for the child, and placed him near himself."

dictment; and that, of course, the prisoner's objection was not material. The peers then unanimously found Lord Balmerino guilty of high treason, after which, the other two lords were brought to the bar, and were informed by the lord-high-steward, that if either of them had any thing to move in arrest of judgment, they must come prepared on the Wednesday following at eleven o'clock, and state their objections, otherwise sentence of death would be awarded against them. The three lords were then carried back to the Tower in coaches, and the axe, which was in the coach with Lord Balmerino, had its edge pointed towards him.

The court accordingly met again on Wednesday the 30th of July, when the lord-high-steward addressed the prisoners; and beginning with Lord Kilmarnock, asked him if he had any thing to offer why judgment of death should not be passed against him. His lordship stated, that having, from a due sense of his folly, and the heinousness of his crimes, acknowledged his guilt, he meant to offer nothing in extenuation, but to throw himself entirely on the compassion of the court, that it might intercede with his majesty for his royal clemency. He then, in a somewhat humble speech, urged several reasons why he should be treated with clemency, expressing great contrition for having, somewhat against his own inclination, joined in the "unnatural scheme." He concluded by stating, that if after what he had stated their lordships did not feel themselves called upon to employ their interest with his majesty for his royal clemency, that he would lay down his life with the utmost resignation, and that his last moments should "be employed in fervent prayer for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain."

The Earl of Cromarty began a most humiliating but pathetic appeal, by declaring that he had been guilty of an offence which merited the highest indignation of his majesty, their lordships, and the public; and that it was from a conviction of his guilt that he had not presumed to trouble their lordships with any defence. "Nothing remains, my lords," he continued, "but to throw myself, my life, and

fortune, upon your lordships' compassion; but of these, my lords, as to myself is the least part of my sufferings. I have involved an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant, as parties of my guilt, to share its penalties; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy and regard for his parents hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my lords, be pledges to his majesty; let them be pledges to your lordships; let them be pledges to my country for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears; let the powerful language of innocent nature supply my want of eloquence and persuasion; let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deserve it; and let me no longer enjoy life than I shall use it to deface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilst I thus intercede to his majesty through the mediation of your lordships for mercy, let my remorse for my guilt as a subject; let the sorrow of my heart as a husband; let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery. As your lordships are men, feel as men; but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of my anguish. But if after all, my lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the public, and nothing but my blood can atone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my life, my fortune and family, is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands for public justice; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me, not mine, but thy will, O God, be done."

When the lord-high-steward addressed Lord Balmerino, he produced a paper, and desired it might be read. His grace told his lordship that he was at liberty to read it if he pleased; but his lordship replied that his voice was too low, and that he could not read it so distinctly as he could wish. One of the clerks of parliament, by order of the lord-high-steward, then read the paper, which was to this effect:— That although his majesty had been empowered by an act of parliament, made the last session, to appoint the trials for high treason to take place in any county he should appoint; yet, as the alleged act of treason was stated to have been committed at Carlisle, and prior to the

passing of the said act, he ought to have been indicted at Carlisle, and not in the county of Surrey, as the act could not have a retrospective effect. His lordship prayed the court to assign him counsel to argue the point. The peers, after consideration, agreed to his petition for counsel, and at his request assigned him Messrs. Wilbraham and Forrester, and adjourned the court to the 1st of August.

The three prisoners were again brought back from the Tower. On that day the lord-high-steward asked Lord Balmerino if he was then ready by his counsel to argue the point, which he proposed to the court on the previous day. His lordship answered, that as his counsel had advised him that there was nothing in the objection sufficient to found an arrest of judgment upon, he begged to withdraw the objection, and craved their lordships' pardon for giving them so much trouble. The prisoners then all declaring that they submitted themselves to the court, Lord Hardwicke addressed them in a suitable speech, and concluded by pronouncing the following sentence :⁵—"The judgment of the law is, and this high court doth award, that you, William, Earl of Kilmarnock ; George, Earl of Cromarty ; and Arthur Lord Balmerino, and every of you, return to the prison of the Tower from whence you came : from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution : when you come there, you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead ; for you must be cut down alive ; then your bowels must be taken out and burnt before your faces ; then your heads must be severed from your bodies ; and your bodies must be divided each into four quarters ; and these must be at the king's disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls." Then the prisoners were removed from the bar, and after taking a cold collation which had been prepared for them, were carried back to the Tower in the same order and form as before.

The Earl of Kilmarnock immediately presented a petition to the king for mercy, and also another, a copy of the first, to the Prince of Wales, praying his royal highness's inter-

cession with his majesty in his behalf ; and a third to the Duke of Cumberland for a similar purpose. In this last mentioned petition he asserted his innocence of charges which had been made against him, of having advised the putting to death of the prisoners taken by the Highland army before the battle of Culloden, and of advising or approving of an alleged order for giving no quarter to his majesty's troops in that battle. In the petitions to the king and the Prince of Wales, the earl declared that he had surrendered himself at the battle of Culloden, at a time when he could have easily escaped ; but he afterwards admitted that the statement was untrue, and that he was induced to make it from a strong desire for life ; that he had no intention of surrendering ; and that, with the view of facilitating his escape, he had gone towards the body of horse which made him prisoner, thinking that it was Fitz-James's horse, with the design of mounting behind a dragoon. These petitions were entirely disregarded.

The Earl of Cromarty, with better claims to mercy, also petitioned the king. In support of this application the countess waited upon the lords of the cabinet council, and presented a petition to each of them ; and, on the Sunday following the sentence, she went to Kensington-palace in deep mourning, accompanied by Lady Stair, to intercede with his majesty in behalf of her husband. She was a woman of great strength of mind, and though far advanced in pregnancy, had hitherto displayed surprising fortitude ; but on the present trying occasion she gave way to grief. She took her station in the entrance through which the king was to pass to chapel, and when he approached she fell upon her knees, seized him by the coat, and presented her supplication, fainted away at his feet. The king immediately raised her up, and taking the petition, gave it in charge of the Duke of Grafton, one of his attendants. He then desired Lady Stair to conduct her to one of the apartments. The Dukes of Hamilton and Montrose, the Earl of Stair and other courtiers, backed these petitions for the royal mercy by a personal application to the king, who granted a pardon to the earl on the 9th of August.

The high-minded Balmerino disdained to

⁵ As will be seen, the more barbarous and ignominious part of the sentence was not carried into effect ; Kilmarnock and Balmerino were put to death by simple decapitation.

compromise his principles by suing for pardon, and when he heard that his fellow-prisoners had applied for mercy, he sarcastically remarked, that as they must have great interest at court, they might have squeezed his name in with their own. From the time of his sentence down to his execution, he showed no symptoms of fear. He never entertained any hopes of pardon, for he said he considered his case desperate, as he had been once pardoned before. When Lady Balmerino expressed her great concern for the approaching fate of her Lord, he said, "Grieve not, my dear Peggy, we must all die once, and this is but a few years very likely before my death must have happened some other way: therefore, wipe away your tears; you may marry again, and get a better husband." About a week after his sentence a gentleman went to see him, and apologising for intruding upon him when he had such a short time to live, his lordship replied, "Oh! Sir, no intrusion at all: I have done nothing to make my conscience uneasy. I shall die with a true heart, and undaunted; for I think no man fit to live who is not fit to die; nor am I any ways concerned at what I have done." Being asked a few days before his execution in what manner he would go to the scaffold, he answered, "I will go in the regimentals which I wore when I was first taken, with a woollen shirt next my skin, which will serve me instead of a shroud to be buried in." Being again asked why he would not have a new suit of black, he replied, "It would be thought very imprudent in a man to repair an old house when the lease of it was near expiring; and the lease of my life expires next Monday." The king could not but admire the high bearing and manly demeanour of this unfortunate nobleman; and when the friends of the other prisoners were making unceasing applications to him for mercy, he said, "Does nobody intercede for poor Balmerino? He, though a rebel, is at least an honest man." According to Walpole, Balmerino was "jolly with his pretty Peggy" almost to the very last.

On the 11th of August an order was signed in council for the execution of the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, and on the 12th two writs passed the great seal, empowering the constable of the Tower to deliver their

bodies to the sheriffs of London, for execution on Monday the 18th. The order for their execution on the 18th of August having been announced to the unfortunate noblemen by Mr. Foster, a dissenting clergyman, Lord Kilmarnock received the intelligence with all the composure of a man resigned to his fate, but at the same time with a deep feeling of concern for his future state. Balmerino, who perhaps had as strong a sense of religion as Kilmarnock, received the news with the utmost unconcern. He and his lady were sitting at dinner when the warrant arrived, and, being informed of it, her ladyship started up from the table and fainted away. His lordship raised her up, and, after she had recovered, he requested her to resume her seat at table and finish her dinner.

On the Saturday preceding the execution, General Williamson, at Kilmarnock's desire, as is supposed, gave him a minute detail of all the circumstances of solemnity and outward terror which would accompany it.

Balmerino was not actuated with the same feeling of curiosity as Kilmarnock was to know the circumstances which would attend his execution, but awaited his fate with the indifference of a martyr desirous of sealing his faith with his blood. The following letter, written by him on the eve of his execution, to the Chevalier de St. George, strikingly exemplifies the cool intrepidity of the man, and the sterling honesty with which he adhered to his principles:—

"SIR,—You may remember that, in the year 1716, when your Majesty was in Scotland, I left a company of foot, purely with a design to serve your Majesty, and, had I not made my escape then, I should certainly have been shot for a deserter.

"When I was abroad I lived many years at my own charges before I ask'd any thing from you, being unwilling to trouble your Majesty while I had any thing of my own to live upon, and when my father wrote me that he had a remission for me, which was got without my asking or knowledge, I did not accept of it till I first had your Majesty's permission. Sir, when His Royal Highness the Prince, your son, came to Edinburgh, as it was my bounden and indispensable duty, I joy'd him, for which

I am to-morrow to lose my head on a scaffold, whereat I am so far from being dismayed, that it gives me great satisfaction and peace of mind that I die in so righteous a cause. I hope, Sir, on these considerations, your Majesty will provide for my wife so as she may not want bread, which otherwise she must do, my brother having left more debt on the estate than it was worth, and having nothing in the world to give her. I am, with the most profound respect, Sir, your Majesty's most faithful and devoted subject and servant,

"TOWER OF LONDON, }
17th August, 1746." }

"BALMERINO."⁶

On Monday, the 18th of August, great preparations were made on Tower-hill for the execution. At ten o'clock the block was fixed on the stage, covered with black cloth, and several sacks of sawdust were provided to be strewed upon the scaffold. Soon after the two coffins were brought and placed upon the scaffold. Upon Kilmarnock's coffin was a plate with this inscription, "Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18° Augusti, 1746, ætat. suæ 42," with an earl's coronet over it, and six coronets over the six handles. The plate on Balmerino's coffin bore this inscription,

⁶ The original of the above letter, from which this copy was taken, is among the *Stuart Papers*, and is written in a remarkably bold and steady hand. The Chevalier sent a copy of this letter to Charles on 20th January, 1747. "I send you," says he, "a copy of poor Lord Balmerino's letter. I shall inquire about his widow, and send her some relief if she stands in need of it."—*Stuart Papers*. James was as good as his word. See Mr. Theodore Hay's letter to Secretary Edgar, of 10th June, 1747, and Lady Balmerino's receipt, 18th May following, for £60, in the *Stuart Papers*. The letter of Lord Balmerino, and the circumstances of his death, are feelingly alluded to in a letter written by Lady Balmerino to the Chevalier, from Edinburgh, on 15th June, 1751:—"Before my dear lord's execution, he leaving this world, and having no other concern in time but me, wrote a letter to your Majesty, dated 17th August, 1746, recommending me and my destitute condition to your Majesty's commiseration and bounty. You are well informed of his undaunted courage and behaviour at his death, so that even your Majesty's enemies and his do unanimously confess that he died like a hero, and asserted and added a lustre which never will be forgot to the undoubted right your Majesty has to your three realms. He had the honour to have been in your Majesty's domestick service in Italy, and ever preserved, before his last appearance, an inviolable, constant attachment to your royal house and interest, which at last he not only confirmed by his dying words, but sealed it with his blood, than which a greater token and proof it is not of a subject to give of his love and fidelity to his sovereign.

"Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollatus 18° Augusti, 1746, ætat. suæ 58," surmounted by a baron's coronet, and with six others over the handles.

These preparations were completed about half-past ten, when the sheriffs, accompanied by their officers, went to the Tower, and, knocking at the door, demanded "The bodies of William, Earl of Kilmarnock, and Arthur, Lord Balmerino." General Williamson thereupon went to inform the prisoners that the sheriffs were in attendance. When told that he was wanted, Lord Kilmarnock, who had just been engaged in prayer with Mr. Foster, betrayed no fear, but said, with great composure, "General, I am ready; I'll follow you." On leaving the Tower, Kilmarnock and Balmerino met at the foot of the stair. They embraced each other, and Balmerino said, "I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition." The ill-fated noblemen were then brought to the Tower-gate, and delivered over to the sheriffs. When the prisoners were leaving the Tower, the deputy-lieutenant, according to an ancient usage, cried, "God bless King George!" to which Kilmarnock assented by a bow, but Balmerino emphatically exclaimed, "God bless King James!" The prisoners were then conducted to the house fitted up for their reception, and, being put into separate apartments, their friends were admitted to see them. When the prisoners arrived at the door of the house, some persons among the crowd were heard asking others, "Which is Lord Balmerino?" His lordship, overhearing the question, turned a little about, and, with a smile, said, "I am Balmerino, gentlemen, at your service."

About eleven o'clock Lord Balmerino sent a message to Lord Kilmarnock requesting an interview, which being consented to, Balmerino was brought into Kilmarnock's apartment. The following dialogue, as reported by Mr. Foster, then ensued. BALMERINO—"My lord, I beg leave to ask your lordship one question." KILMARNOCK—"To any question, my lord, that you shall think proper to ask, I believe I shall see no reason to decline giving an answer." B. "Why then, my lord, did you ever see or know of any order signed by the prince, to give no quarter at Culloden?" K. "No, my

lord." B. "Nor I neither; and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murders." K. "No, my lord, I do not think that inference can be drawn from it; because, while I was at Inverness, I was informed by several officers that there was such an order, signed 'George Murray;' and that it was in the duke's custody. B. "Lord George Murray! Why, then, they should not charge it upon the prince." After this conversation the prisoners tenderly saluted each other, and Balmerino, after bidding his friend in affliction an eternal and happy adieu, added, with a countenance beaming with benignity, "My dear lord, I wish I could alone pay the reckoning and suffer for us both."

Lord Kilmarnock appeared to be most anxious to impress upon the minds of those who were with him the sincerity of his repentance for the crime for which he was about to suffer. He declared himself fully satisfied with the legality of King George's title to the crown, and stated that his attachment to the reigning family, which had suffered a slight interruption, was then as strong as ever. He spent a considerable time in devotion with Mr. Foster, till he got a hint from the sheriffs that the time was far advanced, his rank as an earl giving him a melancholy priority on the scaffold. After Mr. Foster had said a short prayer, his lordship took a tender farewell of the persons who attended him, and, preceded by the sheriffs, left the room followed by his friends. Notwithstanding the great trouble he had taken, in accordance with the wish of Mr. Foster, to familiarise his mind with the outward apparatus of death, he was appalled when he stepped upon the scaffold at beholding the dreadful scene around him, and, turning round about to one of the clergymen, said, "Home, this is terrible!" He was attired in a suit of black clothes, and, though his countenance was composed, he had a melancholy air about him, which indicated great mental suffering. Many of the spectators near the scaffold were so much affected by his appearance that they could not refrain from tears, and even the executioner was so overcome that he was obliged to drink several glasses of spirits to enable him to perform his dreadful duty.

Mr. Foster, who had accompanied his lord-

ship to the scaffold, remained on it a short time in earnest conversation, and having quitted it, the executioner came forward and asked his lordship's forgiveness in executing the very painful task he had to perform. The unhappy nobleman informed the executioner that he readily forgave him, and presenting him a purse containing five guineas, desired him to have courage. His lordship then took off his upper clothes, turned down the neck of his shirt under his vest, and undoing his long dressed hair from the bag which contained it, tied it round his head in a damask cloth in the form of a cap. He then informed the executioner that he would drop a handkerchief as a signal for the stroke about two minutes after he had laid his head down upon the block. Either to support himself, or as a more convenient posture for devotion, he laid his hands upon the block. On observing this the executioner begged his lordship to let his hands fall down, lest they should be mangled or break the blow. Being told that the neck of his waistcoat was in the way, he rose up, and with the help of Colonel Craufurd, one of his friends, had it taken off. The neck being now made completely bare to the shoulders, the earl again knelt down as before. This occurrence did not in the least discompose him, and Mr. Home's servant, who held the cloth to receive his head, heard him, after laying down his head the second time, put the executioner in mind that in two minutes he would give the signal. He spent this short time in fervent devotion. Then, fixing his neck upon the block, he gave the fatal signal; his body remained without the least motion till the stroke of the axe, which at the first blow almost severed the head from the body. A small piece of skin which still united them was cut through by another stroke. The head, which was received into a scarlet cloth, was not exposed, in consequence, it is said, of the earl's own request, but along with the body, was deposited in the coffin, which was delivered to his friends, and placed by them in the hearse. The scaffold was then strewed over with fresh sawdust, and the executioner, who was dressed in white, changed such of his clothes as were stained with blood.

The first act of this bloody tragedy being

now over, the under-sheriff went to Balmerino's apartments to give him notice that his time was come. "I suppose," said his lordship on seeing this functionary enter, "my Lord Kilmarnock is no more." Being answered in the affirmative, he asked the under-sheriff how the executioner had performed his duty, and upon receiving the account, he said, "then it was well done, and now, gentlemen, (continued the inflexible Balmerino, turning to his friends,) I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life." During the time spent in Kilmarnock's execution Balmerino had conversed cheerfully with his friends, and twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, desiring the company to drink him "a degree to heaven." Saluting each of his friends in the most affectionate manner, he bade them all adieu, and leaving them bathed in tears, he hastened to the scaffold, which he mounted with a firm step.

The strong feeling of pity with which the spectators had beheld the handsome though emaciated figure of the gentle Kilmarnock gave place to sensations of another kind, when they beheld the bold and strongly-built personage who now stood on the stage before them. Attired in the same regimentals of blue turned up with red which he had worn at the battle of Culloden, and treading the scaffold with a firm step and an undaunted air, he gloried in the cause for which he suffered, and forced the assembled multitude to pay an unwilling tribute of admiration to his greatness of soul. His friends, on beholding the apparatus of death, expressed great concern; but his lordship reproved their anxiety. His lordship walked round the scaffold, and bowed to the people. He then went to the coffin, and reading the inscription, said it was correct. With great composure he examined the block, which he called his "pillow of rest." He then put on his spectacles, and, pulling a paper from his pocket, read it to the few persons about him, in which he declared his firm attachment to the house of Stuart, and stated that the only fault he had ever committed deserving his present fate, and for which he expressed his sincere regret, was in having served in the armies of the enemies of that house, Queen Anne and George I. He complained that he had not been well used by the

lieutenant of the Tower, but that having received the sacrament the day before, and read several of the Psalms of David, he had forgiven him, and said that he now died in charity with all men.

Calling at last for the executioner, that functionary stepped forward to ask his forgiveness, but Balmerino interrupted him, and said, "Friend, you need not ask my forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable." Then, presenting him with three guineas, his lordship added, "Friend, I never had much money; this is all I have, I wish it was more for your sake, and I am sorry I can add nothing else to it but my coat and waistcoat." These he instantly took off, and laid them down on the coffin. He then put on the flannel waistcoat which he had provided, and a tartan cap on his head, to signify, as he said, that he died a Scotchman; and going to the block, placed his head upon it in order to show the executioner the signal for the blow, which was by dropping his arms. Returning then to his friends, he took an affectionate farewell of them, and, surveying the vast number of spectators, said, "I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold; but," addressing a gentleman near him, he added, "remember, Sir, what I tell you; it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience."

Observing at this moment the executioner with the axo in his hand, he went up, and, taking it from him, felt the edge. On returning the fatal instrument, Balmerino showed him where to strike the blow, and encouraged him to do it with resolution, "for in that, friend," said he, "will consist your mercy." His lordship, then, with a countenance beaming with joy, knelt down at the block, and extending his arms, said the following prayer:—"O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies, bless the prince and the duke, and receive my soul." He then instantly dropt his arms. The executioner, taken unawares by the suddenness of the signal, hurriedly raised the axe, and missing his aim, struck the ill-fated lord between the shoulders, a blow which, it has been said, deprived the unfortunate nobleman of sensation; but it has been averred by some of the spectators, that Balmerino turned his head a little round upon the block, gnashed

his teeth, and gave the executioner a ghastly stare. Taking immediately a better aim, the executioner gave a second blow, which almost severed the head from the body, and deprived the noble victim of life. The body having fallen from the block, it was instantly replaced, and the executioner, once more raising the fatal weapon, finished his task. The head was received in a piece of red cloth, and deposited along with the body in the coffin, and being put into a hearse, was carried to the chapel of the Tower, and buried with that of Lord Kilmarnock, near the remains of Lord Tullibardine. Mr. Humphreys, curate of the chapel, read the funeral service, and when he came to the words, "Dust to dust, ashes to ashes," two gentlemen, friends of the deceased, took up the spades and performed the office of the grave-diggers.

For a time the unhappy fate of the two lords almost exclusively engaged the attention of the public; and in private circles, as well as in the periodicals of the day, the conduct and bearing of the unfortunate noblemen were viewed and commented upon according to the partialities and feelings of the parties. By the whigs, and generally by all persons of a real or affected seriousness of mind, Kilmarnock was regarded as a perfect model of the dying Christian, who, though he had been guilty of base ingratitude to the government, and had told a falsehood at his trial, had fully atoned for his offences by his contrition; whilst his companion in suffering was looked upon as an incorrigible rebel, who had braved death with an unbecoming levity. The Jacobites, however, and even some of the friends of the revolution settlement, whilst they could not but admire the calm resignation of Kilmarnock, heartily despised the cringing pusillanimity which he displayed to soften the resentment of the government. Balmerino was viewed by them in a very different light. Whilst the Jacobites looked upon him as an illustrious martyr, who had added a lustre to their cause by his inflexible intrepidity and the open avowal of his sentiments, the other section of his admirers applauded his courage, and paid a just tribute to his honesty. The more dispassionate judgment of posterity has done ample justice to the rectitude and magnanimity of this unfortunate nobleman.

The next victims to the offended laws were Donald Macdonald, of the Keppoch family, who had served as a captain in the regiment of that chief, Walter Ogilvy, a young man of good family in Banffshire, a lieutenant in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment, and James Nicolson, who had kept a coffee-house in Leith. These three, with one Alexander Maegrowth, who also held a commission in the Highland army, were taken at Carlisle. When brought to the bar of the court at St. Margaret's-hill, the three first pleaded guilty, and begged for mercy; but Maegrowth attempted to defend himself on the ground that he was forced into the insurrection by the Duke of Perth against his will, having as a vassal no power to withstand the commands of his superior.⁶ This defence, corresponding in very many cases with reality, and which was also made by many of the Scotch prisoners, was overruled. On the 2d of August these four persons were condemned, and Maegrowth having been afterwards reprieved, the remainder suffered on Kennington-common, on the 22d of the same month. Macdonald and Nicolson were executed in their Highland dress. The same revolting process of disembowelling, &c., practised upon the bodies of Townley and his companions, was gone through; but the spectators were spared the revolting spectacle, which was witnessed on that occasion, of cutting down the prisoners whilst alive.

At Perth, on the 19th of September, Captain Crosby, who had deserted from the British army in Flanders, and come to Scotland with the French troops, was hanged, and two deserters were shot. A singular incident happened on this occasion. To carry the sentence against Crosby into execution on the day appointed, the hangman of Perth was secured in the town prison; but having apparently no certainty that he would perform his painful duty, the hangman of Stirling was sent for by the magistrates, who, upon his appearance, liberated the timorous functionary. The hangman immediately fled the place. Captain Crosby was brought to the place of execution on the appointed day, but before the time for

⁶ "The general plea and defence of the prisoners at Carlisle was that they were forced into the rebellion—i. e., they were put under influences by clanship and such like, morally equivalent to force."—*Carlisle in '45*, p. 257.

throwing him off arrived, the executioner dropt down dead. After remaining a considerable time at the place of execution the guard was returning with Crosby to the prison, when an infamous criminal, who was a prisoner in the jail, offered to hang the captain for a reward of ten guineas and a free pardon. The authorities having acceded to the demand of this ruffian, Crosby was immediately carried back to the place of execution, and suffered with great fortitude.⁷

The sittings at St. Margaret's-hill were resumed on the 23d of August, and were continued from time to time for about two months. Bills were found against thirty-two persons, besides Lord Macleod and Secretary Murray; but these last were not brought to trial. Of the thirty-two tried no less than twenty-two were convicted at different times, all of whom received sentence of death on the 15th of November. Of these, eight of the principal were ordered for execution on the 28th of that month. Among these were Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton, Andrew Wood, Alexander Leith, and James Bradshaw. Sir John Wedderburn had acted as receiver in the counties of Perth and Angus of the ale and malt arrears raised by the Highland army; Hamilton had been governor of Carlisle; Wood, a youth of two-and-twenty, had distinguished himself as a volunteer in Roy Stewart's regiment; Leith had served as a captain in the Duke of Perth's regiment, and though old and infirm, had been remarkable for zeal and activity; and Bradshaw had shown his devotion to the cause of the Stuarts by giving up a lucrative business as a merchant in Manchester, and expending all his wealth to promote it. He entered the Manchester regiment; but thinking that he could be of more use by marching with the Highland army into Scotland than by remaining at Carlisle, he joined Lord Elcho's corps, and was taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden.

On the morning of the execution two of the prisoners of the name of Farquharson and Watson obtained a reprieve, as also did one Lindsay, just as he was about to step into the sledge. The effect upon this man's feelings, when his pardon was announced,

was such, that his life appeared for a time in danger. The five prisoners were then drawn to the place of execution in two sledges, where their doom was sealed. Bradshaw read a paper, in which he declared that he had joined "the king's forces" from a principle of duty only, and that he never had reason since to be convinced that he had been mistaken; but that, on the contrary, every day's experience had strengthened his opinion that what he had done was right and necessary. He stated that he had had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the most ungenerous enemy he believed ever assumed the name of a soldier,— "the pretended duke of Cumberland, and those under his command," whose inhumanity, he observed, had exceeded every thing he could have imagined, "in a country where the name of a God is allowed of." He expressed his firm conviction, that the order attributed to Charles to give no quarter was "a malicious, wicked report, raised by the friends of the usurper" to excuse the cruelties committed by his troops in Scotland. After a high eulogium upon the qualifications of the prince, the paper concluded with a prayer for the preservation of "King James the Third, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of York."

Besides the trials at Southwark, other trials took place at Carlisle and York, chiefly of prisoners taken at Culloden. No less than 382 of these unfortunate beings had been brought to Carlisle; but as the trial of such a great number of persons, with a view to capital punishment, might appear extremely harsh, and would be inconvenient, a proposal was made to the common prisoners, who formed the great mass, that, with certain exceptions, only one in every twenty, chosen by lot, should be tried, and that the remainder should be transported. This proposal was acceded to by a considerable number. By this means the number for trial was reduced to 127, who were immediately separated from the others, and with the exception of two—Sir Archibald Primrose and Captain Hay—thrust into one room in the keep of the castle, where their miseries induced many to hatch futile plots for escape.⁸

The judges adjourned to the 9th of September; and, in the mean time, they repaired to

⁷ True Copies of the Papers wrote by Arthur Lord Balmerino and others, published in the year 1746.

⁸ *Carlisle in '45*, p. 247-50.

York, where the grand jury found bills against 75 persons confined there. The judges resumed their sittings at Carlisle for the trial of the prisoners there, on the 9th of September, on which, and the two following days, the prisoners, against whom bills had been found, were arraigned. Bills were found against 15 more on the 12th, making a total of 134. Of these, 11 pled guilty when arraigned; 32 entered the same plea when brought to trial; 48 were found guilty, of whom 11 were recommended to mercy, 36 acquitted, 5 remanded to prison till further evidence should be procured, and 1 obtained delay on an allegation of his being a peer. The judges resumed their sittings at York on the 2d of October, and sat till the 7th. Of the 75 persons indicted, 2 pled guilty when arraigned, 52 when brought to trial, and 16 were found guilty, 4 of whom were recommended to mercy. All these received sentence of death. Five only were acquitted.

Of the 91 prisoners under sentence at Carlisle, 30 were ordered for execution; 9 of whom were accordingly executed at Carlisle on the 18th of October.⁹ Six were executed at Brampton on the 21st of the same month, and 7 suffered at Penrith. Seven out of the 30 were reprieved, and 1 died in prison. All those who were executed underwent the usual process of unbowelling.

Among those who suffered at Carlisle on October 18th, were Major Donald Macdonald of Tynedrish—he who, short-sighted, unwittingly allowed himself to be made prisoner after the battle of Falkirk. He was one of the first to join Prince Charles after his landing, and it is supposed that Sir Walter Scott had him in his mind, when he drew the character of Fergus M'Ivor, in *Waverley*. Another was the brave and chivalrous laird of Kinloch-Moidart, described as a plain honest man, exceedingly

⁹ One of them, Cappock, (created Bishop of Carlisle by Charles,) made a long speech in support of the claims of the house of Stuart. He prayed for "King James," Prince Charles, and the rest of the Stuart family, called King George an usurper, and when found guilty, he thus addressed his fellow-prisoners at the bar:—"Never mind it, my boys; for if our Saviour was here, these fellows would condemn him." Observing Brand extremely dejected, he said to him, "What the devil are you afraid of? We shan't be tried by a Cumberland jury in the other world."—*Scots Mag.* vol. viii. p. 498.

cool-headed, and fitted for either the cabinet or the field, but unable to resist the persuasions of his brother Æneas Macdonald, the Paris banker, who accompanied Charles to Scotland—and the fascination which the prince seems to have exercised on those whom he personally addressed. An acquaintance of Macdonald's visited him when he was confined a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, and asked him how he came to engage in so desperate an undertaking, which never had a probability of success? "I myself was against it," he replied; "but, Lord man, what could I do when the young lad came to my house?"¹

On the 1st of November 10 of the prisoners condemned at York suffered in that city, and on the 8th of the same month, 11 others suffered the same fate. Another prisoner suffered on the 15th November. The work of death closed at Carlisle on the 15th of December by the immolation of 11 more victims.

Out of the 77 persons who thus suffered, it is remarkable that, with the solitary exception of Lord Kilmarnock, they all maintained, to the very last, the justice of the cause for which they suffered. The more enthusiastic among them even openly declared that they would continue to support the claim of the exiled family to the crown if set at liberty.

Notwithstanding this useless waste of human blood, the government did not consider the work of destruction complete till the lives of two individuals, who lay more especially under its ban, were sacrificed, as the last atonement to public justice. These were Charles Ratcliffe and Lord Lovat. The former was a younger brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, who suffered in 1716, and whose title Mr. Ratcliffe had assumed. He had been engaged in the former insurrection, taken at Preston, and condemned, but made his escape out of Newgate; and after passing some years in France and Italy, married the Countess of Newburgh at Paris. He had visited England privately in 1733, and returned again two years thereafter, when he appeared openly in public. Soliciting his pardon without success, he returned to France, where he remained till November, 1745, when he was made prisoner on board a French vessel, on her way to Scotland

¹ *Carlisle in '45*, pp. 254 and 266.

with suppries for Prince Charles. He was arraigned at the bar of the court of king's bench on the 21st of November, 1746, upon his former sentence; but he refused either to plead or to acknowledge the authority of the court, on the ground that he was a subject of France, where he had resided thirty years, and honoured with a commission in the service of his most christian majesty. Being brought to the bar next day, his former sentence being read over to him, he pleaded that he was not the person therein mentioned; but his identity being clearly established, he was ordered to be executed on the 8th of December. His aunt, Lady Petre, did every thing in her power to save him, or at least to procure a respite till his lady should arrive from Paris, but without success. Some demur seems, however, to have existed, as the preparations for his execution were so long delayed, that the carpenters were obliged to work on the scaffold on Sunday the day before the execution, and all the following night.

The preparations for his execution were somewhat the same as those in the cases of Kilmarnock and Balmerino. He was dressed in a suit of scarlet, faced with black velvet trimmed with gold, a gold-laced waistcoat, and wore a white feather in his hat. When he came upon the scaffold he took a tender farewell of his friends, and after spending about seven minutes in prayer on his knees, he rose, and pulling off his clothes, went forward to the block, on which he placed his head to try how it fitted. He then spoke to the executioner as if giving him directions, and kneeling down again, and fixing his head upon the block, in about two minutes he gave the signal to the executioner, who, as in the case of Balmerino, did not complete his work till he had given the third blow. The head was received in a scarlet cloth. Without the levity of Balmerino, Mr. Ratcliffe displayed the same manly fortitude and contempt of death exhibited by that unfortunate nobleman. He died, as he had lived, a Catholic; and so warmly was he attached to the faith of his ancestors, that when some zealous Protestant objected to him that some of the tenets of his religion were contrary to reason, he is said to have wished, that for every such tenet, the belief of which was re-

quired by the church, there were twenty, that he might have a larger field for exercising his faith.¹ His body was delivered over to his friends, and interred by them, on the 11th of November, at St. Giles's-in-the-fields, near the remains of his brother.

The last scene of this bloody tragedy ended with the trial and execution of the aged Lord Lovat, who had been confined in the Tower since the 15th of August. He was impeached by the House of Commons on the 11th of December, and was brought to the bar of the House of Peers on the 18th, when the articles of impeachment were read to him.² At his own desire, four gentlemen were assigned him for counsel, and he was appointed to put in answers to the articles of impeachment on or before the 13th of January. The trial, which was appointed to take place on the 23d of February, was postponed to the 5th, and afterwards to the 9th of March, on which day it commenced. The articles of impeachment were in substance, that he had compassed and imagined the death of the king,—that he had corresponded with the Pretender, accepted a commission from him to be a lieutenant-general of his forces, and another to be general of the Highlanders, and that he had accepted a patent from the Pretender creating him Duke of

¹ Boyse, p. 176.

² The Laird of Macleod, in a letter to Lord-president Forbes, dated 18th December, 1746, says, "I saw unhappy Lovat to-day. Except for the feebleness of his limbs, his looks are good. He asked me several general questions, and particularly about you;—said he was resigned, and ready to meet his fate, since it was God's will;—asked after his children, &c." In another letter to the president, written two days thereafter, he again alludes to his lordship:—"Lovat behaved well at the bar of the house of peers, and they say with spirit. Granville and Bath spoke very strongly with regard to the seizure of his estate and effects; and that matter is ordered to be rectified, except in so far as private creditors come in the way." Sir Andrew Mitchell, however, who was more of a courtier than Macleod, viewed matters in a different light. In a letter to the president, 26th December, 1746, he remarks, "Your lordship will have heard an account of Lord Lovat's behaviour; and, therefore, I shall not trouble you with the particulars; only, I must observe, there was neither dignity nor gravity in it: he appeared quite unconcerned; and what he said was ludicrous and buffoonish; but his petition for the restoration of his effects, &c., was bold and well worded; which, however, would have been passed over without notice, had not Lord Granville bounced, and Lord Bath vapoured, and procured an order to be entered in the Journals, and have by that acquired to themselves a sort of popularity, which you know they very much wanted. No Scots nobleman spoke on this occasion; they are prudent and cautious. God bless them!"—*Culloden Papers*.

Fraser,—that he had met with armed traitors, and had raised great numbers of armed men for the service of the Pretender and his son, and had traitorously levied a cruel and unnatural war against his majesty,—that he had



Simon, Lord Lovat.—(From Hogarth's Picture.)

sent a treasonable letter to the son of the Pretender when in arms within the kingdom,—that he had also sent treasonable letters to other persons, then openly in arms against the king,—that he had assisted the rebels in their traitorous designs, and had sent his eldest son, and many of his name, family, and dependents, to the assistance of the Pretender's eldest son, and had given them instructions in the prosecution of the rebellion,—and finally, that he had traitorously, both in person and by letters, held correspondence with the eldest son of the Pretender, and with divers persons employed by him, and particularly with Murray of Broughton, the two Lochiels, John Roy Stewart, Dr. Cameron, and others. To all these charges Lord Lovat gave a pointed denial.

They were, however, fully established by the strongest proofs. The written evidence consisted of papers found in his lordship's strong box, besides some letters which he had written

to Prince Charles, the last of which having come into the hands of Murray of Broughton, in his capacity of secretary to the prince, were basely delivered up by him to save his own worthless life. Lord Lovat exerted all his ingenuity to evade the force of the evidence; but the proofs of his criminality were too clear to admit of any doubt. His lordship objected to the admissibility of Murray as a witness, on the ground that he was attainted by act of parliament made in the previous session, and that he had not surrendered himself in terms of the act. Having stated that he had several objections against the witness, one or two of which he considered essential, a discussion ensued as to whether all these objections should not at once be stated. As giving a fair sample of the manner in which the trial was conducted, the argument on both sides, on the point alluded to, is here given:—

“MR. ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—My lords, I observe that the noble lord at the bar said that he had several objections to the examining this witness, and that one or two of them were essential; but the noble lord has not mentioned more than one. I presume, my lords, it would be proper that he should name all his objections at once, that the managers may have an opportunity of answering them all, and receiving your lordships' judgment upon the whole; therefore, if he has any other objections to offer, it would be proper he should mention them now to your lordships. LORD LOVAT.—My lords, I submit it to your lordships that that is a very odd proposition. I give your lordships an essential one now, and when that is answered I have another. I am not to be directed by those who are my *persecutors*. LORD-HIGH-STEWARD.—My Lord Lovat, you are not to be directed by your accusers, but by the lords who are your judges; and the course of proceeding in this and all other courts is, that a person, who objects to any witness, should name all his objections at the same time; and it is the more material in this court, as it tends to prevent the trouble of making several unnecessary adjournments. LORD L.—My lords, as this objection is very essential, I pray that it may be answered before I make another. LORD TALBOT.—If this is a material objection to the witness, then there will be no

occasion for any other; but if it is an immaterial one, then your lordships may go into any other; but the way proposed by the managers may be very detrimental to the unhappy person at the bar. LORD H. S.—Your lordships hear what is proposed; and the question is, whether the noble lord at the bar shall name all his objections now, or take them up one by one. SIR WILLIAM YONGE, (one of the managers from the commons.)—My lords, I should hope that, in any course of proceeding, where objections of this kind are made, they should be made all together; for if they are made separate, we must consequently make distinct answers to them all, which may oblige your lordships to adjourn often to the chamber of parliament, which will create a great and unnecessary delay of time: and my lords, there can be no objection to his naming the whole at once, since they will all be distinctly considered by your lordships, and undoubtedly receive distinct answers. I therefore humbly insist, that he may be obliged to name all his objections at once. MR. NOEL, (another manager.)—My lords, what we are now upon is no point of law at all: it is simply, whether the noble lord at the bar as is usual should not name all his objections at once? When he does name them, then to such as are clear points of law he must be heard by his counsel; but at present, my lords, we are upon a question concerning the course of proceeding, whether he shall name them all at once, that they may be taken into consideration at the same time? My lords, one thing struck me in a very extraordinary manner:—It was said by the noble lord at the bar, that he was not to be directed by his *persecutors*. My lords, we are no persecutors; we persecute no man; we are intrusted by the commons, who carry on this prosecution against the noble lord at the bar for treason, and we prosecute for the preservation of the king's government and the laws of the land. LORD L.—My lords, I said I was not to be directed by those who accused me. Your lordships cannot expect I can say what I have to offer in an eloquent manner. My lords, should the saving of a little time be a reason for taking away a person's life? I hope these will not act like the parricides who took off the head of both kingdoms in a day by their prosecu-

tion. I am a peer of this land, and I think no excuse of saving time should be allowed as a reason to destroy me. LORD H. S.—My Lord Lovat, the lords will use all the deliberation, and give you all the time that is requisite for your defence; but I must beg your lordship will have so much consideration as to keep your temper, and not suffer yourself to be hurried into passion, for that may greatly prejudice you in making your defence. Your lordship will find the advantage in your defence by keeping your temper. LORD L.—I give your lordship my humble thanks: and since your lordships will not allow me counsel, I have spoke the little nonsense I had to say; but now your lordships shall hear me say nothing out of temper. LORD H. S.—My Lord Lovat, the question now is, whether you shall name all your objections at once? I must acquaint your lordship that that is the rule in the courts below, that if several objections are made to a witness, they are all named at once, in order to prevent unnecessary delays. LORD L.—My lords, to show how much I desire to save time, though, according to the course of nature, my time can be but short, I am so far from desiring to give your lordships trouble, or to prolong time, that I do insist upon this objection to the witness, and rely upon it as the only material objection."³

The managers having offered to prove, by the record of the court of King's bench, that Mr. Murray had surrendered himself within the time prescribed, the question whether the record should be received in evidence, was argued at great length by the counsel for Lord Lovat, and the managers on the part of the prosecution. Having decided that the record might be read and given in evidence, Lord Lovat offered to falsify the record, by proving, in opposition to the averment therein contained, that Mr. Murray had not surrendered himself as required by the act of parliament. The court, however, decided that the record of the court of King's bench, which was, nevertheless, literally untrue, could not be falsified by oral evidence.

Being called upon to make his defence on the sixth day of the trial, Lovat gave in a long

³ Trial published by order of the House of Peers. London, 1747.

paper, in which he commented with great severity upon the witnesses, whose testimony he maintained was not to be credited. He designated Secretary Murray as "the most abandoned of mankind, who, forgetting his allegiance to his king and country, had, according to his own confession, endeavoured to destroy both, like another Catiline, to patch up a broken fortune upon the ruin and distress of his native country. To-day stealing into Franco to enter into engagements upon the most sacred oath of fidelity; soon after, like a sanguinary monster, putting his hand and seal to a bloody proclamation, full of rewards for the apprehending of the sacred person of his majesty, and lest the cup of his iniquity had not been filled, to sum up all in one, impudently appearing at their lordships' bar to betray those very secrets which he confessed he had drawn from the person he called his lord, his prince and master, under the strongest confidence." "Thus far," he concluded, "I thought it my duty, in vindication of myself, to trouble your lordships, and without further trespassing upon your patience, freely submit my life, my fortune, my honour, and what is dearest of all, my posterity, to your lordships."⁴

After the managers for the prosecution had addressed the court, Lord Lovat was withdrawn from the bar. All the peers present—117 in number—unanimously found his lordship guilty. Lord Lovat was then called back to the bar, and informed by the lord-high-steward

⁴ He made several appeals calculated to move commiseration for his grey hairs. "My lords," he said, at the commencement, "I have not had the use of my limbs these three years; I cannot see, I cannot hear; and I beg, if your lordships have a mind I should have any chance of my life, that you will allow either my counsel or solicitors to examine my witnesses, and to cross-examine those produced on behalf of the crown, and to take notes." If he had been tried, on the charges brought against him, in Scotland forty-six years earlier, he would have been allowed this privilege; but the rules of English law confined the assistance of counsel, in cases of treason, to purely legal questions. At the conclusion of the second day he complained of the hardships of the early daily attendance to one of his infirm constitution, and said, "I must therefore beg that your lordships will indulge me with a later hour and some respite; otherwise I shall die at your bar," but the request seems to have been unheeded. Another appeal of the same description, in which he said, "I fainted away thrice this morning before I came up to your lordships' bar; but yet was determined to show my respect to your lordships, or die upon the spot," produced a respite of a day.—Burton's *Life of Lovat*, p. 257.

of the judgment of the court. Being brought up next day to receive his sentence, he addressed the court in a long speech, in which he gave a rambling recital of his services to the house of Hanover; and after receiving sentence, he implored their lordships and the managers of the commons to recommend him to the mercy of his majesty. Before leaving the bar, he said, "God bless you all, and I bid you an everlasting farewell. We shall not meet all in the same place again. I am sure of that."

"The public were ravenous with curiosity about the great Leviathan that had been at last so effectually hooked, and it was necessary to fill the ear of London with details of his previous history, as well as anecdotes of his conduct since his capture. Many of them are fabulous, and many not worth preserving, but a few are too characteristic to be passed over. They may be announced by an incident not mentioned in the contemporary accounts, but preserved by tradition. On his return from the House of Lords to the Tower, an old woman not very well favoured, had pressed through the crowd and screamed in at the window of the coach, "You'll get that nasty head of yours chopped off, you ugly old Scotch dog," to which he answered, "I believe I shall, you ugly old English b——," paying her back with the feminine of the masculine epithet she had applied to him. The major of the Tower coming to visit him and ask how he did, he answered, "Why, I am about doing pretty well, for I am preparing myself, sir, for a place where hardly any majors, and very few lieutenant-generals go;" this was a more distinct hint than that given to the House of Lords."⁵

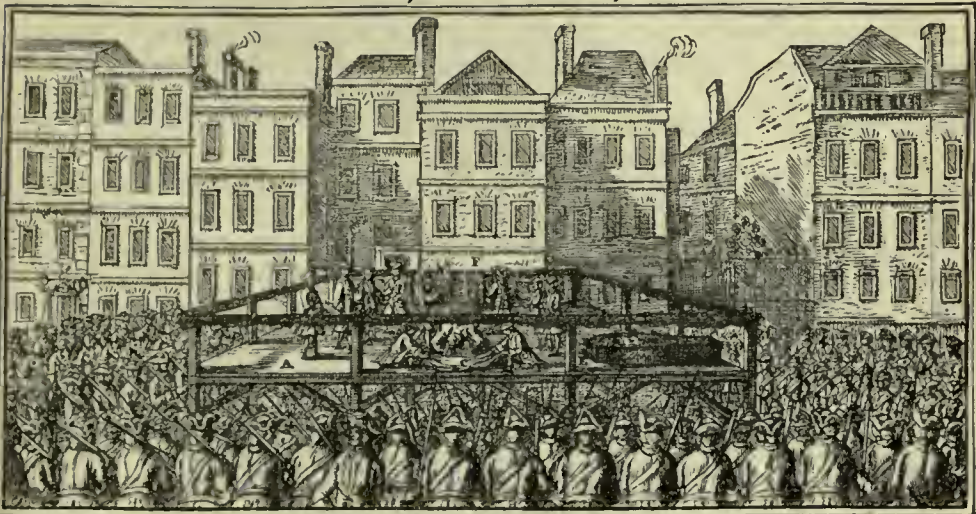
On the 2d of April the sheriffs of London and Middlesex received a warrant for his execution, which was appointed to take place on the 9th. His lordship, it is said, petitioned the king that he might be despatched by the maiden, the Scottish instrument of decapitation; but his application was not attended to. His approaching fate did not in the least discompose him, and though in the eightieth year of his age, his spirits never flagged, nor was his natural vivacity in any degree diminished. He said, the day before his execution, that he was never at any time in better spirits; and he told Dr.

⁵ Burton's *Lovat*, pp. 262, 263.

Clark, his physician, that the Tower was a better recipe for upholding them than the emetics he used to give him.⁶ Though regardless of death, and even occasionally facetious on the circumstances of his coming exit, he was not indifferent to the consolations of religion, and cheerfully availed himself of the spiritual assistance of a Catholic priest. Early on the morning of the execution, 1,200 troops drew up on Tower-hill, and all the preparations were gone through as in the former instances. About an hour before the execution, a serious accident occurred, in consequence of the fall of

a large scaffolding with 400 persons, by which eighteen were killed on the spot, and many bruised and crippled. When Lovat heard of it his cool remark was,⁷ "Tho more mischief the better sport." When he arrived at the scaffold, Lovat was obliged, from infirmity, to obtain the assistance of two persons in mounting. He displayed, to the very last, his characteristic fortitude, or rather bravado, and, with great coolness, felt the edge of the axe, with the sharpness of which he declared himself satisfied. On looking round and observing the great crowd, he said, "God save us,—why

A REPRESENTATION of the Execution of Lord LOVAT.



A. The Scaffold. B. Lord Lovat's head on of Block. C. Cloth to receive the Head. D. The Executioner with's of Axe. E. The Coffin. F. The Horse from which he came on the Scaffold.

Phototype fac-simile from a rare contemporary print in the possession of James Drummond, Esq., R.S.A.

should there be such a bustle about taking off an old gray head that cannot get up three steps without two men to support it."⁸ He gave the executioner ten guineas, advised him to perform his duty firmly, and take a good aim, and told him that if he mangled his shoulders, he would be displeased with him. In conversation he used frequently to cite passages from the classics; and, on the present occasion, he repeated the celebrated saying of Horace,—*"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,"* as peculiarly applicable to the cause for which he was about to suffer. After spending some time in devotion, this remarkable man laid his head

down upon the block with the utmost composure, and the executioner struck it off at a single blow. His lordship had given directions that his body should be carried to Scotland, and his friends had removed it to an undertaker's in the Strand preparatory to its being sent down; but, by order of government, it was interred at St. Peter's in the Tower, in the same grave with Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino.

Whilst these executions could not fail to impress the disaffected with a strong idea of the power and inclination of government to uphold and maintain the authority of the law, they were calculated by their number and

⁶ *Culloden Papers*, p. 302. ⁷ *Burton's Lovat*, p. 265.

⁸ *Burton's Lovat*, p. 265.

severity rather to excite a thirst for vengeance, than to inspire that salutary fear which it is the object of punishment to promote. During these executions, a scheme was concocted to arrest the arm of the law by seizing and carrying off the person of the Duke of Cumberland, and retaining him as a hostage for the lives of the prisoners. The originators of this bold design went from London to Paris, and laid their plan before Charles shortly after his arrival from Scotland, and offered to make the attempt; but Charles refused to sanction it, and the scheme was dropped.¹

By way of conciliating the offended feelings of the nation, the government got an act of indemnity passed in June, 1747, granting a pardon, with certain exceptions, to all persons who had been engaged in the rebellion; but these exceptions were so numerous as to divest the act of all pretensions to the character of grace or favour. Besides all persons attainted of high treason by act of parliament or judgment, or conviction of high treason by verdict, confession, or otherwise, upwards of eighty persons were specially excepted by name.²

¹ Vide Letter in the *Stuart Papers* from the Rev. Myles Macdonell to the Chevalier de St. George, dated St. Amiens, 4th May, 1747.

² Among these were the Earls of Traquair and Kellie, Robert Maccarty, styling himself Lord Clancarty, Sir James Stewart & Good Trees; Sirs John Douglas, James Harrington, James Campbell, William Dunbar, and Alexander Bannerman; Archibald Stewart, late provost of Edinburgh, Chisholm of Comar, Cameron of Dungallon, Drummond of Bochaldu, Fraser of Foyers, Farquharson of Bulmarrell, Fraser of Avochnacloy, Dow Fraser of Little Garth, Fraser of Browich, Fraser of Gortuleg, Gordon of Abochie, Grant of Glenmoriston, Hunter of Burnside, Hay younger of Rannus, Irvine of Drum, Macdonald of Barisdale, M'Gregor of Glengyle, Macleod of Raasay, Gilbert Menzies, younger of Pitfodels, Moir of Stonywood, Æneas Macdonald, James Macdonald, brother to Kinlochmoidart, Macdonell of Glengarry, Macdonald of Glenco, Robertson of Strowan, Robertson of Faskally, Robertson of Blairfetty, Stuart of Kynachin, Turner, younger of Turner-hall, &c., &c.

Among those formerly attainted and excepted in the above-mentioned act, were the following, viz., Lords Pitsligo, Elcho, Nairuo, and Ogilvy, Lord George Murray, Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord John Drummond, — Drummond, eldest son of Lord Strathallan, the Master of Lovat, Graham of Duntroon, Sir William Gordon of Park, Gordon of Glenbucket, young Lochiel, Dr. Cameron, Cameron of Tor Castle, young Clanranald, Lochgarry, young Barisdale, Macdonald of Glencoe, Macpherson of Cluny, MacLachlan of Castle Lachlan, Mackinnon of Mackinnon, Stewart of Ardshiel, Lockhart, younger of Caruwath, Oliphant of Gask and his eldest son, Graham of Airth, Roy Stewart, Farquharson of Monaltery, Hay of Restalrig, &c.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

A. D. 1747—1748.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

Arrival of Prince Charles at Paris—Meeting with his brother—Reception at Fontainebleau—He returns to Paris—Memorialises Louis—Admonished by his father as to his conduct in France—Charles retires to Avignon—Treatment of Lord G. Murray—His journey to Spain—Return to Paris—Prince Henry made Cardinal—Charles's pecuniary and other difficulties—His advisers—Congress and peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Charles and his father protest against the treaty—Charles refuses to quit the French territories—His arrest—Conducted out of the French dominions—Arrival at Avignon.

As soon as the French court received intelligence of the return of Charles to France, they gave orders to prepare the castle of St. Antoine for his reception. He was met near Paris on the 15th of October, (N. S.,³) by his brother and a considerable number of the nobility, who conducted him to his appointed residence. The meeting between the two brothers, who had not seen each other for nearly three years, was of a most affecting description, and the persons who were present declared that they had never before witnessed such a moving scene. Charles at first sight did not know Henry, but the latter at once knew the prince, who is described by his brother as not in the least altered in his appearance since he last saw him, only that he had "grown somewhat broader and fatter."⁴

Louis with his court was at this time residing at Fontainebleau, and as Charles was impatient to see him, he sent Colonel Warren thither with instructions to Colonel O'Brien, the accredited minister of the Chevalier de St. George at the court of France, to request an audience. Some difficulties were started at first by the French ministers on the subject of this demand, but the king at last consented to see Charles and his brother, but stipulated that they should preserve a sort of incognito.⁵ Louis in fact had become tired of the war, and that he might not widen the breach between him and the court of London by appearing to

³ It is to be attended to, that in alluding to Charles's proceedings on the continent the New Style is followed.

⁴ Letter among the *Stuart Papers*.

⁵ Letter from O'Brien to the Chevalier, 17th October, 1746, in the *Stuart Papers*.

recognise the pretensions of the exiled family, he had resolved not to receive the sons of the Chevalier at his court as princes of England. James, who was fully aware of this policy of the French court, thus argues the matter with Charles, who naturally felt indignant at the mode of his reception; "I am far from saying but that the king of France might have done a great deal more for you; but after all, we must consider the vast expenses he is at during the war, and the system he has certainly laid down to himself of not treating you and your brother as princes of England, which system I own shocked me at first, and seems preposterous in the present situation of affairs; but when one considers the uncertainty of the events of war, and that if we are not restored before a peace, the king of France cannot but continue to acknowledge the elector of Hanover as king of England, and by consequence treat us no more as princes of England; we cannot but own that it is wise in him, and in a certain sense even kind to us, not to expose himself and us to a possibility and necessity of ceasing to treat us according to our birth, after having once done it."⁶

If Louis had been actuated by the motive thus charitably imputed to him, the reasoning of James would have been plausible enough; but Charles, who had both before and during his expedition experienced the hollowness of the French policy, could not fail to perceive that his father had formed an erroneous idea of Louis's intentions. As by the treaty of Fontainebleau he had been recognised by that monarch as prince regent of Scotland, Charles had good reason to complain of the mode in which he was to be received by his most Christian majesty; but he repressed his feelings of disappointment on the occasion, and yielded to a necessity which it was not in his power to control. He resolved, however, to neutralize the effect which his appearance at court as a private person might have upon the people by getting up a splendid equipage, and proceeding to Fontainebleau in great state.

Accordingly, on the day fixed for his reception at court, Charles left the castle of St.

Antoine, accompanied by a number of his friends in coaches and on horseback. The *cortege* was on the whole very grand; but Charles himself attracted particular attention by the superbness of his dress. His coat was of rose-coloured velvet, embroidered with silver, and lined with silver tissue. His waistcoat was of rich gold brocade, with a spangled fringe set out in scollops. The cockade in his hat and the buckles of his shoes were studded with diamonds. The George at his bosom, and the order of St. Andrew, which he wore at one of the button-holes of his waistcoat, were illustrated with large diamonds. "In fine," observes an enthusiastic eye-witness, "he glittered all over like the star which they tell you appeared at his nativity." Louis received Charles with great kindness, and, embracing him, said, "My dearest Prince, I thank Heaven for the very great pleasure it gives me to see you returned in good health after so many fatigues and dangers. You have proved that all the great qualities of the heroes and philosophers are united in you, and I hope that you will one day receive the reward of such extraordinary merit." The queen, likewise, welcomed him with every demonstration of good-will and affection. He had never been at the court of France before, and every person was extremely desirous of seeing a prince of whom they had heard so much. As Charles retired from the palace, the whole court crowded about him, and complimented him so highly upon the fame of his exploits, that they could scarcely have testified greater joy, or expressed themselves in warmer terms, had the dauphin himself been engaged in the same dangerous expedition, and returned from it in safety.⁸ Charles, it is said, afterwards returned to the palace, and supped with the king, queen, and royal family; and all his

⁸ *Authentic Account.* The writer of this account, who states that he obtained his information from an eye-witness, says that when Charles arrived at Paris he could not be prevailed upon to take any refreshment, but instantly proceeded to Versailles, to see the king, and that though Louis was at that time engaged in council on some affairs of importance, he immediately quitted it to receive him. He then relates the interview as above stated, and says that Charles was afterwards publicly received at Fontainebleau in the character of the Prince Regent of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is certain, however, that the first time that Charles met Louis after his return to France was at Fontainebleau, and it is equally certain that he was never recognised at court as a British prince.

⁶ Letter from the Chevalier to Charles, 6th January, 1747.—*Stuart Papers.*

attendants were magnificently entertained at several tables, which had been appointed for them according to their rank.

Though the conduct of the French court towards Charles had been deceptive, yet it is understood that Louis was not so bad as his ministers in this respect; and besides, he appears to have entertained a warm regard for Charles personally. It is believed that Louis would have given proofs of his esteem by embarking with spirit in the cause of the exiled family; but he was controlled by his ministers, who certainly never were serious in their professions. Of the sincerity of the queen, however, there cannot be the least doubt. She and Charles's mother had passed many of their juvenile years together, and had contracted a warm attachment to each other, which had remained unaltered during the life of the latter. In Charles she now beheld the favourite son of her late friend, whom he strongly resembled, and she looked upon him with a maternal tenderness, which was enhanced by the reputation of his exploits, and the knowledge of the sufferings he had endured. Whenever he came to court, she is said to have conversed with him for whole hours together, during which she would make him relate his adventures to herself and her ladies, all of whom were frequently bathed in tears with the affecting recital.

Within a day or two after his arrival at Fontainebleau, Charles wrote to Louis requesting the honour of a private audience on the subject of his affairs, which appears to have been granted, as three days thereafter, namely, on the 25th of October, the prince requested another interview, for the purpose of delivering into the king's own hands a short memoir in relation to his affairs.⁹ Unable to obtain a satisfactory answer, Charles left Fontainebleau, and took up his residence with his brother at Clichy, in the neighbourhood of Paris. His company was much sought after by the fashionable circles of that gay metropolis, but he kept himself comparatively retired. He appeared at the opera for the first time on the 30th of October, and was received by the audience with clapping of hands, which continued till

⁹ Both these letters will be found among the *Stuart Papers*.

the commencement of the opera, and was renewed at the conclusion.¹

Though surrounded by men of integrity, who had suffered proscription for his sake, Charles does not appear to have consulted any of them in his difficulties, nor to have honoured them with the least share of his confidence. Shortly after his return to France he wrote to his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, who, after escaping to France, had repaired to Rome, requesting him to join him at Paris; and in the meantime he availed himself of the equivocal services of George Kelly. Sir Thomas, however, saw Charles no more, having died soon after the receipt of his pupil's letter. Charles then adopted Kelly as his confidant, but he appears to have been in every way unworthy of such a mark of distinction.²

¹ Letter from O'Brien to the Chevalier de St. George, 31st October, 1746, among the *Stuart Papers*.

² Of the unlimited confidence which these two favourites enjoyed with Charles the *Stuart Papers* afford abundant proofs. Sheridan in fact directed every thing when Charles was in Scotland, and it was solely owing to his aversion to a hill campaign,—the fatigue of which he said he could not endure,—that Lord George Murray could not prevail upon Charles to desist from engaging the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden; yet so great was the ascendancy which Sir Thomas had acquired over the mind of Charles, that the ruinous result which ensued did not in the least weaken it. Edgar announced Sheridan's death to Charles in a letter dated 2d December, 1746, and sent along with it all the papers found in Sir Thomas's repositories having relation to the Prince or his affairs, among which was a sketch of a dying speech which Sir Thomas had prepared in case he had been taken and executed. Dr. King insinuates, from the ignorance of Charles, that Sheridan was in the pay of the English government; but it would be doing injustice to the memory of the favourite to believe him guilty of such baseness without direct proofs of his criminality. The Doctor's words are: "His (Charles's) governor was a protestant, and I am apt to believe purposely neglected his education, of which, it is surmised, he made a merit to the English ministry; for he was always supposed to be their pensioner. The Chevalier Ramsay, the author of *Cyrus*, was Prince Charles's preceptor for about a year; but a court faction removed him." The illiterateness of Charles is very perceptible in his ignorance of the orthography of French and English. Both in style and orthography they contrast most unfavourably with those of his father, whose epistolary correspondence cannot fail to give the reader a favourable idea of his literary acquirements. Though James appears to have had a good opinion of Sir Thomas, yet after his death he complained bitterly to Charles, in a long and very interesting letter, (that of 3d February, 1747, in the *Stuart Papers*,) of the conduct of the favourite, and in general of the other persons who obtained the Prince's confidence. It was James's deliberate conviction that their object was to corrupt Charles, by withdrawing him from his "duty to God in the first place, and to him in the second!" The sequel of Charles's unfortunate his-

Some time after Charles's return to Paris, Louis removed his court from Fontainebleau to Versailles, where the prince and his brother met with a cordial reception from the royal family and the persons about the court, but Charles could not obtain any distinct pledge of support. This result was anticipated by his father, who had a just perception of the policy of France in his regard. "I am afraid," says James to the prince, "that you will have little reason to be satisfied with the court of France, and that you will not have less need of courage and fortitude in bearing and suffering in that country than you had in acting in Britain." Apprehensive of the impetuosity of Charles's temper, he most earnestly recommended him to conduct himself with patience and prudence, and warned him of the consequences which might ensue by adopting a different course. This admonition, however, was thrown away upon Charles.

Resolved to put the sincerity of the French court to the test, Charles presented a memorial to Louis on the state of his affairs. In this paper he drew the attention of the French king to Scotland, which he represented as on the eve of destruction; and he stated, that as the government appeared resolved to confound the innocent with the guilty, it was reasonable to conclude that the discontent of the nation would be general, and that if he was enabled to enter upon another enterprise the number of his adherents would be tripled. He also stated that he would be deceiving his most Christian majesty were he to say that he could again subdue Scotland after his friends had been destroyed, and that if the opportunity was then lost the king of France might for ever renounce any expected aid to his arms by a revolution in that country,—that he had always had numerous partisans in Scotland, though he had never had a sufficient supply either of money, provisions, or regular troops, and that if he had been well provided with only one of these three helps, he would still have been master of Scotland, and probably

tory seems to confirm this opinion. A most unfavourable sketch of the character of Kelly, the new favourite, is given by Father Myles Macdonell, his own relative, for which see the Father's letter to the Chevalier de St. George, 4th May, 1747, in the *Stuart Papers*.

also of England,—that if he had had three thousand regular troops he would have penetrated into England immediately after the battle of Preston, and as George II. was then absent from the kingdom, and the English troops in Flanders, he could have marched to London without opposition,—that had he been supplied with provisions he could have pursued General Hawley after the battle of Falkirk, and destroyed all his army, which was the flower of the British troops. Finally, that if he had received two months earlier only the half of the money which his majesty had sent him, he would have fought the Duke of Cumberland on equal terms, and he would certainly have beaten him, since with four thousand men only he had kept victory in suspense, though opposed by an army of twelve thousand. Having thus stated the causes to which the failure of his expedition was owing, Charles proposed that Louis should furnish an array of eighteen or twenty thousand men, which he stated he would employ usefully for their mutual interests, which he considered inseparable.³

Charles appears to have conducted himself, hitherto, with great moderation; but as no notice was taken of his demand for troops, he grew violent and imperious. The French ministry had, by order of Louis, granted a sum of sixty-two thousand nine hundred livres for the relief of such of Charles's adherents as had arrived in France,⁴ and Louis himself now offered him a pension suitable to his rank; but he refused to accept it. James, who was fully informed of the circumstances of Charles's behaviour, thus expostulates with him:—"The truth is, I dread your feeling severely one day the consequence of your present conduct towards the court of France; for although, on account of the obligations they owe you, they may, out of a certain prudence and policy dissemble for a time, yet by gaining the ill-will of those ministers, and by carrying things

³ There are two copies of this memoir among the *Stuart Papers*. One of them written in the first person, and holograph of the prince, is titled, "Memoir to ye F. K. from me of 10th Nov. 1746." The other is titled, 'Ancien Project de Memoire,' and is written in the third person.

⁴ Statements showing the division of this money, will be found in the *Stuart Papers*.

too high, you will sooner or later certainly feel the bad effects of it; whereas, had you received what the king of France lately offered you, it was still putting yourself in the possession of feeling the effects of his generosity, and you would have probably got much more in time in some shape or another."⁵ Count D'Argenson also was very complaisant to Charles; but James cautioned him not to infer therefrom, that his conduct was approved of by that minister.

Waiting upwards of two months, and receiving no answer to his memorial, Charles addressed a letter to Louis on the 12th of January, in which, after alluding to the favours his majesty had granted to his companions in misfortune, which he regarded as a new proof of his majesty's generosity towards his family, he stated that his object in coming to the court of France was to propose a plan of an expedition, which would be much more advantageous for both parties than the former;—that this object alone occupied all his thoughts, and that every other step which had been proposed to the king of France to promote his personal interests, had been done without his sanction. He concluded a longish letter, written in his usual loud style, by telling Louis that as he could not appear in the way in which he was persuaded his majesty wished in his own heart to see him, he would retire to some place where his present condition would be of less consequence, and where he would be always ready to concur with the king of France in such steps as might contribute to his glory, and the restoration of his family to their just rights, and he trusted his majesty would approve of his resolution. He added, that if, during his absence, the king of France should find it convenient to think seriously of another expedition, he would immediately return to the court on being informed of his majesty's wish, and that, in the meantime, he would appoint a person at Paris who had his entire confidence to negotiate in his behalf with the king of France and his ministers.⁶

⁵ Letter from the Chevalier to Charles, 6th January, 1747.—*Stuart Papers*.

⁶ Letter from Charles to Louis, 12th January, 1747, in the *Stuart Papers*. Sir James Stewart appears to have been the person Charles intended to appoint, as

As neither Louis nor his ministers had any intention of entering into Charles's views, they must have been well pleased with his determination to retire from Paris, where his presence had become exceedingly annoying; but some of his adherents regarded such a step with different feelings, as they thought it would be highly injurious to his interests. Among those who took an active part in opposing this resolution, was young Lochiel. No man was more firmly bent upon another attempt than this high-minded chief, and instead of thinking with Charles, that no expedition should be undertaken without a large force, he was for accepting any succours that could be obtained. Some time after his arrival at Paris, he had opened a correspondence with the Chevalier de St. George, in which he represented to him that the misfortunes which had befallen his cause, though great, were not irretrievable, provided timely measures were adopted for checking the depopulating system which the English government seemed to have adopted. He stated that the ruin of the Scottish adherents of the exiled family would dispirit their friends in England so much, that a restoration would become extremely difficult, if not impracticable, and that, at best, it could only be effected by an army superior to all the forces of the government; whereas, if ten regiments only were landed in Scotland before the Highlands were depopulated, not the Highlanders merely, but all other Scotchmen of spirit would unite in their support, and give so much employment to the troops of the government, that the English Jacobites might, with little assistance, be in a condition to shake off the yoke. He, therefore, advised the Chevalier to accept of whatever succours might be offered. Acting upon principles of the purest disinterestedness, Lochiel was opposed to every proposal which might seem to imply an abandonment of the cause which he had espoused, and when informed by Charles that an application had been made to the French court for a regiment to Lord Ogilvy, he told him that he disapproved of it, as such an application might make the court of France regard the affairs of

there is a draught of a commission in his hand-writing among these papers, bearing the date of 29th December, 1746.

the exiled family to be more desperate than they really were, and might prevent them from granting a body of troops for a new expedition. Charles seemed to concur in this view; but Lord Ogilvy having obtained a regiment, Charles proposed to ask one for Loehiel also. He objected, however, to the application being made, and told his royal highness that Lord Ogilvy, or others, might incline to make a figure in France, but that his ambition was to serve his country, or perish with it. Charles remarked that he was doing every thing in his power to forward his cause, and persisting in his resolution to procure a regiment for his faithful friend, Loehiel consented to accept of it if obtained, from respect to the prince, though he declared his determination to share the fate of the people he had undone, and if they were to be sacrificed to the vengeance of the government, to fall along with them.⁷ Loehiel now endeavoured to persuade Charles to remain at Paris, and represented to him the bad consequences that might ensue to his affairs by retiring; but his resolution was fixed.

Charles had in fact resolved to pay a visit to the king of Spain, and his retirement to Avignon, whither he announced his intention to proceed, was a mere blind to conceal his design from the court of France. The Chevalier, desirous in the present posture of his affairs of paying his court to his Catholic majesty, had been, for some time, applying for permission to send his youngest son to Spain. He announced his intention to Charles, and stated that he considered it would be for his interest, that while one of his sons was in France, the other should be in Spain.⁸

When James felt so uneasy in reference to Charles's deportment towards the French ministry, as to write him repeated remonstrances on the subject, it may be supposed that he would have been gratified at his resolution to retire to Avignon, more particularly as the Chevalier's agents at Paris, who had been discarded by Charles, would have probably regained the little influence they had with the French court;

but James was equally disappointed with the prince's friends at Paris at Charles's determination. In a letter which he wrote to the prince in answer to one from the latter, dated the 21st of January, stating his intention to retire to Avignon, James stated the great concern which he felt, at a step of which he could not comprehend the meaning, and that nothing, in his opinion, could justify it but a resolution on the part of the king of France not to allow him to remain in that kingdom.

Charles left Paris for Avignon about the end of January, 1747. During his stay at Paris, he had evinced a laudable anxiety to mitigate the sufferings of his companions in misfortune by acts of kindness; but there was one among them who met with neither sympathy nor gratitude at his hands. This was Lord George Murray, who had sacrificed more for him than any other individual then living. Aware of this feeling of Charles towards him, Lord George did not visit Paris on his arrival in Holland in December; but, after some stay, proceeded to Rome to pay his respects to the Chevalier de St. George. Charles, however, appears to have expected him at Paris; and in the event of his arrival there during his absence, he left written instructions with his brother Henry, to do every thing in his power to get him arrested and committed to prison.¹

¹ This circumstance, so disgraceful to the memory of Charles, is mentioned in a letter from Prince Henry to his father, dated Paris, 30th January, 1747, under the signature of John Paterson, a name sometimes assumed by Henry, when corresponding in cipher. The original letter is among the *Stuart Papers*.

Lord George's arrival at Rome was announced to Charles by the Chevalier, in a letter dated 21st March, 1747. The following extract places James's character in a very favourable point of view: "I must tell you that I was much surprised to other day at the arrival of Lord George Murray in this place. After having absconded many months in Scotland, he found means to come to Holland, and from thence by Venice here. By what Bramston, (the corresponding name of O'Sullivan,) says, I am sorry to find that you have not been pleased with him, but tho' I questioned Bramston much about him, yet I own I don't see any motive to suspect his fidelity and loyalty. People may have an odd, and even a wrong way of thinking, and may even fail in something towards ourselves, but may be men of honour and honesty with all that; so that considering his birth, and the figure he made in your service, and that you had never writ to me about him yourself, I thought it would be very wrong in me not to receive him with all kindness, and even distinction. I don't know how long he will stay here, or how he proposes to dispose of himself, but I understand he has a mind to bring over his lady, and to

⁷ Letter from Loehiel to the Chevalier de St. George, of 16th January, 1747, among the *Stuart Papers*.

⁸ Letter from the Chevalier to Prince Charles, 13th January, 1747.

Shortly after Charles's departure his brother, Henry, received a notification from his father, of his intention to send him to Spain. He immediately sent a copy of the Chevalier's letter to Charles, and stated his regret at the prospect of being removed to such a distance from his brother; but instead of thanking him for this kind expression of his feelings, Charles returned him a very petulant answer. He informed him that, while in Scotland, he had formed a design of going to the court of Spain himself, and that he had left Paris with that intention,—that having resolved to make the journey, he had not asked leave from his father for fear of being refused,—and that he intended to go and return with all imaginable privacy. He entreated Henry, by all the ties of brotherly affection, and by the regard which he had for his success of the cause, not to start from Paris though he should get leave, until the result of Charles's journey was known. He requested him to confide the secret of his journey to the king of France upon receipt of his next letter, and to represent to Louis that he had suddenly taken the resolution of making a journey to Spain after his arrival at Avignon. Henry, whose character was extremely mild and conciliating, stated, in reply, that he had communicated "the king's letter" to him as soon as he had received it, and that his province in that, as in every thing else, was blind obedience; but he observed, that his father could not foresee Charles's resolution, and that if his going to Spain would change the system Charles seemed to have proposed to himself, he would not make use of any leave he might obtain without receiving farther orders, which, he was convinced, would be to remain at Paris, whenever his father knew of Charles's determination to proceed to Spain.

Accompanied by Kelly, Dr. Cameren, and two or three domestics, Charles left Avignon early in 1747, and repaired to Madrid; but

live privately with her in some retired place. He is publicly here, for he has no measures to keep; and I must do him the justice to say that he never speaks of you but with great respect, and even eulogy. See also the letters among the *Stuart Papers* from the Chevalier to Charles of 25th April, and 2d and 9th May, 1747, copied also from the original copies in the same collection. All of them, as far as they relate to Lord George, will be read with pleasure, but particularly the first.

his reception appears to have been cold and formal, and he did not even see the queen-dowager, whom he was particularly anxious to meet. Alluding to this visit, the Chevalier observes to Charles, "I am much more concerned than surprised you had not a better reception in Spain; but I am in hopes your going thither will be of no ill consequence, provided you manage your matters in a proper manner on your return to Paris."²

In a memoir which Charles presented to Carvajal on the 6th of March, to sound the intentions of the Spanish court, he requested to be informed, in the event of the king of France agreeing to fit out an expedition in his favour, what aid his Catholic majesty would contribute in its support. He required that 30,000 fusils and 10,000 sabres should be set apart for his use in a convenient place, in order that when occasion required he might obtain them at once in a quiet manner. That two or three small ships should be got ready as soon as possible, and loaded with grain, to be sent to Scotland under the charge of a gentleman he would send along with them. That the king of Spain should give him commissions for three Scotch regiments, which, when completed, should be formed into a brigade.³ In answer to these demands, Carvajal stated, that his master could spare no ships of war to assist in the expedition, as he had only seventeen in Europe, that some of these were disabled, and that the rest were employed in the Italian war; that as to arms, orders would be given to manufacture the required number; and that arrangements would be made for carrying his demand for a supply of grain into effect. Finally, that as to the proposal about the regiments, he believed his majesty would give his consent to it.

After remaining four or five days at Madrid, Charles retired to Guadalaxara till he should obtain a definitive answer on the subject of raising the regiments. His Catholic majesty at last consented, but stipulated that none but Scotchmen should be admitted into these regiments, a condition which, under existing circumstances, rendered their formation imprac-

² Letters among *Stuart Papers*.

³ Vide Memoir, among the *Stuart Papers*.

table.⁴ Finding his journey thus in a manner unavailing, Charles returned to Paris, where he arrived on the 24th of March.

It is probable that Charles's return to Paris was hastened by a remonstrance sent to him by Lochiel on the subject of his retirement to Avignon. This zealous chief represented to the prince that peace was the topic of general conversation, and as there existed a universal desire for it in France, there was reason to believe that George II. and his allies would obtain any terms they might ask in relation to

ammunition, and only four or five battalions of foot, he believed he would not only relieve his distressed friends, and save the remainder of the country from ruin, but deliver all Scotland from the slavery to which he supposed it would soon be reduced.

Charles accordingly renewed his application to Louis and his ministers, but did not succeed in bringing "these people to reason," as he himself expresses it, or in other words, prevailing on them to accede to his demand. Baffled again in his attempt to induce the French government to engage actively in his cause, Charles contemplated a matrimonial alliance with the czarina, with the view of engaging her in his interest; but his father, to whom he communicated his design, considered it impracticable, and Charles appears to have immediately dropt it.

Notwithstanding the untoward appearance of his affairs, Charles was by no means discouraged; but the promotion of his brother to the cardinalate, which took place about three months after his return from Spain, damped his spirits. Henry had every reason to be dissatisfied with Charles's conduct towards himself personally; but he made no complaints, and it was only owing to the pceivish way in which Charles alluded to him in his letters to his father that James became apprised of his dislike to his brother.⁵ Being of a pious disposition, Henry became desirous of embracing the ecclesiastical state, and resolved to

repair to Italy to consult his father upon the subject. As he knew that Charles would object to his departure from Paris, and might possibly take measures to prevent it, he went off without informing him. Charles complained to his father of Henry's leaving Paris without acquainting him; but whilst James admitted that it was certainly not according to rule that Henry should have gone



Henry, Cardinal Duke of York.

[†]From Original Painting in possession of James Drummond, Esq., R.S.A.)

Charles. He proposed,⁵ that if Charles could not obtain from France such an embarkation of troops as would enable him to land in England and overturn the government at one blow, he should endeavour to get an embarkation for Scotland, where the disposition of the people was still so favourable, that if he could return to the Highlands with artillery, arms, and

⁴ *Stuart Papers.*

⁵ Letter from Lochiel to Charles, 23d February, 1747. among the *Stuart Papers.*

away without taking leave of Charles in person, he said he could not blame him for it under existing circumstances.

The first notice which Charles received of the intended promotion of his brother was by a letter from his father, dated from Albano on the 13th of June, 1747.⁸ Charles was both grieved and enraged when he received this intelligence, and shut himself up for several hours to give vent to his sorrow or vexation. Hitherto Charles had drunk the health of his father and brother every day at dinner, but he now discontinued that of Henry, and forbade every person about him ever to mention his name in his presence.⁹ The friends of the family regretted exceedingly this step on the part of Henry, which they considered a very imprudent one, so far as the expected restoration of the Stuarts was concerned, as it narrowed their prospects of success; but neither Henry nor James had any ambition for a crown, and the latter intended, if the succession opened, never to assume the diadem.¹ Both the pope and James notified to the king of France the design of presenting Henry with a cardinal's hat, and Louis in return signified his approbation of the step.

Among other subjects of uneasiness which pressed heavily upon Charles at this time, was the state of his pecuniary concerns. He still resolutely refused to receive any pension from the French court, and it was perhaps owing to this refusal that the French ministry showed no disposition to pay the allowances which had been granted to his adherents. To relieve the prince's immediate necessities, his father had sent him an order on Waters, his banker at Paris, for fifteen thousand livres, significantly observing, however, that as Charles had refused the pension which Louis had offered, the Chevalier presumed that he had some other resource to supply his wants. James, however, had taken care that the obstinacy of his son should not stand in the way of Louis's

bounty, and he accordingly directed O'Brien his agent to draw the pension which Charles had refused, to apply the third part thereof for the use of his son, Henry, whilst in France, and to lay out the other two-thirds in the way he should be afterwards directed.² Mr. John Grahame,³ in a letter to the Chevalier de St. George, represents the prince as having no visible means of subsistence, and that he could compare his "situation to nothing better than an immense labyrinth, out of which he had not a bit of thread to conduct him." Charles was too proud to ask his father for aid; but the latter, on hearing of his difficulties, ordered O'Brien to pay forty thousand livres into O'Sullivan's hands on his account, out of the sum he had drawn on account of Charles's pension. The prince, however, consistently declined the money, knowing the source whence it came.

In the circumstances in which he was thus placed by his own obstinacy, Charles, who never displayed much generosity towards those who had offended him, was not in the best possible mood to exercise the virtue of forgiveness. His father had repeatedly written him in relation to his threatened seizure of Lord George Murray, and had strongly inculcated the propriety of forgiving a man who had suffered so much in his cause; but Charles disregarded these paternal admonitions. Lord George was very desirous to effect a reconciliation, by making every reasonable submission that could be required of him, and for this purpose left Rome for Paris, where he arrived on the 10th of July. Charles was then living at St. Owen, in the neighbourhood of Paris, and Lord George having, the day after his arrival, ascertained the place of his residence, intended to proceed thither early on the 12th, to pay his respects to the prince. His lordship was, however, prevented from carrying his

² Letter from James to Charles, 17th February, 1747, among *Stuart Papers*.

³ This gentleman had been long in the service of the Chevalier de St. George. His father acted as solicitor in Scotland to James II. He was knighted by the Chevalier, and acted for a considerable time as his secretary of state. He was with Prince Henry at Paris, and on his departure for Rome entered Charles's household. He afterwards became a Roman Catholic. He went to Rome in 1759, at the desire of the Chevalier to act as his Secretary.

⁸ *Stuart Papers*.

⁹ Father Macdonell's letter to the Chevalier of 15th July, 1747, among the *Stuart Papers*.

¹ Letter from James to Charles, 13th January, 1747. See also two extremely interesting letters of 3d April, 1747, and 28th January, 1748, which also throw considerable light on the domestic differences which existed between Charles and his father.—*Stuart Papers*.

intention into effect, by a message from Charles, who, hearing of his arrival in Paris, sent Mr. Stafford, one of his household, to Lord George, to inform him that it was the prince's wish that he should not appear at St. Ouen, but that he would do well to leave Paris as soon as he could. Lord George requested Stafford to acquaint the prince that he had come to Franco with no other design but to pay his respects to him, and that he would punctually obey his orders by leaving Franco.

Notwithstanding frequent disputes with the French ministers, Charles always endeavoured to keep on good terms with their master; and when he defeated the confederates at Laffeldt, he wrote a letter expressive of the great joy he felt on the occasion. As every victory gained over the allies appeared favourable to his cause, he cannot be well blamed for entertaining such a feeling; but the existence of this document subverts the idea generally entertained, that Charles never expressed any satisfaction at the conquests of the French in Flanders. He was no doubt solicitous that Great Britain should maintain her honour in the field and on the ocean; but his patriotism was not so disinterested as to make him prefer that honour to the crown for which he was contending. It was not until he saw that he could no longer depend upon France for aid that his patriotism was roused.

Much as Charles trusted to his personal powers for negotiation, he soon found that it was no easy matter to bring the ministers of Louis "to reason;" and that, to be successful, it was necessary to obtain the aid of some experienced politician. He accordingly looked about him for one in whom he could repose his confidence, and fixed upon Lord Marischal as the person most likely to answer his wishes. To this nobleman, who was then living at Treviso, Charles despatched a letter in the month of August, in which he stated that his father had left him entire master, to employ such persons as were most agreeable to him, and that he might easily believe his first choice would light upon him. He informed him that his desire was that his lordship should join him with all convenient speed, and that he had too good an opinion of his loyalty and regard for his bleeding country to make him

have the least doubt of his compliance, especially since all the causes of discontent which his lordship might heretofore have had, were now quite removed. Highly complimentary as this letter was, Lord Marischal declined the honour intended him. He stated that he had not retired from public life till he saw how useless his services were, and must have been had they been continued; and that the broken state of his health required that he should pass the rest of his days in quiet.⁴

Disappointed in his advances to Lord Marischal, Charles gave himself up entirely to the direction of George Kelly, his secretary, who, it is alleged, was personally obnoxious to the French court. To counteract the rising power of this new favourite, the pernicious influence of whose counsels some of the adherents of the exiled family were already beginning to feel, Sempil, one of the Chevalier's agents at Paris, by desire of Lochiel and Drummond of Bochaldu, drew up and forwarded a representation to James in the month of June 1747. The Chevalier, who was not a bad judge of mankind, foreseeing the bad consequences that would follow if Kelly was allowed to guide the councils of the prince, had cautioned Charles against his interference shortly after his return from Scotland; but the prince attributed his father's dislike to Kelly to the misrepresentations of his enemies. In a letter, alluding to some complaints made by Charles against his brother, James observes, "What you now write to me is manifestly the product of Kelly's malice . . . as long as you are directed or influenced by him, depend upon it nothing will go well with you, and you will never have a moment's quiet yourself."⁵

These admonitions, which were repeated after Drummond's communication, were, however, thrown away upon Charles, who clung to his secretary with as great pertinacity as ever. This predilection for Kelly, if the statement of Sempil is to be credited, ruined the prince's negotiations with the French ministry, who, according to him, would have entertained a proposal made by the Marquis de Puyzieux, of embarking a force for Scotland on the dissolu-

⁴ Vide Charles's letter, and the answer, among the *Stuart Papers*.

⁵ Letter of 10th February, 1747.

tion of the British parliament; but the design was given up, because the persons in whom Charles seemed to repose his confidence were obnoxious to the French court, and were considered unworthy of trust.⁶

Whilst the French government evaded Charles's demand for a supply of troops, it acceded in other respects to his wishes. A regiment was given to Lochiel,⁷ the arrears of the gratuities granted to the Scotch exiles were paid up, and a fixed allowance of thirty-six thousand livres per annum was granted to them, the appropriation of which was left entirely to the prince. Having thus provided for his friends, the French ministry thought that Charles's repugnance to a pension might be overcome; and accordingly M. de Lally, who was directed to communicate to him the largess granted to his adherents, was also allowed to sound him on the subject of an allowance to himself. Charles, writing to M. de Puyzieux, observed, that he would accept with pleasure even the smallest favour his majesty was disposed to grant; but he begged that nothing should be given him in name of a pension, and that he should be permitted to deny to his English friends, even face to face, that he was in the receipt of it.⁸ It thus appears that Charles's objection to a pension did not proceed from any disinclination to receive the money, but from an apprehension that the circumstance of his becoming a pensioner of France would injure him with his English friends. It is not known whether the French government acted upon Charles's suggestion.

It was the policy of the French court, whilst the war lasted, to keep up appearances with the exiled family, so as to encourage the belief

⁶ Vide the two papers presented by Semplil to the Chevalier de St. George in February 1748, among the *Stuart Papers*.

⁷ Charles wished his father, on Lochiel's appointment, to present the chief with a patent of peerage, which, with other patents, had been made out but kept latent. This James declined, as he thought that, by declaring Lochiel's patent, he would disgust many deserving people, and particularly the other Highland chiefs. He very properly observed that Lochiel's interest and reputation in his own country, and his being at the head of a regiment in France, would give him more consideration there than any empty title he could bestow.—*Letter from James to Charles, 7th November, 1747, among Stuart Papers.*

⁸ Letter to M. de Puyzieux, among the *Stuart Papers.*

that it really intended to aid in its restoration. This notion was strengthened by the appointment of Lord Ogilvy and Lochiel to the command of regiments; and the fears of an invasion after Charles's return to France are said to have delayed for a time the embarkation of the British troops for Flanders. This system of intimidation would in all probability have been persevered in had not France become tired of a war which had exhausted her treasury, destroyed her commerce, and almost annihilated her navy. The confederates were equally weary of a war in which they had reaped neither honour nor advantage, and they therefore gladly availed themselves of an offer of pacification made by France. The belligerent powers accordingly agreed to hold a congress, which was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle in March 1748.

Charles now saw that all hope of an immediate restoration was at an end, and must have perceived, from the strong desire which existed in France for peace, and the low state to which that kingdom was reduced by the war, that his interests would form no bar in the way of a general pacification.

The first public step which Charles took to mark his displeasure with the conduct of the French government, in suing for a peace, was of a very decided character. When the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was about to assemble, he gave instructions to the Sicur Roettier to strike a medal with his head, and the inscription "Carolus Walliæ Princeps" (Charles Prince of Wales); and on the reverse the figure Britannia and a fleet of war-vessels, with the significant motto, "Amor et Spes Britannicæ" (The Love and Hope of Britain).

When the medal appeared it created a great sensation in France, and many of the French nobility were deeply offended at the device and motto, which they regarded as an insult offered to the nation. The prince of Conti, in particular, who was accounted one of the proudest men in all France, showed his chagrin on the occasion. Meeting Charles one day in the Luxembourg Gardens, Conti observed to Charles, with an air of pleasantry, under which a sneer was observed to lurk, that the device of his medal was not just so applicable as some persons might at first suppose, as the

British navy had not shown any particular friendship for him. Charles, who at once perceived the censure, immediately replied, "That is true, Prince! but I am, nevertheless, the friend of the navy against all its enemies; as I shall always look upon the glory of England as my own, and her glory is in her navy." About the time the medal was struck Charles sat for his portrait to Toequé, the eminent painter, which was immediately engraved by Wille, the celebrated engraver, with the title "Carolus Walliæ Princeps."

On the 30th of April, the preliminaries of a general peace were signed by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, the basis of which was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the war. A suspension of arms almost immediately followed the signing of the preliminaries. Charles was not aware that the preliminaries had been signed till some time after the suspension of arms, and he consoled himself with the vain hope that peace was not so near at hand as was generally supposed.⁹

During the negotiations Charles still went to court, though not so frequently as before, and always endeavoured to avoid any personal interviews with the king; but when informed of the signing of the preliminaries, he gave up his visits entirely. His father, and the adherents of his family, expected that he would no longer remain in a kingdom which was now again to sacrifice the interests of his house; but instead of evincing any disposition to depart, he gave a decided indication of fixing himself in Paris, by hiring a splendid hotel upon the *Quai de Theatin* for himself and his principal friends, in order, as he said, to be near the opera, play-house, and the other places of public diversion in Paris. To show how little he regarded the proceedings at Aix-la-Chapelle, he appeared much gayer than usual, and when any person alluded, in his presence, to the congress, he seemed not to regard the matter, and waived the subject by singing or introducing some different topic of conversation.

To show, however, that he was not indifferent to his rights, Charles drew up a protest

against any stipulation which might be entered into by the contracting parties, contrary to these rights, of which he sent a copy to the king of France, enclosed in a letter from himself. The Chevalier de St George, in ignorance of Charles's protest, also published one in his own name, agreeably to a practice which he and his father, king James II., had followed, whenever any treaty with Great Britain was entered into.

After the preliminaries were signed, Louis took an early opportunity of intimating to Charles that he had renewed the engagements which he and his grandfather had formerly come under to the British government, in relation to the House of Stuart; but Charles, in his protest, entirely overlooked the stipulation which regarded his intended expulsion from the French territories. Louis probably expected that this hint would have been sufficient to induce Charles to quit France, but, as he indicated no intention to remove, the Marquis de Puyzieux, by desire of the king, sent a requisition in writing, to which he demanded an answer. Charles returned an evasive answer to M. de Puyzieux's note the same day.

After this answer, matters appear to have remained *in statu quo* till October, on the 7th of which month the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was finally concluded and signed. By this treaty the contracting parties agreed, without any limitation, to a literal insertion of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, by which it was stipulated that neither the "Pretender," nor any of his descendants, should be allowed to reside within the territories belonging to any of the parties to the treaty. Meanwhile Louis was looking out for a suitable asylum for Charles Edward. Knowing that the prince had declared that he would never return to Italy, he directed M. de Courteille, his envoy to the Cantons of Switzerland, to ask a residence for Charles in the city of Fribourg. The regency complied with the request, but Mr Barnaby, the British minister to the Helvetic body, violently opposed the plan, and presented a remonstrance to the magistracy of Fribourg, couched in such terms as to draw upon him the censure of the regency.

The next person selected by Louis to act as

⁹ Letter, Charles to his father, 13th May, 1748, *Stuart Papers*

negotiator with Charles was the Cardinal de Tencin, who was supposed to have some influence with him. The cardinal delivered the message with which he had been intrusted in the most delicate manner, and endeavoured to convince Charles, by a variety of arguments, of the regret the king felt at having been obliged to accede to the objectionable articles of the treaty. To reconcile Charles to the measure, the cardinal, it is said, hinted that the treaty might possibly be of short duration, and that the prince might afterwards return to France with brighter prospects, but the cardinal left Charles without obtaining any satisfaction. Desirous of avoiding extremities, the king waited about two weeks in expectation that Charles would depart; but being informed that he made no preparations for his departure, he sent the Duke de Gesvres, the governor of Paris, with a message similar to that delivered by the cardinal. The duke, however, got as little satisfaction as the cardinal, and on a second interview, the prince absolutely refused to quit the country, and told the duke that there was a treaty prior to that of Aix-la-Chapelle between him and the king, from which he could not depart with honour.

The British ministry had for some time been urging the French court to fulfil that part of the treaty which related to the expulsion of the prince from the French territories; and the hostages¹ complained that his being permitted to appear at all public places of amusement was as an insult to their sovereign, and an infringement of the treaty. Louis, therefore, sent the Duke de Gesvres a third time to expostulate with Charles on the 6th of November; but Charles again evaded a direct answer to the duke's demand to quit France. Charles afterwards sent him an explicit answer in writing, in which he stated that it was with much regret he found himself compelled in defence of his own interests to oppose the intentions of the king on this occasion, and that he had already apprised his majesty of his design by a letter which he had written to M. de Puyzieux as far back as the 20th of August.

¹ The Earl of Essex and Lord Cathcart, hostages sent to France until the restitution by Great Britain of Cape Breton.

He requested the duke to assure his majesty in the strongest terms that he would retain towards him during his life all the sentiments of respect and attachment which he had formerly expressed.²

Louis was much annoyed at Charles's obstinacy, as he felt great repugnance to push matters to extremities with a prince who could plead in his own justification a violation of a solemn contract which the king of France had entered into with him three years before. As he had, however, contracted with Charles merely in his character of prince regent, it appears to have occurred to Louis that he would save his honour if he obtained an order from the Chevalier de St George, requiring Charles to leave his dominions before having recourse to physical force. He therefore despatched a courier to Rome with a letter to the Chevalier, giving an account of the prince's conduct, and requesting James to interpose his parental authority to induce Charles to leave his dominions. That James might be fully assured of the prince's determination to remain in France contrary to his wishes, Louis also sent him Charles's letter to the Duke de Gesvres.

The messenger returned to Paris early in December with a letter from James to the king of France, inclosing another to Charles, which, after perusing, he was requested to despatch to the prince. After complaining of Charles's conduct towards himself, James told him that he saw him on the brink of a precipice, and that he would act the part of an unnatural parent if he did not do everything that depended upon him to save him from falling, and that he therefore found himself obliged to order him as his father and king to conform himself without delay to the wishes of the French king, by leaving his dominions with a good grace.

This letter Louis sent by the Duke de Gesvres to Charles, the duke at the same time carrying a letter from Louis, which is said to have contained a blank order to be filled up by the prince himself for a yearly allowance. Charles told the duke that he wanted no pecuniary favours from his majesty, and that it was not

² Letter.—Charles to the Duke de Gesvres, among the *Stuart Papers*.

consistent with honour to comply with his demand to leave the French territories. The duke urging Charles to reconsider his resolution, the latter grew impatient, and told him that he would in future decline receiving any communications from any person but the king himself. The duke told him the thing was impossible, unless indeed he expected, what he could scarcely suppose he did, that his majesty was to come to the *Quai de Theatre* in person. "Tu short, then, sir," said Charles, "I have nothing farther to say than what I have said already,—pardon me, I have some business." With these words Charles left the room, leaving the duke in amazement.

Long before the French public were aware of the intentions of their government in relation to the prince, the fame of his exploits, in connection with the fact of his being a descendant of *Henri Quatre*, had endeared him to the French nation; but when they found that he was to be sacrificed by their sovereign to state necessity, their admiration for his person was heightened into enthusiasm, and they looked upon the approaching struggle between Louis and his kinsman with feelings of the deepest interest. Every person was desirous to see a prince who had the courage to brave the grand monarch in his own capital, and whenever Charles appeared upon the public walks, he was followed by the assembled multitudes. When he entered the theatre, all eyes were directed towards him, and the performance was allowed to pass off unheeded by the audience. Charles alone seemed to make light of his misfortunes, and evinced the gaiety of his spirits by talking in an easy, cheerful, and affable manner to the young noblemen, by whom, on these occasions, he was always surrounded.³

After trying every possible means to induce Charles to quit the French territory without effect, the ministry pressed the king to arrest him, and send him by force out of the kingdom. Louis was naturally averse to such a strong proceeding; but as he saw he could not fulfil the stipulation of the treaty regarding the exiled family in any other way, he reluctantly signed an order for his arrest. When putting

his name to the warrant, he felt the extreme delicacy of the act, and pathetically exclaimed, "Poor prince! how difficult it is for a king to be a true friend!" This order, which was signed at three o'clock in the afternoon, was blazed all over Paris before evening. One of the prince's retinue, who heard the intelligence, brought it to him; but Charles would not believe it. "Pish! pish!" he exclaimed, "an idle romance; they know I will obey my father." Though no official notice was sent to Charles of the order, yet it is understood that means were taken to apprise him of his situation; and on the morning of the 10th of December, while walking in the Tuileries, he was informed by a person of distinction that he would certainly be seized that very day if he did not prevent it by an immediate departure; but, instead of taking the hint thus kindly given him, he seemed to treat the intelligence as chimerical, and turning to one of his followers, gave directions that a box should be hired for him that night at the opera-house.

To carry the warrant into effect, no less than 1200 of the guards were in the course of the day drawn out, and posted in the court of the Palais Royal; a great number of sergeants and grenadiers, in cuirasses and helmets, filled the passages of the opera-house; and the police were placed in all the streets leading to it, to stop any carriages that might attempt to pass. Six intrepid sergeants of the grenadiers were ordered to seize the prince. Two companies of grenadiers took post in the court-yard of the kitchens, where the Due de Biron, colonel of the French guards, disguised, waited in a coach to see the issue of the enterprise. The Mousquetaires, a body of French horse-guards, had orders to be ready to mount on horseback; troops were posted upon the road from the Palais Royal to Vincennes; hatchets and scaling ladders were prepared, and locksmiths directed to attend, in order to take the prince by escalade, in case he should throw himself into some house, and there attempt to stand out a siege. A physician named Vernage, and three surgeons, were also ordered to be in readiness to dress such of the troops as might be wounded. These extensive preparations can only be accounted for on the supposition that the government was apprehensive that an

³ Authentic Account, p. 51.

attempt would be made by the Parisians to rescue the prince.

Charles received several notes during the day, giving him notice of the measures taken for securing him; but he resolved to brave the danger. He accordingly left his hotel in his carriage, accompanied by three gentlemen of his household, at a quarter after five o'clock, for the opera-house, and, in passing through the street St Honoré, was warned by a friendly voice not to proceed, as the opera-house was beset. He proceeded onwards, however, and on entering the *cul-de-sac*, leading to the opera-house, the barriers were drawn, and the doors of the opera-house shut. On alighting from his coach, he was instantly surrounded by the six sergeants, disguised as tradesmen, who seized his person, and, lifting him off the ground, carried him through the *porte cochère*, at the end of the passage which led into the court-yard of the Palais Royal. M. de Vaudreuil, major of the blue guards, who, with some officers, had remained behind the gate, then approached his Royal Highness, and said, "Monseigneur, I arrest you in the name of the king, my master." Charles, without betraying any emotion, answered that the manner was a little too violent. The sergeants, thereupon, carried him into a room on the ground floor of the palace, possessed by a surgeon of the Duke of Orleans' household. The major demanding his arms, Charles presented his sword, but suspecting that he had other weapons about him, the sergeants, by De Vaudreuil's order, searched his person, and found a pair of pocket pistols and a penknife, of which they took possession. Charles remarked that he had carried a pair of pistols about with him ever since he returned from Scotland. The major had provided himself with thirty-six ells of black silk ribbon⁴ with which to tie the prince, and on hearing him give directions to that effect, Charles offered his parole that he would hurt neither himself nor any other person, and

added that he thought so many persons were quite sufficient to guard one unarmed man without resorting to such a step. The major consulted the Duke de Biron, who ordered that the prince should be bound. Charles was accordingly tied in five different places. In this situation he was put into a hired coach, attended by the major and two captains of the blue guards, and was driven, under a strong guard, to the castle of Vincennes, into which he was received by his friend M. de Chatelet, the governor, who placed him in a small upper apartment in the Tower, and treated him as well as his duty permitted him. The only person who remained with him in his confinement was Neil Mac Eachan, who had attended him in his perilous journey from Uist to Skye. Charles had borne the indignity offered him with great composure, the disgrace attending which, he told M. de Vaudreuil, could only affect his master; but after he found himself shut up in the castle, his feelings were overcome, and he is said to have clasped his hands together and to have burst into tears. "Ah! my faithful mountaineers," he pathetically exclaimed, "from *you* I never would have received such treatment. Would to God I were still among you!" Meanwhile the three gentlemen who had attended Charles to the opera were also seized, and five others, who were by chance at his house, and all his servants were sent to the Bastille; his hotel was taken possession of by the lieutenant of police.⁵ Next day all the prince's French servants were released.

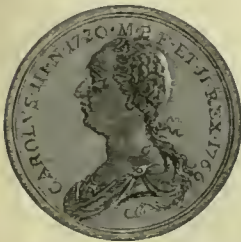
The arrest of the prince created an extraordinary sensation in Paris; and next morning all the public places of the city were covered with pasquinades, which had been put up during the night, reflecting, in very severe terms, upon the conduct of the king and his ministers for their treatment of the prince. One of these was in the form of an order from King George, directed to Louis of Bourbon, as his viceroi, commanding and requiring him to seize, and, if necessary, to tie the person of Charles Edward Stuart, and to conduct him out of the kingdom of France; and that, if Louis should continue to please his master as

⁴ Another account (G. Charles's *Transactions in Scotland*) says that the material for binding was ten ells of crimson silk cord. This looks far more probable; if the major wished to make the binding of the prince effectual, "silk ribbon" would have been ridiculous. Still the anonymous letter referred to below is so circumstantial as to call it "a black ribbon, three fingers broad, and thirty-six ells long."

⁵ Authentic Account, p. 63. Anonymous letter to Dr Meighan, among *Stuart Papers*.

he had hitherto done, he should be continued, by the king of England, in the vicerealty of his kingdom of France. These placards were exceedingly annoying to the French court, and were torn down by the police with as great expedition as possible.

Charles was kept in confinement till the 14th December, on which day, in consequence of a correspondence which had passed between him and the king on that and the previous day, he was allowed to walk a few hours in the gardens. Having tendered his parole to leave the French territories without guards, Charles was released at seven o'clock, in the morning of Sunday the 15th, and departed for Fontainebleau, in a coach, under the charge of a commandant of musketeers. Messrs. Stafford and Sheridan, two gentlemen of his household, who had been set at liberty, followed him in two post-chaises. The remainder of Charles's



Bronze Medal, Prince Charles; reverse, Louisa, his Wife.
(From Original in Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.)

domestics were released a few days afterwards. On reaching Fontainebleau, Charles despatched a facetious note to a M. de Boile at Paris, requesting him to inform his friends that he carried himself well, that his head had never been off his shoulders, and that it was still upon them. From Fontainebleau Charles proceeded, by easy stages, to Avignon, where he arrived on the morning of the 27th of December, disguised in the uniform of a French officer of musketeers. He had received a letter from his father on the road, and four days after his arrival he despatched an answer acquainting him that he was "in perfect good health, notwithstanding the unheard-of barbarous and inhuman treatment" he had met with.⁶

⁶ *Stuart Papers.*

CHAPTER XL.

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS:—

George II., 1727—1760. George III., 1760—1820.
George IV., 1820—1830. William IV., 1830—1837.
Victoria, 1837—

A. D. 1748 TO PRESENT TIME.

Departure of Prince Charles from Avignon incognito—Visits London—Proposed marriage with a Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt—Charles's reported change of religion—Arrest and execution of Doctor Cameron—Negotiations between Charles and his Jacobite friends in England—Result—Negotiations resumed, and finally broken off—Death of the Chevalier—Marriage of Charles—His death—Character—Death of Cardinal York—Descendants of the Stuarts—"Charles Edward and John Sobieski Stuart."

THE city of Avignon, in Provence, which Charles selected for his place of abode, did not at this time form a part of the French dominions, but belonged to the pope. On the death of George I. the Chevalier de St. George had taken up his residence in this city, that he might the better be enabled to correspond with his friends in England; but he was soon obliged to retire across the Alps, in consequence, it is understood, of an application from the British government to the court of Rome. To expel the Stuarts from the French territories, whilst, by a sort of geographical subtlety, they were allowed to reside almost in the heart of France, was certainly an absurdity; and had Charles remained for any length of time at Avignon, it is probable that, as in the case of his father, he would soon have been forced to look out for another asylum; but, to the astonishment of all Europe, he left Avignon incognito, after a residence of about two months, and went whither nobody could tell.

Attended only by Colonel Goring, and one or two unliviered servants, Charles left Avignon in a travelling chaise, and proceeded on the road to Lyons. The prince and Goring passed for French officers, who, on the conclusion of the peace, had obtained leave to visit their friends—Charles taking the name of the Comte D'Espoir.⁷ What his motives

⁷ "Letter from H—G—, Esquire, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the young Chevalier,

were for taking this step have not been ascertained; but it is probable that one of his objects was an interview with the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, with whose daughter, the Princess Charlotte Louisa, he contemplated a matrimonial alliance.

After passing through Lyons, Charles hired another chaise, and proceeded to Strasbourg. From Strasbourg it is supposed that Charles went to Paris, as it is quite certain that, in the month of May, he visited that capital.

Of Charles's wanderings, during the several years that he continued to roam on the continent, no satisfactory account has yet appeared; but recent researches have thrown some light on this obscure part of his history. It has been long known that during this period he visited Germany, spent some time privately in Paris, but resided chiefly in the dominions of his friend the Duc de Bouillon, where, surrounded by the wide and solitary forest of Ardennes, his active spirit sought, in the dangerous chase of wolves and bears, some compensation for the military enterprise from which he was excluded.⁸ Secretary Edgar, who corresponded frequently with "the dear wild man," as he jocularly styled Charles, considered the prince's incognito as one of the most extraordinary circumstances that had ever occurred, so great was the secrecy with which it was for several years preserved.

After his departure from Paris, the first trace that can be discovered of him is in September 1750, when he visited London.⁹ His object in coming over appears to have been to establish a regular correspondence with his friends in England, to ascertain the probability of a rising in his favour, and to fix with them upon a proper place for landing arms, &c. Before his departure he applied to his father for a renewal of his powers as regent, which James reluctantly granted.¹ If he found matters in a favourable train, he intended to issue a declaration in which he was to offer to

and the only person of his own retinue that attended him from Avignon, in his late journey through Germany and elsewhere, &c., to a particular friend. London, 1750."

⁸ Klose's *Memoirs of Prince Charles*, vol. ii. p. 199.

⁹ Charles alludes to this visit in a note dated 1st July, 1754, in his own hand-writing, among the *Stuart Papers*.

¹ *Stuart Papers*.

refer the funds to a free parliament; and to encourage the army to join him, he was to show the nullity of the oaths they had taken to the "Electors."² Charles arrived in London in the month of September, and went immediately to the house of Lady Primrose. Her ladyship sent a note to Dr King, a zealous Jacobite, desiring to see him immediately. On the doctor's entering the house, Lady Primrose led him into her dressing-room, and presented him to the prince. Dr. King was surprised at seeing him, and still more astonished when informed of the motives which had induced him to hazard a journey to England at such a juncture. According to Dr. King, whose statement is fully supported by documents among the *Stuart Papers*, the impatience of the prince's friends who were in exile had formed a scheme which was impracticable; but although it had been as feasible as they had represented it to him, yet no preparation had been made to carry it into execution. Charles was soon convinced that he had been deceived, and after a stay in London of only five days, returned to the continent.³

As Charles studiously concealed from his father all his designs and movements, the latter

² See a curious memorandum, dated 3d May, 1750, among the *Stuart Papers*. From this document it is evident that Charles thought that the French ministry were bribed by the British government to withhold assistance from him.

³ King's *Political and Literary Anecdotes*, p. 197:—"He came," says Dr. King, "one evening to my lodgings and drank tea with me. My servant, after he was gone, said to me, 'that he thought my new visitor very like Prince Charles.' 'Why,' said I, 'have you ever seen Prince Charles?' 'No, sir,' replied the fellow, 'but this gentleman, whoever he may be, exactly resembles the busts which are sold in Red Lion Street, and are said to be the busts of Prince Charles.' The truth is, these busts were taken in plaster of Paris from his face. I never heard him," adds the doctor—who, however, cannot be received as an altogether unbiassed reporter—"express any noble or benevolent sentiment, the certain indications of a great soul and a good heart; or discover any sorrow or compassion for the misfortunes of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause. But the most odious part of his character was his love of money. . . I have known this gentleman with 2000 Louis d'ors in his strong-box pretend he was in great distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris who was not in affluent circumstances. His most faithful servants, who had closely attended him in all his difficulties, were ill rewarded. To this spirit of avarice may be added his insolent manner of treating his immediate dependants, very unbecoming a great prince, and a sure prognostic of what might be expected from him if ever he acquired the sovereign power."

was entirely ignorant of his contemplated marriage with the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. The Chevalier had suggested, in 1747, a marriage with one of the Duke of Modena's daughters, from which family his mother had sprung; but Charles appears not to have relished the proposed match. He now urged upon him the necessity of marrying, so as to secure the succession of the family; for he could not think the prince so selfish as to consider himself only in all he did and suffered.

Though he could not but feel disappointed at the result of his journey to England, Charles did not despond, and he now resolved to sound the dispositions of the courts of Berlin and Stockholm. As Lord Marischal had resided about three years in Berlin, and was, through the interest of Field-marshal Keith, his brother, on the best footing with his Prussian majesty, it occurred to Charles that, by availing himself of the services of that nobleman, whom he looked upon as "an honest man," Frederick might be induced to espouse his cause. Accordingly he despatched Colonel Goring to Berlin, in June 1751, with a letter to Lord Marischal. After consulting with his lordship, Goring was directed to proceed to Sweden.⁴ Of this mission nothing farther is known. An interview which took place between Lord Marischal and Goring, and another probably with the prince himself at Paris, in September following, are involved in the same obscurity. About this time Charles received notice that one Grosert, collector of the customs at Alloa, had left Scotland with an intention to assassinate him. This information was brought to France by Robertson of Blairfetty, who had been in Scotland. Grosert is said to have been married to a German woman, the daughter of the milliner of George I.⁵

No trace can be discovered of Charles's wanderings, after his return from London, till the 5th of April 1752, when he was seen by a gentleman of the name of Mackintosh at Campvere, in the island of Middelburg, where he

remained four days.⁶ He is said to have revisited London in the course of the following year, and to have formally renounced the Catholic religion in a chapel in Gray's Inn Lane under his own name of Charles Edward Stuart; but for this statement there appears to be no sufficient authority.⁷ Dr. King, who corresponded with Charles for several years, makes no allusion to this visit, nor is there the least trace of it to be found among the *Stuart Papers*. The story of a third visit, on occasion of the coronation of George III., at which Charles is said to have attended, rests on the authority of a letter of David Hume, written in 1773. As to his reported change of religion, a rumour was generally prevalent in 1752—a year before the date of his alleged apostacy at London—that Charles had become a Protestant; but its accuracy was doubted by some of his friends.⁸ It is certain, however, that Charles was not disposed to imitate the self-denial of his father and grandfather, who preferred their faith to a crown.⁹

⁶ Letter, Mr. Donald Mackintosh to Secretary Edgar, dated from Civita Vecchia, 6th February, 1754.—*Stuart Papers*.

⁷ He is said on this occasion to have called without previous notice on Lady Primrose, and to have walked into the room, where she and others were playing cards, being announced by the servant under another name. After he left it was remarked how like he was to the prince's portrait which hung in the very room into which he entered. He is said on this occasion to have used so little precaution that he went abroad undisguised in daylight, walking once through St. James's, and taking a turn in Pall Mall. This story looks very like another version of his visit in 1750. See George Charles's *Transactions in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 470.

⁸ See among the *Stuart Papers* a letter from Secretary Edgar to Mr. William Hay, 26th September, 1752, and that from Mr. Hay's letter to Edgar, October 1752. Charles seems to have been desirous after this to have none but Protestants about him. He sent an order to Avignon, in November 1753, to dismiss all his "Papist servants." He kept at this time a French mistress, and having quarrelled with her, he discarded her because she was "a Papist too." The following note, also, in the prince's hand, appears on the back of a letter of Waters the banker, of 26th June, 1754:—"My being a Protestant I can prove to be an advantage to the Papist, and my terrible situation not to be incapable to attempt any plan either against my honour or interest, seeing them that are so far from my country." At this time (June 1754) Charles was living in Paris incognito.

⁹ See his answer to the deputation that waited on him in the year 1755:—

"As to his religion," says Dr. King, "he is certainly free from all bigotry and superstition, and would readily conform to the religion of the country. With the Catholics he is a Catholic, with the Protestants he is a Protestant; and to convince the latter

⁴ See the letter to Earl Marischal and the instructions to Goring, both dated 21st June, 1751, among the *Stuart Papers*.

⁵ Letter from Sir James Harrington, dated 6th August, 1751, among the *Stuart Papers*.

In consequence of the state of comparative security which the British government enjoyed after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, it became less vigilant than before in watching the motions of the exiled adherents of the house of Stuart. Some of them accordingly ventured, from time to time, to revisit their native country and friends. Amongst others, Dr. Cameron came over in 1749 to recover part of a large sum of money which had been left by Charles in charge of Macpherson of Cluny when he quitted Scotland. He made a second journey to Britain in 1753, for what particular purpose is not certainly known, although it is supposed his visit had some connection with a scheme for another rising, then under the consideration of the Jacobites, but which luckily was nipped in the bud. Having been apprehended in Scotland, he was carried to London, confined to the Tower, and his identity being proved in the court of king's bench by several witnesses, he received sentence of death, and was barbarously executed at Tyburn. He conducted himself with manly fortitude and decorum, and his fate was generally pitied.¹ Some of the best wishers to the Government thought the sacrifice of this unfortunate gentleman a most unnecessary and wanton act at such a juncture, and at such a distance of time from the period of his attainder.² It is said that King George himself, as he reluctantly signed the warrant for Cameron's execution, exclaimed, "Surely there has been too much blood spilt upon this account already!"

Down to 1754 Charles kept up a regular communication with his friends in England, several of whom visited him personally, and though they saw many reprehensible things in his conduct, yet they were willing to make every allowance for the peculiarities of his situation. There was one circumstance, however, which they could not overlook. When in Scotland, Charles had a mistress named

of his sincerity, he often carried an English Common Prayer-book in his pocket, and sent to Gordon (whom I have mentioned before), a non-juring clergyman, to christen the first child he had by his mistress, Mrs. Walkinshaw.

¹ Klose's *Memoirs of Prince Charles*, vol. ii. p. 208.

² The French government settled a pension of 1200 livres per annum upon his widow, and granted an annual allowance of 400 livres to each of his two sons who were in its service, in addition to their pay.

Cleumentina Walkinshaw, who, by all accounts, possessed no great attractions, bodily or mental. Some years after he was sent out of France he sent for this woman, who managed to become acquainted with all his plans, and was trusted with his most secret correspondence. As Miss Walkinshaw had a sister who acted as house-keeper to Frederick, Prince of Wales, at Leicester house, all the persons of distinction in England attached to Charles grew alarmed, being apprehensive that this paramour had been placed in his family by the English ministers. They, therefore, despatched a gentleman, named M'Namara, to Paris, where Charles then was, with instructions to insist upon Miss Walkinshaw's removal for a certain time from his presence. Mr M'Namara, who was a man of excellent understanding, urged the most powerful reasons, and used all the arts of persuasion to induce him to comply, but to no purpose. M'Namara then informed him that an immediate interruption of all correspondence with his most powerful friends in England, and the ruin of his interest, would be the certain consequence of his refusal; but Charles was inflexible. M'Namara staid some days in Paris beyond the time prescribed, in hopes of ultimately prevailing; but all his entreaties and remonstrances were ineffectual. At parting, M'Namara could not help exclaiming, with great indignation, "What has your family done, Sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it, through so many ages?" During his conferences with M'Namara, the prince declared that he had no violent passion, or, indeed, any particular regard for Miss Walkinshaw, and that he could see her removed from him without any concern; but that he would not receive directions for the regulation of his private conduct from any man alive. When M'Namara returned to London and reported Charles's answer to the gentlemen who had sent him to Paris, many of whom were persons of the first rank, and all of them men of fortune and distinction, they were amazed and confounded, and resolved at once to break with him.³

Lord Marischal was then residing at Paris

³ King's Political and Literary Anecdotes, p. 264. *et. seq.*

as ambassador from the king of Prussia to the court of Versailles, and was apprised by M'Namara of everything that passed between him and the prince. Had M'Namara's mission been successful, his lordship, whose services Charles was anxious to obtain, meant, on the expiration of his embassy, to have entered Charles's household; but disgusted with the conduct of the prince, who even had the ingratitude to threaten to publish the names of his English friends, he declined to take any farther interest in his affairs, and embracing the mediation of the king of Prussia, reconciled himself to the British government.⁴

When, in the following year, a war with France seemed inevitable, some of his French friends petitioned the French court to take advantage of this favourable opportunity to make one more attempt to restore the Stuarts. Charles himself came to France, and appears to have made exertions in his own behalf, but the time was consumed in fruitless negotiations, and Charles returned to Italy and the retirement of private life. It seems to be with this attempt that a document contained among the *Stuart Papers* is connected. This document purports to be notes of a statement made by a deputation, sent over to Prince Charles, at a conference with him, drawn up at his own desire; it is dated August 15, 1755. If this document is authentic, and there seems to be no reason to believe otherwise, the deputies must have lectured the prince on his conduct most fearlessly and outspokenly, and in a manner to which princes are mostly strangers.

It is not known what reception the deputation met with, or how this message was received by him; but, at his desire, the address was committed to writing, and sent to him. Charles returned an indignant answer, informing his "friends" that reason might, and he hoped should, always prevail with him, but his own heart deceived him if threats or promises ever would. He despised, he said, the malice of those who aspersed his character, and considered it below his dignity to treat them

in the terms they deserved. He told them he had long desired a churchman from his friends to attend him, but that his expectations had been hitherto disappointed.⁵

Though Charles at first affected not to feel the indignity offered to him by the French government, yet it is certain that it left upon him an indelible impression, soured his disposition, and tended to confirm into a habit the propensity to tipping which he contracted during his long and exhausting wanderings in the Highlands. Indeed, his mind, which never was of the strongest or noblest type, appears to have been quite unhinged. During his long incognito he scarcely ever corresponded with his afflicted father,—a silence which he said was not owing either to neglect or want of duty, but because his situation was such that he could do nothing but vent "imprecations against the fatality of being born in such a detestable age."⁶ Led away by his passions, and reckless of the feelings or wishes of others, he would suffer no control; and so infatuated did he become, that in resisting the admonitions of his friends, he thought he was pursuing a course honourable to himself, and dutiful towards the "honest man,"—his father;⁷ but James was not to be misled by such false notions, and hinted, that though he was happy to find Charles in such sentiments, yet it was possible that what he might think for the best might be otherwise. "Do you," he asks the prince, "rightly understand the extensive sense of honour and duty from which you say you will never go astray? If you can," he continues, "keep up to that rule, you will then be really an honest man, which is the new name you give me, and with which I am much pleased, since it is a title I value more than all those which vanity can desire, or flattery invent. It is a title we are all obliged to pretend to, and which we may all, without vanity, think we deserve, and unless we deserve it, we, in reality, can neither be happy in the next world, nor even in this, because peace and tranquillity of mind is only the share of honest men. The best wish I can therefore make you, is that you may yourself long deserve and enjoy that title.

⁴ Several letters between Charles and Lord Marisehal will be found among the *Stuart Papers*. The most interesting are one from his lordship, without signature, 15th April 1754, another also without signature, 18th May 1754, and Charles's answer of the latter date.

⁵ *Stuart Papers*.

⁶ Letter to Edgar, 24th March 1754.

⁷ Letter,—Charles to Edgar, 12th March, 1755.

it would be the most effectual means of drawing down God's blessing upon you."⁸

After the estrangement of his friends, Charles appears to have given up all thoughts of restoration, and resided chiefly at Avignon till shortly before the death of his father, on December 31, 1766, when he returned to Italy, fixing his abode at Florence. The Chevalier had, for several years, been in a declining state of health, and, for two years before his death, had been confined to his bed-chamber. His remains were carried to the church of the parish where

crowns per annum, exclusive of pensions, to Prince Charles. He also left him a box of jewels belonging to the crown of Poland, formerly pledged to the Sobieski family, if not redeemed. The jewels belonging to his own family he directed to be divided between Charles and Henry.

From the state of comparative seclusion in which the Chevalier passed the most part of his life, his personal history is less known than either that of his father, or his son, Charles Edward. His character, to judge from his correspondence and the many acts of individual kindness he showed towards his exiled adherents, was benevolent and estimable. He seems to have been better acquainted with the principles of the English constitution than any of his race, and would, had he been called to empire, have very possibly eschewed the dangerous rock of the prerogative on which his grandfather and father split. His boast was not merely that he was an Englishman, but that, to use an Italian phrase, there was not "a greater Englishman than himself."⁹

After his father's death, Prince Charles retired to Albano, near Rome, where he appears to have lived in great seclusion till the year 1772, when the court of Versailles, desirous for its own selfish purposes to prevent the male line of the house of Stuart from becoming extinct, negotiated a marriage between him and the young princess Louisa Maximiliana Carolina of Stolberg-Gedern; and the three Bourbon courts all concurring in the match,



Prince Charles Edward Stuart.

From an Original Drawing by Ozias Humphrey, R.A. Taken at Florence 1776.

he had resided, and were decorated with all the insignia of royalty. Over the bed was this inscription:—"Jacobus Magnæ Britannæ Rex, Anno MDCCLXVI." The body lay in state three days, during which none but the Italian princes and British subjects were admitted into the church. The corpse was then removed in procession to St Peter's church to be interred. By his will, the Chevalier left his real estate, which yielded about forty thousand

a suitable allowance was settled by them on the prince and his wife. Charles, who, in consequence of the refusal of the court of Rome to recognise the titles which his father had assumed, had taken that of the Count of Albany, which when a youth he had used on his travels through Italy, took up his residence upon his marriage in the neighbourhood of Florence, whither he was invited by the grand duke of Tuscany. The marriage was unfortunate. Charles had lived too long single to enjoy

⁸ Letter to Charles, 14th April, 1753, among *Stuart Papers*.

⁹ Letter to Charles of 3d February, 1747.

connubial happiness; and his mind, soured by misfortune and degraded by dissipation, unfitted him for the discharge of the domestic virtues.¹ An English lady who saw Prince Charles at Rome in 1770, describes him thus:—"The Pretender is naturally above the middle size, but stoops excessively; he appears bloated and red in the face, his countenance heavy and sleepy, which is attributed to his having given in to excess of drinking, but when a young man he must have been esteemed handsome. His complexion is of the fair tint, his eyes blue, his hair light brown, and the contour of his face a long oval; he is by no means thin, has a noble person and a graceful manner. His dress was scarlet, laced with broad gold lace; he wears the blue riband outside of his coat, from which depends a cameo, antique, as large as the palm of my hand, and he wears the same garter and motto as those of the noble St George in England. Upon the whole, he has a melancholy, mortified appearance."²

Charles and the princess lived together uncomfortably till 1780, Charles, it is said, often treating his youthful, beautiful, accomplished, and gentle wife with the greatest brutality. In 1777 she became acquainted with the great Italian dramatist Alfieri, and the two immediately conceived for each other a passionate, lasting, and comparatively pure love; for while her husband lived there is every reason to believe that she remained faithful to him. The princess left Charles in 1780, and took up her residence with his brother the cardinal at Rome, but shortly after removed from that to Baden and ultimately to Paris, where Alfieri joined her, and they separated no more. On her husband's death, it is understood that she was privately married to

Alfieri, who died in 1803, she surviving him upwards of twenty-one years. When Tuscany fell under the dominion of Bonaparte, he ordered the princess, then living in Florence (she having incurred his displeasure), to repair to Paris. She was afterwards allowed to return to Florence, where it is said she made a left-handed marriage with a French historical painter, named Francis Xavier Fabre, the friend of Alfieri, whom upon her death she appointed her universal executor.

About 1785, Charles, who must have felt himself at this time a lonely, homeless, disappointed old man, took to live with him his daughter, Charlotte, by Miss Walkinshaw, who was born about 1760. Little is known of this lady; she, however, appears to have been of a gentle disposition, and we would fain hope that her presence and companionship helped much to soften the misanthropy and soothe the bitter spirit of the disappointed aspirant to the British throne. Shortly after his daughter came to live with him, Charles removed to Rome, where in January 1788 he was prostrated by paralysis, and after an illness of three weeks died on the 31st. He was buried royally in the church of his brother at Frascati, the body, however, being afterwards removed to St Peter's at Rome. Some time before his death, he legitimized his daughter, and as the last act of his shadowy sovereignty, created her Duchess of Albany, leaving her the greater part of his private property.³ Even down to the time of his death, it would seem he had not entirely relinquished the hope of one day sitting on the throne of his ancestors, for, according to Lord Mahon, he used to keep under his bed a strong box with 12,000 sequins, ready for the expenses of his journey to England whenever he might suddenly be called thither.⁴ His daughter, so far as is known his sole descendant, survived him only one year.

Whilst Charles's partisans have painted him in the most glowing colours of admiration, as the paragon of all that is noble and high-minded, others have represented him as a man devoid of any good and generous feeling,—as despotic, revengeful, ungrateful, and

¹ Lord Mahon thinks that Charles had contracted a disparaging opinion of the tender sex in general. Among the *Stuart Papers* is the following written by Charles about the time of his marriage:—"As for men, I have studied them myself, and were I to live till fourscore, I could scarcely know them better than now, but as for women, I have thought it useless, they being so much more wicked and impenetrable." "Ungrateful and ungenerous words," justly exclaims Lord Mahon; "surely as he wrote them, the image of Flora Macdonald should have risen in his heart and restrained his hand."—Mahon's *England*, v. iii., p. 527.

² Letters from Italy by an Englishwoman, London, 1776. Quoted by Lord Mahon.

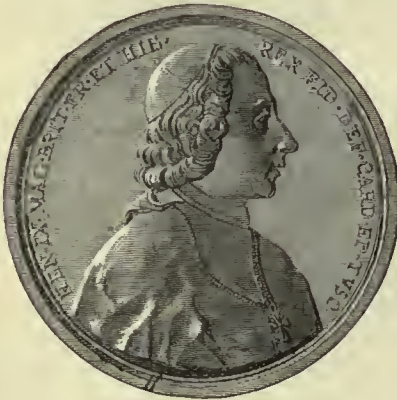
³ Klose's *Memoirs*, v. ii., p. 241.

⁴ Mahon's *England*, v. ii., p. 528.

avaricious,—having, in short, all the vices without one of the redeeming virtues of his race. Paradoxical as the assertion may be, there is some truth in both delineations; but considerable abatements must be made from the exaggerated eulogies of the one party, as well as from the sweeping condemnation of the other. There were, in fact, as has been well observed, two Charles Edwards. The hero of 1745 was a generous and high-minded youth, who, notwithstanding some constitutional defects, merited a better destiny; but the Charles Edward of a subsequent period was a degraded man, who, dispirited by misfortune and soured by disappointment, lost all command over himself, and became the sport of his passions. He retained, however, to the

close of his existence, a vivid recollection of his early exploits, and frequently betrayed genuine emotion on hearing any allusion to Scotland and the Highlanders.

When Charles was ill in 1784, his brother the cardinal, supposing him to be on his death-bed, drew up a paper maintaining his pretensions to the British crown, which, he declared, were in no way prejudiced or renounced by his retention of the inognito title, Cardinal Duke of York. A copy of this document he sent to the pope, cardinals, and various foreign ministers. When his brother the prince did die, and Henry was left the last and sole representative of the royal Stuart race, he caused a medal to be struck bearing the inscription, “Henry IX., King of England,



Medal of Henry, Cardinal Duke of York.
From Original in Antiquarian Museum, Ediuburgh.

by the grace of God, but not by the will of men.” This, however, was all the cardinal ever did to maintain his right divine to the throne from which his grandfather fled. He appears to have been perfectly contented with his life as a Roman cardinal, to have been generous and gentle in disposition, and to have performed his duties faithfully as a minister of the Catholic Church, although in his own house he is said to have insisted upon a strict observance of all the etiquette usual in the residence of a reigning sovereign. He had many rich livings both in Italy and France, but of most of these and of all his wealth and treasures, literary, antiquarian, and curious, he was despoiled by the emissaries of the French revolution in 1793, when he took refuge in

Venice infirm and destitute. His case was represented to his successful relative George III., who immediately, and in as delicate a manner as possible, generously settled on the cardinal a pension for life of L.4000 a year. The cardinal returned to Rome in 1801, and resided there till his death in 1807, aged 82 years. He was buried in St Peter's, beside his father and brother, “and a stately monument, from the chisel of Canova, but at charge, as I believe, of the House of Hanover, has since arisen to the memory of JAMES THE THIRD, CHARLES THE THIRD, and HENRY THE NINTH, KINGS OF ENGLAND—names which an Englishman can scarcely read without a smile or a sigh! Often at the present day does the British traveller turn from the sunny height of

the Pincian or the carnival throngs of the Corso, to gaze in thoughtful silence on that sad mockery of human greatness, and that last record of ruined hopes!"⁵

Henry of York, as we have said, was the last scion of the direct line of the royal house of Stuart, although he was by no means the last of the Stuarts, as the genealogy of nearly every royal and princely house of Europe can testify. Much valuable information on this point is contained in Mr Townsend's *Descendants of the Stuarts*, where the reader will meet with many interesting and a few strange and startling facts. The Stuart blood, it would seem, enriches the veins of every Christian sovereign of Europe, and among the European noble families will be found many princes who, by the now ignored and we hope never to be revived, principle of divine hereditary right, are nearer heirs to the British throne than the Prince of Wales. The heir-of-line of the Stuarts is, we believe, Francis, ex-Duke of Modena, the heiress presumptive being his niece, Maria Theresa, wife of Prince Louis of Bavaria. Great Britain, however, is as likely to assert her right to the allegiance of the United States as is any of the many descendants of the Stuarts to endeavour to establish a claim to the throne of England, to the prejudice of the reigning family. The Lady who at present occupies the throne of Britain, and in whose veins runs a large share of the ancient Stuart blood, has won her way to the hearts of all classes of her subjects, Highland and Lowland, by her true nobility of character, genuine womanliness, and anxious interest in the welfare of her people, as effectually as did the young Chevalier by his youthful thoughtless daring, fascinating manners, and feigned enthusiasm for all that was Highland. Still the ancient spirit is not dead, and probably never will die, so long as Gaelic and Lowland Scotch is understood in the land, and so long as there exists such a superabundance of Jacobite songs unmatched for pathos and humour, and set to music which cannot fail to touch the heart of the "canniest Scot" that ever tried to overreach his neighbour. This sentimental Jacobitism, initiated by Scott, appears to be getting stronger and stronger every year, and

⁵ Mahon's *England*, v. iii. p. 529.

pervades all classes of society from the "queen on the throne to the meanest of her subjects;" it has, indeed, become now to a certain extent fashionable, no doubt owing largely to the example set by the greatest lady in the land, in her love and admiration of the Highlands and Highlanders. Tartans, not very many years ago proscribed and forbidden to be worn under severe penalties, and regarded as barbarous and vulgar, have now become the rage, and are as indispensable to every Scottish family, Highland or Lowland, as its crest or its family ghost.

Before dismissing entirely the Stuart family, which latterly was so intimately associated with the Highlands, it may not be out of place to mention that only a few years ago, two young men made their appearance in Scotland, holding themselves forth as legitimate grandsons of Prince Charles. Their story, set forth in an inflated, misty style, after the manner of romantic novelists, will be found in a work published by them in 1847, entitled, *Tales of the Century, or Sketches of the Romance of History between the years 1746 and 1846*. There can be no doubt that John Sobieski and Charles Edward Stuart, the names by which these gentlemen made themselves known to the public, have no connection whatever with the royal Stuarts: it is certain that Prince Charles Edward Stuart left behind him no legitimate offspring. The story told by them in the above publication, however, was to the effect that their father, instead of being a son of Admiral Allen, as was commonly supposed, was a son of Prince Charles and the Princess Louisa, whose birth was kept secret through fear of the Hanoverian family, and who was intrusted to Admiral Allen, and passed off by him as his own son.⁶ It is not at all improbable that they themselves believed their own story, and were, strictly speaking, no impostors; at all events, they appear to have met with considerable sympathy in the form of hospitality and subscriptions to their publications, for besides the book above mentioned and a volume of poems, they published a large and expensive work, splendidly illustrated, entitled, *The Costume of the Clans*,

⁶ See the whole story set forth and conclusively refuted in the *Quarterly Review* for June 1847.

a copy of which was ordered at the time for her Majesty's library. To judge from the introduction to this last book, occupying about the half of the work, written in a most painfully lofty style, and having an amusing look of learning by being crammed full of small type notes and enigmatical references, one would be almost inclined to think that they were weak-minded enough to believe that it was possible, even in the middle of the 19th century, in the reign of Queen Victoria, to incite the loyal Highlanders to enact a second⁷ '45.⁷

John Sobieski Stuart generally resides in London, where he is to be met with in good society under the title of "Count D'Albanie."

CHAPTER XLI.

Proceedings which followed Culloden, their cause and consequences—Influence of clan-feeling—Lord Lovat and the Frasers—Parliamentary measures—Disarming Act—Act against the Highland dress—Abolition of Hereditary Jurisdictions—The Scottish Episcopalians—Effect of these measures—The Old Jacobites—The Jacobite Songs—Whig Songs—Sir Walter Scott—Jacobitism at the present day—Queen Victoria—Innovations, and their probable consequences.

THE harsh military proceedings which followed the battle of Culloden, of which we have

⁷ A gentleman of Jacobite sympathies, to whom this part of the work has been submitted, appends the following note:—

"It is but justice, however, to these gentlemen to say, that they have never made any loud or noisy assertion of their claims, leaving, what they believe to be, the fact of their descent to be indicated, rather than asserted in the work above mentioned. It is understood, also, that they do not encourage much reference being made to those claims, which they consider to amount only to the fact of their being descended from Prince Charles, not to any 'Divine Right' to the throne in virtue of that descent; that right having been forfeited, they believe, by the fact of themselves and their ancestors having been Roman Catholics—the nation having declared for a Protestant succession. It looks also as if they depended on the strength of truth, or what they believe to be truth, that they have never answered the criticisms of the *Quarterly* reviewer, whilst at the same time it is understood that they maintain that they could answer him, if they were so minded. They bore a high character during their residence in the Highlands of Scotland, which character they still retain. It is some time since the writer of this note has seen them, but the resemblance which their features bore to the features of the ancient Stuart race used to be remarked by all who knew them. This, however, would not prove much. Even the *Quarterly* reviewer does not allege that they were 'conscious or knowingly impostors.'

already endeavoured to give the reader an idea, seem to have completely crushed the spirit out of the poor, and, in many cases, innocent Highlanders. The Duke of Cumberland and his subordinates exercised, as we have seen, no discrimination in the selection of their victims, laying their bloody clutches on chiefs and people, him who had been "out" and him who had not; it was sufficient to bring slaughter, slavery, or ruin on a man and his family, if he bore upon or about him any mark of Highland origin or connection,—was a kilt, or could not justify himself in English. The end which it was intended to accomplish by these cruel and saddening measures, was no doubt in the main highly desirable; it was well to let it be distinctly known once for all, that the divine hereditary right of ruling could be conferred only by the people, and that these would bestow the post of king on him who could fill it best, and who would by no caprices of his own obstruct the progress of the nation. It was assuredly right and absolutely necessary that the Highlanders should be made clearly to understand that they lived in the middle of the 18th century, and were only a very small part of a great nation which was leading the march of the world's progress, and that, instead of doing their best to pull their country back a century, they should lend the aid of the many valuable and noble qualities with which they were endowed, but which were running comparatively waste, to enable Britain to keep her proud position in the van of the nations, and help the world on in its glorious course of progress, to try to stop which would certainly lead to their own destruction. It was, we say, high time that such a splendid race of men should be roused out of self-satisfied slumber and brought to their senses, but surely there was some gentler method of effecting this than by thrusting a sword into their hearts or blowing out their bewildered brains; their tendency to rebellion was no disease which required to be "stamped out," but merely the result of much unoccupied energy, which only required proper direction in order to become a blessing instead of a curse to their fellow-countrymen. No one, possessing ordinary human feeling, can regard the proceedings which followed Culloden, and

which were continued for many months, with any feelings but those of pity, sadness, and horror, combined with loathing at those who were so inhuman as to carry out the bloody work of wholesale butchery and ruin. We of the present day regard the Highlanders of '45 as a chivalrous, impulsive, simple-minded race, who really wished to do no one any harm, and perhaps we are to a certain extent right. But, as at the time of the massacre of Glencoe, their southern fellow-countrymen looked upon them as a pestiferous race of semi-barbarians, enemies to progress, "thieves and lawless limmers," who, like vermin, should be annihilated, or at least forever incapacitated from doing harm to any but themselves. This seems especially to have been the case with the Duke of Cumberland, who was utterly incapable of regarding the Highlanders in any other light than as a set of barbarous villains, to whom no mercy ought to be shown. Writing, April 4, 1746, to the Duke of Newcastle, he says, "All in this country are almost to a man Jacobites, and mild measures will not do. You will find that all the laws of this ancient kingdom must be new modelled. Were I to enumerate the villains and villainies this country abounds in, I should never have done." And again, July 17, "I am sorry to leave this country in the condition it is in; for all the good that we have done is a little blood-letting, which has only weakened the madness, but not at all cured it; and *I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and of our family.*" From a man of Cumberland's character, cherishing such feelings as the above towards an enemy in his power, what other course of conduct was to be expected than that which he followed, more especially when it is remembered that these feelings must have been considerably aggravated by the defeats which the royal army had already sustained. On this last account the royal soldiers themselves must have cherished more than usually bitter feelings towards their opponents; for what can be more exasperating to regularly disciplined troops than to be routed by a wretchedly armed rabble of half naked, untrained men, in which light the royal army must have regarded the Highlanders. These special causes, added to

the insatiable thirst for blood which seems to take possession of a victorious army, sufficiently account for the inhuman, heartless, and uncalled for treatment of the Highlanders after the battle of Culloden. Good as the end was, the means was utterly unjustifiable and abhorrent.

The end, however, was accomplished. The spirit of the Highlanders was totally broken; they were left completely prostrate, broken hearted, and bleeding, with no power left of further disturbing the peace of the kingdom, and with little inclination, at least among the great majority of the clansmen, to lend their aid towards another rising. Indeed, it is well known that, so far as the mass of the clansmen, as distinguished from the chiefs and tacksmen, were concerned, they were entirely the tools of their superiors, and were ready, according as their chiefs ordered, either to espouse the cause of Prince Charles, or to be loyal to the existing government. There is not a better instance of the indifference of the common Highlanders as to whom they fought for, than the conduct of the clan Fraser in the rebellion of 1715. At the time this rebellion broke out, Lovat was in France, the headship of the clan being assumed by Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who favoured the cause of the Stuarts, and who had joined the Earl of Mar at Perth with 400 of the Frasers, many other members of the clan remaining neutral till the pleasure of Simon, their real chief, should be known. Lovat returned from France, espoused the side of King George, in which he was immediately followed by the neutral Frasers, while those who were in the camp of Mar left it to a man, and joined themselves to him whom they regarded as their rightful chief. Such was the strength of the clannish principle, and such the indifference of the majority of the Highlanders as to which side they espoused, so long as they pleased their chief, to please whom, they had been taught from their infancy, was the first and great commandment, to offend him being little better than banishment or death. To say the least, then, how utterly indiscriminating and shameful was the cruel conduct of "Butcher" Cumberland and his assistants.

The cruel and unconstitutional method of punishing the Highland rebels, and crushing the sting out of them, adopted by Cumberland, was at length put a stop to about the month of August, the Civil Courts successfully asserting their supremacy over military licence and coercion. Parliament set itself to devise and adopt such measures as it thought would be calculated to assimilate the Highlands with the rest of the kingdom, and deprive the Highlanders of the power to combine successfully in future against the established government. To effect these ends, Parliament, in 1746 and 1747, passed various Acts, by which it was ordained that the Highlanders should be disarmed, their peculiar dress laid aside, and the heritable jurisdictions and wardholding abolished.

Marshal Wade, in 1725, seems really to have succeeded in confiscating a very considerable number of good, useful arms, although the pawky Highlanders managed to throw a glamour over even his watchful eyes, and secrete many weapons for use when occasion should offer. Still, that arms were scarce in the Highlands after this, is shown by the rude and unmilitary character of the weapons possessed by the majority of the rebel army previous to the battle of Prestonpans; there, many of the Highlanders were able to exchange their irregular and ugly, but somewhat formidable weapons for government firelocks and bayonets. Still Culloden, and the merciless oppression which followed, more than annulled all that the Highlanders had gained in this and other respects by their previous success; so that those who had the enforcing of the disarming Act would have comparatively little work to do, and were not likely to meet with much opposition in performing it. Severe penalties were threatened upon any who dared to keep possession of weapons after the Act came in force; for the first offence the delinquent was liable to a heavy fine, to be sent to serve as a soldier in America, or, if unfit for service, to be imprisoned for six months. Seven years' transportation followed the second offence.

There can, we think, be no doubt as to the wisdom and prudence of this Act if judiciously and thoroughly carried out, although the

penalties certainly do seem too severe. It seems to have accomplished its purpose: "the last law," says Dr. Johnson,⁸ "by which the Highlanders are deprived of their arms, has operated with efficacy beyond expectation . . . the arms were collected with such rigour, that every house was despoiled of its defence." Not only was this disarming of the Highlanders effectual in preventing future rebellion, but also helped considerably to soften and render less dangerous their daily intercourse with each other. Formerly it was quite a common occurrence for the least difference of opinion between two Highlanders—whose bristling pride is always on the rise—to be followed by high words and an ultimate appeal to weapons, in which the original combatants were often joined by their respective friends, the result being a small battle ending in one or more deaths and many wounds. The Disarming Act tended to make such occurrences extremely rare.

There is certainly great room for doubting the wisdom which prompted the enactment that followed the above, enforcing the discontinuance of the peculiar dress of the Highlanders. By this Act, "Any person within Scotland, whether man or boy (excepting officers and soldiers in his majesty's service), who should wear the plaid, philibeg, trews, shoulder belts, or any part of the Highland garb, or should use for great coats, tartans, or parti-coloured plaid, or stuffs, should, without the alternative of a fine, be imprisoned for the first conviction for six months, without bail, and on the second conviction be transported for seven years."⁹ Of all the medicines administered by the government physicians to the Highlanders at this time, this was certainly the most difficult for them to swallow, and the one least calculated to serve the purpose for which it was intended. As to the other enactments made by government to keep down rebellion, the Highlanders could not but feel that those in power were only doing what common prudence dictated. But this interference in a matter so personal and apparently so harmless as that of dress, this prohibition of a costume so national, ancient (at least in

⁸ Johnson's *Journey*, ed. 1792, p. 126.

⁹ *Stewart's Sketches*, b. 1. p. 116.

fashion), and characteristic as that of the Highlanders, seemed to them an act of mere wanton and insulting oppression, intended to degrade them, and without purpose, to outrage their most cherished and harmless prejudices. They seem to have felt it as keenly as any officer would feel the breaking of his sword or the tearing off of his epaulets, or as the native troops, previous to the Indian mutiny, felt the imposition of greased cartridges. It humbled and irritated them far more than did any of the other acts, or even than the outrages and barbarities which followed Culloden; instead of eradicating their national spirit, and assimilating them in all respects with the Lowland population, it rather intensified that spirit, and their determination to preserve themselves a separate and peculiar people, besides throwing in their way an additional and unnecessary temptation to break the laws. A multitude of prohibitory statutes is always irritating to a people, and serves only to multiply offences and demoralize a nation; it is generally a sign of weakness and great lack of wisdom in a government. This enactment as to the Highland dress was as unwise as religious intolerance, which is invariably a nurse of discord, a promoter of sectarianism. This Act surrounded the Highland dress with a sort of sacred halo, raised it into a badge of nationality, and was probably the means of perpetuating and rendering popular the use of a habit, which, had it been left alone, might long ere now have died a natural death, and been found only in our museums, side by side with the Lochaber axe, the two-handed sword, and the nail-studded shield.

The sagacious President Forbes—to whom, had the government perceived clearly the country's true interest, they would have entirely intrusted the legislation for the Highlands—had but a poor opinion of the dress bill, as will appear from the following letter of his to the Lord Lyon, dated July 8, 1746:—“The garb is certainly very loose, and fits men inured to it to go through great fatigues, to make very quick marches, to bear out against the inclemency of the weather, to wade through rivers, and shelter in huts, woods, and rocks upon occasion; which men dressed in the low country garb could not possibly en-

dure. But then it is to be considered, that, as the Highlands are circumstanced at present, it is, at least it seems to me to be, an utter impossibility, without the advantage of this dress, for the inhabitants to tend their cattle, and to go through the other parts of their business, without which they could not subsist; not to speak of paying rents to their landlords. Now, because too many of the Highlanders have offended, to punish all the rest who have not, and who, I will venture to say, are the greatest number, in so severe a manner, seems to be unreasonable; especially as, in my poor apprehension, it is unnecessary, on the supposal the disarming project be properly secured; and I must confess, that the salvo which you speak of, of not suffering the regulation to extend to the well-affected Clans, is not to my taste; because, though it would save them from hardships, yet the making so remarkable a distinction would be, as I take it, to list all those on whom the bill should operate for the Pretender, which ought to be avoided if possible.”¹ General Stewart perhaps speaks too strongly when he remarks, that had the whole Highland race been decimated, more violent grief, indignation, and shame, could not have been excited among them, than by being deprived of this long inherited costume. However, it should be remembered that all this was the legislation of upwards of 120 years ago, that the difficulties which the government had to face were serious and trying, that those who had the making of these laws were totally ignorant of the real character of the Highlanders, and of the real motives which urged them to rebellion, and that even at the present day legislative blunders do occasionally occur.

The means by which the Highlanders endeavoured to elude this law without incurring a penalty, were ingenious and amusing. Stewart tells us that, “instead of the prohibited tartan kilt, some wore pieces of a blue, green, or red thin cloth, or coarse camblet, wrapped round the waist, and hanging down to the knees like the fealdag.² The tight breeches were particularly obnox-

¹ *Culloden Papers*, p. 239.

² The difference between the fealdag and the phili beg is, that the former is not plaited.

ious. Some, who were fearful of offending, or wished to render obedience to the law, which had not specified on what part of the body the breeches were to be worn, satisfied themselves with having in their possession this article of legal and loyal dress, which, either as the signal of their submission, or more probably to suit their own convenience when on journeys, they often suspended over their shoulders upon their stieks; others, who were either more wary, or less submissive, sewed up the centre of the kilt with a few stiches between the thighs, which gave it something of the form of the trousers worn by Dutch skippers." The Act at first appears to have been carried out with rigid strictness, these ingenious attempts at evading it being punished somewhat severely; but, if we may judge from a trial which took place in 1757, the administrators of the law had by that time come to regard such breaches with a lenient eye. Although no doubt the law in course of time became practically obsolete, it was not till 1782 that it was erased from the statute book. Since then "tartans and kilts an' a', an' a'," have gradually increased in popularity, until now they have become "the rage" with all classes of society, from John o'Groats to Land's End; tartan plaids, of patterns which do great credit to the ingenuity of the manufacturers, are seen everywhere adorning the graceful forms of ladies, and the not so long since proscribed kilt being found not unfrequently displaying itself in the most fashionable London Assemblies. *Tempora mutantur.*

By far the most important measure adopted by government for the improvement of the Highlands was the abolition of the Hereditary Jurisdictions, which lay at the root of many of the evils that afflicted that country, and to which, in a great degree, the rebellion owed the measure of success that attended it. Before these jurisdictions were abolished, a Highland chief was as absolute a potentate over the members of his clan as any eastern pasha or African chief is over his abject subjects. The power of "pit and gallows," as it was called, which belonged to each of these petty sovereignties—for such they were practically—gave the chief absolute command of the lives

and liberty of his followers. The only thing he lawfully could not do was to banish; but even this prohibition he managed to evade by giving his victims the alternative of "emigration"—as it was mildly called—or death. This is not the place to enter into a minute account of the origin and working of this curious system, so utterly inconsistent with the spirit of a constitutional government like that of Britain; but any one can perceive that such a power as this in the hands of a discontented chief, especially when complemented by the high notions which a Highlander had of the obedience due to the head of the clan, must have been dangerous in the highest degree to the peace and progress of the country. There is no doubt that this coercive power was frequently brought into play in the late rebellion; indeed, the only plea urged by a great majority of the common Highlanders, when tried at Carlisle and elsewhere, was that they were forced into rebellion against their wills. Of course a prudent chief would be careful not to carry his power beyond due bounds, at least so far as the members of his own clan were concerned, for there was a point in the scale of oppression which even the strong spirit of elanship could not stand. No doubt the power thus entrusted to the chiefs may at one time have served a good purpose. When the country was in a turbulent and unsettled state, when communication between the different parts of the country was tedious, expensive, and hazardous, when it was difficult for the strong arm of the law to reach to a remote, rugged, and inaccessible district like the Highlands, where life and the rights of property were as little regarded as they are at the present day in Ireland,—perhaps this putting of the power of a judge in the hands of the chief men of the various districts, was the only practicable substitute for the direct administration of justice by those to whom this duty properly belonged. In reality, the justice meted out was of the roughest kind, and continually liable to be modified by the interests of the administrator, or any of his many friends. "That such a system should have been tolerated into the middle of the 18th century, after Somers, Hardwicke, and Forbes had occupied the bench, may seem in-

credible, but it is true."³ It was assuredly high time that such an anomalous state of matters should be done away with.⁴

An Act for the abolition of the Hereditary Jurisdictions was passed in March 1747, and came in force a year after. Of course some other plan for the administration of the laws had to be devised. "At the head of the arrangements for carrying justice throughout the land, the system begun in England in the reign of Henry II., for sending the royal courts at fixed intervals through the provinces, was adopted. Nominally there had been circuits or justice-ayres, but they were not systematically held, either at stated intervals of time, or so as to bring up before them the revisal of the

³ Burton's *Scotland after Revolution*, v. ii. p. 405.

⁴ To give the reader a notion of the evils which flowed from these irregular jurisdictions, we quote the following from the old Statistical Account of the Parish of Abernethy, in Inverness-shire:—"A few instances will be enough to mention, in case the reader should imagine that these things were lately done in Tippoo Sultan's dominions. One of them lived in this parish, named Robert Grant, commonly called Bailie More. It is said he used to hang people for disoblighing him. He seldom called juries. He hanged two brothers on a tree within a thousand yards of this town, and buried both in one grave, on the road side. The grave and stones above it are still visible. Another, named James Grant, commonly called Bailie Roy, who lived long in this parish, hanged a man of the name of Stuart, and after hanging him, set a jury on him, and found him guilty. The particulars are too long to be inserted here. The bailie had many reasons for being in such a hurry. The man was, unluckily for him, wealthy, and abounded in cattle, horses, sheep, and goats, all of which were instantly driven to the bailie's home; Stuart's children set a-begging, and his wife became deranged in her mind, and was afterward drowned in a river. It is not very long since. This same Bailie Roy, on another occasion, hanged two notorious thieves, parboiled their heads, and set them up on spikes afterward. At another time he drowned two men in sacks, at the bridge of Billimon, within a few hundred yards of this manse, and endeavoured to compel a man from Glenmore, in the barony of Kincardine, to assist him and the executioners he had with him in the business, which the man refusing to do, the bailie said to him, 'If you was within my regality, I would teach you better manners than to disobey my commands.'" This bailie bought a good estate. There was another of them, called Bailie Bain, in this country, who became so odious that the country people drowned him in Spey, near the church of Inver-allan, about two miles from hence. They took off his boots and gloves, left them on the bank, and drove his horse through a rugged place full of large stones. The tract in the sand, boots, &c., discovered what had become of him; and when a search was made for him down the river, a man met the party near the church of Cromdale, who asked them what they were searching for, they answered, for the bailie's body, upon which he said, "Turn back, turn back, perhaps he is gone up against the river, for he was always acting against nature."

administration of justice in all the districts. This, indeed, was impossible while the hereditary jurisdictions remained, but now regular circuits were to take place biennially, and the country was so partitioned into districts, that the higher offences were systematically brought up from the most remote provinces for adjudication. The exceptional hereditary jurisdictions, such as the regalities, were abolished, and the smaller authority exercised in baronial courts was restricted to trifling matters. The sheriff courts, locally commensurate in their authority with the boundaries of the counties, were taken as the foundation of a system of local tribunals, presided over by responsible judges. These, which were hereditary, were to be yielded to the crown; and ever since the passing of the act, the sheriff of each county has been appointed like the other judges, for life, removeable only for misconduct."⁵

Of course, as these jurisdictions, besides conferring influence and power, were sources of emolument⁶ to the holders of them, and as they had been sanctioned in the treaty of Union, it was considered only fair that some compensation should be allowed by the country to those who profited by them; in fact, they had to be bought up. The holders of the jurisdictions appear to have been asked to send in the amount of their claims to the Court of Session, which was authorised to fix the price to be paid. Of course, those who were convicted or attainted for having taken part in the late rebellion, had no claim, as their estates were forfeited to the Crown, and they themselves deprived of all

⁵ Burton's *Scotland after Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 535.

⁶ "As their power was great, and generally abused, so many of them enriched themselves. They had many ways of making money for themselves, such as 1. The Bailie's Darak, as it was called, or a day's labour in the year from every tenant on the estate. 2. Confiscations, as they generally seized on all the goods and effects of such as suffered capitally. 3. All fines for killing game, black-fish, or cutting green wood, were laid on by themselves, and went into their own pockets. These fines amounted to what they pleased almost. 4. Another very lucrative perquisite they had was what was called the Herial Horse, which was, the best horse, cow, ox, or other article, which any tenant on the estate possessed at the time of his death. This was taken from the widow and children for the bailie at the time they had most need of assistance. This amounted to a great deal on a large estate."—*Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. xiii pp. 151-152.

their privileges. Those who were about to part with their ancient powers were determined to make the most of them now that they were no longer to be a perpetual source of emolument and influence. The aggregate sum asked by the proprietors from government as the price of their jurisdictions was more than three times greater than that which the Court of Session deemed a fair price. There may be some truth in what Mr Fraser-Mackintosh says in his *Antiquarian Notes*⁷:—"Of course, the amounts ultimately paid bore not the slightest proportion to the claims, but they did bear some proportion to the politics of the holders, just as these happened to be friendly to government or the reverse." Argyll, for the Sheriffdom of Argyll, asked £15,000, for the Sheriffdom £5000, and for various small regalities other £5000, making £25,000 in all; from this the Court of Session deducted only £4000, allowing him for his various offices and jurisdictions what would then be considered the munificent sum of £21,000. Besides receiving this sum, the duke was appointed, in exchange for his office of Hereditary Justice of Scotland, Lord Justice-General, head of the Justiciary Court. The Duke of Montrose, for his various regalities, and the Sheriffdom of Dumfries, demanded £15,000, but did not get above one third of that sum; nor did the Dukes of Buccleuch and Athole, who each modestly valued his various offices at £17,000. The Duke of Gordon's claim amounted to £22,300, the Earl of Sutherland's to £10,800, Breadalbane's to £7000, Moray's to £14,000, Findlater's to £5,500. The smallest sum claimed for a Highland jurisdiction was by Evan Baillie, of Abriachan, for the Bailliary of Lovat, which he modestly valued at £166; Munro, Sheriff-Clerk of Inverness, claiming the same sum for that office combined with the Clerkship of the regality of Lovat. The total amount claimed for the whole of the jurisdictions was upwards of £490,000, which the Court of Session cut down to a little over £150,000.⁸ The sum was well spent in doing away with so many sources of petty tyranny and injustice, in the abolition of a system inconsistent with the

spirit of the British constitution in the middle of the 18th century, calculated materially to hinder progress and to aid rebellion.

The abolition of these jurisdictions in the Highlands, and along with them the power and paternal authority of the Highland chiefs, effected a complete change in the social life of that part of the country, led at first to considerable discontent and confusion, and was the indirect means of bringing much suffering and hardship on the subordinate dignitaries and commonalty of the clans. Some such consequences were to be expected from the breaking up of a system which had held sway for many generations, and the substitution of a state of matters to which the people were altogether unused, and which ran counter to all their prejudices and traditions; still, as in the case of every reformation, individual suffering was to be looked for, and in the course of time, as will be seen, matters gradually righted themselves, and the Highlands became as progressive and prosperous as any other part of the country.

Another much needed measure adopted by government was the abolition of a remnant of feudality, the kind of tenure known as "wardholding." "By this relief of ancient feudality, military service had remained down to that juncture the condition under which lands were held by one subject from another. Efforts were of course made to bring land into commerce, by substituting pecuniary arrangements for such services, but the 'wardholding' was so essentially the proper feudal usage, that the lawyers held it to be always understood, if some other arrangements were not very specifically settled. It had become the means of very oppressive exactions or 'casualties,' arising out of those conditions—such as minority—where the military service could not be performed. But by the act of 1746, arrangements were devised for converting all the superior's privileges into reasonable pecuniary claims."⁹

Another means taken by government to extinguish the seeds of rebellion and prevent its future occurrence, was the enactment of more stringent laws in reference to the Scottish Episcopals, among whom Jacobite sympha-

⁷ P. 243.

⁸ See Fraser-Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 242.

⁹ Burton's *Scotland after Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 537.

thies were almost as strong and as universal as among their Roman Catholic brethren. Their partiality to the house of Stuart was no doubt in a great measure owing to their strong belief as a class in divine right of government, both in Church and State, and to a conviction that seems to have prevailed among them that the restoration of the Stuarts meant the restoration of the supremacy, or at least establishment of episcopacy in Scotland. The Stuarts had not more devoted adherents than the Episcopalians in the kingdom, nor any who, amidst many petty, irritating, and even severe enactments, continued longer to adhere to their first love. Indeed, there is good reason for believing that at the present day, among many Scottish Episcopalians, especially in the Highlands, there are still many Jacobites in sentiment and sympathy, although, as a principle of action, Jacobitism is undoubtedly dead and gone, never to be resuscitated.

As this party, though not numerous, was not less formidable from its rank and wealth than from the *esprit de corps* with which it was animated, the attention of the legislature was directed towards it, and a strong measure was resorted to, which nothing could justify but necessity. This was an act by which it was ordained that any episcopal clergyman officiating after the 1st of September 1746, without having previously taken the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and assurance, or without praying once during the performance of worship for the king, his heirs, and successors, and for all the royal family, should for the first offence suffer six months imprisonment, for the second be transported to the American plantations for life, and, in case of returning from banishment, be subjected to perpetual imprisonment. By another enactment it was declared that no peer of Scotland should be capable of being elected one of the representative peers, or of voting at such election, and that no person should be capable of being elected a member of parliament for any shire or burgh, who should within the compass of any future year be twice present at divine service in an illegal episcopal meeting-house in Scotland. Several other severe Acts were passed against Episcopalians, and these were not allowed to remain a dead letter, but were acted upon in several

instances.¹ The devoted Episcopalians bore their privations with becoming fortitude, by yielding to a necessity which they could not control, but they submitted only because they were unable to resist.

Still there is no doubt that even at the present day there are not a few hereditary adherents of the Scottish episcopal church, whose sympathies are all Jacobite, and who have never taken kindly even to the present dynasty.

After the death, in January 1788, of Prince Charles Edward, whose brother the cardinal could leave no lawful descendant, the Scottish bishops felt they could conscientiously recognise the Hanoverian government, and therefore issued an intimation to the clergy and laity of their church, announcing that they had "unanimously agreed to comply with and submit to the present government of this kingdom, as vested in the person of his Majesty King George the Third." They also resolved "to testify this compliance by uniformly praying for him by name in their public worship, in hopes of removing all suspicion of disaffection, and of obtaining relief from those penal laws under which this church has so long suffered."²

The forfeited estates were annexed to the Crown, and placed in the hands of the court of exchequer, who appointed commissioners to apply their produce to the improvement of the Highlands. In course of time, as will be seen in the history of the clans, government wisely restored to most of the unfortunate families the estates foolishly thrown away by their representatives in 1745.

The effect of all the measures above referred to was, of course, immediately to annul all possibility of further active resistance, although, no doubt, they tended to intensify and perpetuate Jacobitism as a sentiment, and change into a sort of living reverence or worship the feeling of loyalty towards Prince Charles which had animated most of the Highland chiefs and incited them to rebellion. The idea of endeavouring to repeat the experiment of '45 seems not to have been entirely abandoned

¹ Among others, the Rev. John Skinner, well known as the author of the song of "Tullochgorum," was a sufferer: he was imprisoned for six months.

² Dunbar's *Social Life in Former Days*, 1st series p. 390.

by some of the more obstinate Jacobites even up to the time of Charles's death, although after the accession of George III.,—in whose reign the stringent measures adopted after 1745 were gradually relaxed, and efforts made for the improvement of the Highlanders,—the embodiment of many Highland regiments, the gradual dissolution practically of the old relation between the chief and his clan consequent on the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions, and the general progress of the country, Jacobitism became, as we have said above, a matter of mere sentiment, a feeling of tenderness almost akin to love, often finding expression in song in the melting language of the tender passion. Prince Charles was known to most of the Jacobites both in the Highlands and elsewhere only from the brief episode of 1745–6, in which he played the chief part, and in which he appeared to them as the handsome, brave, chivalrous, youthful, fair-haired, warm-hearted heir, come to recover that inheritance from which he was most unjustly excluded by a cruel usurper. His latter degraded life most of them knew nothing of, and even if they had been told of it, they most probably would have regarded the tale as a vile calumny; their love for "Bonnie Prince Charlie" was blind as the love of an impetuous youth for his first mistress, and they would allow no flaw to mar the beauty of that image which they tenderly cherished in their heart of hearts. This sentimental Jacobitism, as we have said already, prevailed extensively among all classes of society for very many years after all idea of actively asserting it had died out of the land.³ These Jacobites, who were gene-

rally of a somewhat social turn, in their private meetings, gave expression to their feelings in various ways, known only to themselves; indeed, there appears to have been a sort of freemasonry tacitly established among them, having signs, and words, and customs unknown to the great outside Whig world. One of their favourite methods, for example, of toasting Prince Charles at their feasts, was to drink to the health of "the king," at the same time passing the glass in their hands over the water-bottle, to signify that they meant not King George, but him "over the water."

What more than anything else, perhaps, tended to nourish and keep this feeling alive was the great body of song which was born of Jacobitism, and which dates from the time of Charles I. down almost to the present day. These songs are of all kinds, tender, humorous, pathetic, sarcastic, indignant, heroic, and many of them cannot be matched as expressions of the particular feelings to which they are meant to give utterance. The strength and character of the Jacobitic feeling can be well ascertained by a study of these songs, of which we believe there are some hundreds, many of them of high merit, and some, as we have said, not to be matched by the songs of any country. Indeed, altogether, this outburst of song is one of the most remarkable phenomena connected with Scottish Jacobitism, for most of them are Scotch both in language and authorship, and most of the tunes borrowed or adapted from the Gaelic, which has furnished to Scotland some of its richest song music. These songs not only show the intensity of the loyalty of the Jacobites towards the Stuart family, and their hatred of the reigning dynasty and of all Whigs, but also show that all along they had felt themselves to be the weaker party, unable to show their loyalty by their deeds, and compelled to let their energy escape in taunt and sarcasm. The Whigs have, indeed, a few, very few songs, which are artificial and cold, altogether devoid of the fire, the point, the perfect *abandon*, the touching tenderness, the thorough naturalness, which characterise those of their opponents. No one ever thinks of singing those Whig songs now-a-days; few brave father's days) would not to a certainty have been hanged."—Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*.

³ "When the Princess of Wales, mother of George III., mentioned, with some appearance of censure, the conduct of Lady Margaret M'Donald, who harboured and concealed Prince Charles, when in the extremity of peril, he threw himself on her protection; "And would not you, madam," answered Prince Frederick, "have done the same, in the same circumstances? I am sure—I hope in God you would." Captain Stuart of Invernahoyle's singular remark was not, it seems, quite without foundation. A gentleman, in a large company, gibed him for holding the king's commission, while, at the same time, he was a professed Jacobite. "So I well may," answered he, "in imitation of my master: the king himself is a Jacobite." The gentleman shook his head, and remarked, that the thing was impossible. "By G—," said Stuart, "but I tell you he is, and every son that he has. There is not one of them who (if he had lived in my

know aught of them save industrious collectors.⁴ The Jacobite songs, on the other hand, both those which were written when Jacobitism was at its height, and those which are merely the outcome of modern sentiment, are, wherever Scotch songs are sought after and appreciated, scarcely less popular than the matchless love-songs in which the language must ever live. Who, when he hears some of these Jacobite gems sung, Protestant and Whig though he be to the core, is not for the nonce a Jacobite, ready to draw his sword if he had one, to "Wha wadna fight for Charlie;" feel delighted at the defeat of the Whig gudeman in "Hame eam' our gudeman at e'en;" or shed a tear to the mournful verse of "Wae's me for Prince Charlie?" With such a powerful instrument in their hands as this body of song, not only evidencing the intensity of the sentiment, but so well calculated to touch the feelings, excite the tenderness, and rouse the indignation of all who were capable of being influenced by music, it seems surprising that Jacobitism, as a principle of action, was not more prevalent even than it was, and did not, inspired by these songs, accomplish greater things. But the very fact that there were so many songs, may account for this lack of important deeds. The muses, Burns has said, are all Jacobites, and it would seem at any rate that all the best song writers of the country had enlisted on the unfortunate side; and it will be found, on the other hand, in scanning the account of the last rebellious, that those who joined in it were little given to forethought or to weighing the consequences of their actions, little able to regulate or lead any great enterprise, but influenced chiefly by imagination and impulse. There were, indeed, one or two superior to all the others in calibre, foresight, and aptitude to command, but these had little chance of being attended to when their power was not absolute among so many harebrained, thoughtless

⁴ "We find that the whole of national song during that period inclined towards the ancient dynasty, and the whole force of the ludicrous, the popular, and the pathetic, volunteered in the Jacobite service. It is beyond question that the merit of these Jacobite songs eclipsed, and still eclipses, every attempt at poetry on the other side, which has produced little beyond a few scraps of verse in ridicule of the bare knees, the kilts, and bad English of the Highlanders." — Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 100.

adventurers. In 1745, had there been at the head of the rebels one thoroughly able, experienced, iron-willed, thoughtful general, who had absolute command of the whole expedition, matters might have turned out very differently, especially when in these songs he had instruments far more powerful to incite than any threats or promises of reward. It is far from us to say that the bravery of the Jacobites evaporated in a song: their whole history would give such a statement the lie; but we think had there been less singing and song-making and more attention to stratagem and dry military business and diplomacy generally, they would have been more likely ultimately to have placed their idol on the throne. However, as General Stewart well remarks, "when it is considered how many feel and how few reason," the power of this popular poetry to stir up sympathy in behalf of the cause for which it was written will be easily understood.⁵

The great majority of these songs are in the Scottish language, a few of them being translations from the Gaelic, but most of them original; the authors of very few of them are known, a feature which they have in common with many of the oldest and richest of our Scotch songs. Any one who may wish to form an idea of their merit and multitude will find the best of them collected in Hogg's two volumes of *Jacobite Relics*.

Some of the finest of these songs are perhaps better known than any others in the language; many of them, however, are known

⁵ "These songs are a species of composition entirely by themselves. They have no affinity with our ancient ballads of heroism and romance, and one part of them far less with the mellow strains of our pastoral and lyric muses. Their general character is that of a rude energetic humour, that bids defiance to all opposition in arms, sentiments, or rules of song-writing. They are the unmasked effusions of a bold and primitive race, who hated and despised the overturning innovations that prevailed in church and state, and held the abettors of these as dogs, or something worse—drudges in the lowest and foulest paths of perdition—beings too base to be spoken of with any degree of patience or forbearance. Such is their prevailing feature; but there are amongst them specimens of sly and beautiful allegory. These last seem to have been sung openly and avowedly in mixed parties, as some of them are more generally known, while the others had been confined to the select social meetings of confirmed Jacobites, or hoarded up in the cabinets of old Catholic families, where to this day they have been preserved as their most precious lore." —Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*.

only by name, and many of them known at all but to a very few. Among those generally known and now commonly adapted to non-Jacobite sentiments, we may mention "My ain écountry," the song of the home-sick exile, "Here's a health to them that's awa'," "Over the seas and far awa'," "Will he no come back again," "Charlie is my darling,"—of which there are an aenient and a modern set, the latter by James Hogg,—"Farewell to Glen Shalloeh" (from the Gaelic), "Hey Johnnie Cope," perhaps one of the most popular humorous songs in the language, "The wee wee German lairdie," full of genuine Scotch humour and irritating sarcasm, "This is no my ain house," "O'er the water to Charlie," "Welcome royal Charlie," and "The bonnic house o' Airly," as old as the days of Montrose and Argyll. One of the most touchingly pathetic and most popular of these old songs is the well-known "Will he no come back again," and equally popular is that, perhaps, most heroic and stirring of them all, "Wha wadna fceht for Charlie."

Not a few of the Jacobite songs, as we have said, are from the Gaelic, and, as might be expected, they display little of the humour, pawkiness, and rollicking sarcasm which characterise many of the Scotch songs; they mostly evince a spirit of sadness and pensiveness, some show a heroic determination to do or die in the cause of Charlie, while others are couched in the language of adoration and love. One of the most characteristic and most poetical of these Gaelic songs is *Maclean's Welcome*, which we take the liberty of quoting here:—

"Come o'er the stream, Charlie, dear Charlie, brave Charlie,
Come o'er the stream, Charlie, and dine with Maclean;
And though you be weary, we'll make your heart cheery,
And welcome our Charlie and his loyal train.
We'll bring down the track deer, we'll bring down the black steer,
The lamb from the breekan, and doe from the glen;
The salt sea we'll harry, and bring to our Charlie,
The cream from the bothy, and eurd from the pen.

Come e'er the stream, Charlie, &c.
And you shall drink freely the dews of Glen-Sheerly,
That stream in the star-light when kings do not ken;
And deep be your meed of the wine that is red,
To drink to your sire, and his friend the Maclean.

Come o'er the stream, Charlie, &c.
Our heath-bells shall trace you the maids to embrace you,
And deck your blue bonnet with flowers of the brae;
And the loveliest Mari in all Glen-M'Quarry
Shall lie in your bosom till break of the day.

Come o'er the stream, Charlie, &c.
If aught will invite you, or more will delight you,
'Tis ready, a troop of our bold Highlandmen
Shall range on the heather with bonnet and feather,
Strong arms and broad elaymores three hundred and ten."

One of the best known and most admired of this class of Jacobite songs is "The Lament of Flora Macdonald," beginning, "Far over yon hills of the heather so green," of which we here quote the last verse:—

"The target is torn from the arms of the just,
The helmet is cleft on the brow of the brave,
The claymore for ever in darkness must rust,
But red is the sword of the stranger and slave;
The hoof of the horse, and the foot of the proud
Have trod o'er the plumes on the bonnet of blue.
Why slept the red bolt in the breast of the cloud,
When tyranny revell'd in blood of the true?
Fareweel, my young hero, the gallant and good!
The crown of thy fathers is torn from thy brow."

Some of those whose titles are well enough known are "The-White Cockade," of which we give a verse or two:—

"My love was born in Aberdeen,
The bonniest lad that e'er was seen;
But now he makes our hearts fu' sad,
He's ta'en the field wi' his white cockade.
O he's a ranting roving blade!
O he's a brisk and a bonny lad!
Betide what may, my heart is glad
To see my lad wi' his white cockade.

I'll sell my rock, I'll sell my reel,
My rippling-kame, and spinning-whcel,
To buy my lad a tartan plaid,
A braid sword, durk, and white cockade.
O he's a ranting roving blade," &c. &c.

Another great favourite with the old Jacobites over their cups was, "The King shall enjoy his own again."

⁶ The gentleman referred to in a former note appends the following:—
"There is also an Irish version of the 'White Cockade.' It has been translated from the Irish by J. J. Callanan. The following is the last verse:—

'No more the cuckoo hails the spring,
The woods no more with the stanch-hounds ring;
The song from the glen, so sweet before,
Is hushed since Charlie left our shore.
The prince is gone, but he soon will come,
With trumpet sound, and with beat of drum:
Then up with shout, and out with blade—
We'll stand or fall with the white cockade.'

Lover, commenting on this song in his *Lyrics of Ireland*, tells the following anecdote in connection with Ireland, and its devotion to the White Rose:—"The

Did space permit we could quote many more, remarkable for pathos, humour, wit, sarcasm, and heroic sentiment, but we must content ourselves with the following. What can be more touching than "Carlisle Yetts:—

"White was the rose in his gay bonnet,
As he faulded me in his broached plaidio;
His hand, whilk clasped the truth o' luvie,
O it was aye in battle readie!
His lang lang hair, in yellow hanks,
Wav'd o'er his cheeks sae sweet and ruddie;
But now they wave o'er Carlisle yetts,
In dripping ringlets clotting bloodie.

My father's blood 's in that flower tap,
My brother's in that harebell's blossom;
This white rose was steeped in my luvie's blood,
And I'll aye wear it in my bosom.
* * * * *

When I came first by merrie Carlisle,
Was ne'er a town sae sweetly seeming;
The white rose flaunted owre the wall,
The thristled banners far were streaming.
When I came next by merrie Carlisle,
O sad sad seem'd the town, and eerie!
The auld auld men came out and wept:
'O maiden, come ye to seek your dearie!'
* * * * *

There's ae drop o' blood atween my breasts,
And twa in my links o' hair sae yellow;
The tano I'll ne'er wash, and the tither ne'er
kame,
But I'll sit and pray aneath the willow.
Wae, wae, upon that cruel heart,
Wae, wae, upon that hand sae bloodie,
Which feasts on our richest Scottish blood,
And makes sae mony a dolefu' widow!"

Hogg, however, is of opinion that this may be indebted for much of its beauty to the genius of Allan Cunningham.

Of "Cumberland and Murray's descent into Hell," which appears to be but little known, Hogg justly says, that "of all the songs that ever were written since the world began this is the first; it is both so horrible and so irresistibly ludicrous." It is a pity that the author of a poem so full of fire, and hate, and lurid wit

celebrated Lord Chesterfield, who governed Ireland with rare ability and liberality in 1744, when told by an alarmist that "the Papists were dangerous," replied that he had never seen but one dangerous Papist, and that was Miss —, a particularly lovely woman. This lady, sharing in the gratitude and admiration of the Roman Catholics, wished to show the Earl how thoroughly she could overcome political prejudices, and on a public occasion at Dublin Castle wore a breast knot of Orange ribbon. The earl, pleased at the incident, requested Lord Doneraile, celebrated for his wit, to say something handsome to her on the occasion. The request occasioned the following *impromptu*:—

'Say, little Tory, why this jest
Of wearing Orange on thy breast,
Since the same breast, uncover'd, shows
The whiteness of the rebel rose.'

is totally unknown; the heartiness of the hate displayed in it, as well as the wealth of uncarthly fancy, ought to have recommended it to the approval of Dr. Johnson, had he known of it. Of course Cumberland is the hero of Culloden; Murray is Secretary Murray, who turned king's evidence against his comrades in the trials after the rebellion, and thus earned for himself the bitterest hate of all Jacobites.

"Ken ye whare Cleekie Murray's gane?
He's gane to dwell in his lang hame.
The beddle clapt him on the doup,
'O hard I've earned my gray goat.
Lie thon there, and sleep thou soun';
God winna wauken sic a loon.'
* * * * *

He's in a' Satan's frything-pans,
Scouth'ring the blude frae aff his han's;
He's washing them in brunstane lowe;
His kintra's blude it winna thow:
The hettest soap-suds o' perdition
Canna out thae stains be washing.

Ae devil roar'd, till hearse and roopit,
'He's pyking the gowd frae Satan's pu'pit!
Anither roar'd, wi' eldritch yell,
'He's howking the keystone out o' hell,
To damn us mair wi' God's day-light!
And he doukit i' the caudrons out o' sight.

He stole suld Satan's brunstane leister,
Till his waukit loofs were in a blister;
He stole his Whig spunks, tipt wi' brunstane,
And stole his scalping-whittle's whunstane;
And out o' its red-hot kist he stole
The very charter-rights o' hell.

Satan, tent weel the pilfering villain;
He'll serimp your revenue by stealing.
Th' infernal boots in which you stand in,
With which your worship tramps the damn'd in,
He'll wile them aff your cloven eloots,
And wade through hell fire in your boots.

Auld Satan cleekit him by the spaul,
And stappit him i' the dnb o' hell.
The foulest fiend there doughtna bide him,
The damn'd they wadna fry beside him,
Till the bluidy duke came trysting hither,
And the ae fat buteher tried the tither.

Ae deevil sat splitting brumstane matches;
Ane roasting the Whigs liko bakers' batches;
Ane wi' fat a Whig was basting,
Spent wi' frequent prayer and fasting.
A' ces'd when thae twin butchers roar'd,
And hell's grim hangman stopt and glowr'd.

'Fy, gar bake a pie in haste,
Knead it of infernal paste,'
Quo' Satan; and in his mitten'd hand
He hunt up bluidy Cumberland,
And whittled him down like bow-kail castock,
And in his hettest furnace roasted.

Now hell's black tablecloth was spread,
Th' infernal grace was reverend said;
Yap stood the hungry fiends a' owre it,
Their grim jaws gaping to devour it,
When Satan cried out, fit to seunner,
'Owre rank a judgment's sic a dinner!'

Not a few of these old Jacobite songs, with

little or no alteration in the words, are sung at the present day as pure love-songs, few ever dreaming that they were meant for anything else when first composed: nothing more than this shows the intensity and tenderness of the feeling entertained by the Scotch Jacobites to their hero and idol, Bonnie Prince Charlie. The well-known and apparcutly perfectly harmless song, "Weel may the keel row," belongs to this class; and who would ever smell treason in the touching strain. "For the sake o' somebody."

One of the sweetest and tenderest of all the Jacobite songs is undoubtedly "Wae's me for Prince Charlie," beginning "A wee' bird cam' to our ha' door," and well known to all who have the least knowledge of Scottish song. Yet this song was written only about thirty or forty years ago by Mr William Gleu, a Glasgow merchant; and it is well known that many of the finest of Aytoun's *Lays* are animated by this spirit of Jacobitism, showing how much calculated to touch the feelings and rouse the imagination of any one of an impulsive, poetic temperament, is the story of "Bonnie Prince Charlie," as it is popularly told in song and story.

Perhaps it may be only fair, as a set off to the above, to give one or two of the best Whig songs:—

HAUD AWA FRAE ME, DONALD.

"Haud awa, bide awa,
Haud awa frae me, Donald,
Your principles I do abhor;
No Jacobites for me, Donald.
Passive obedience I do hate,
And tyranny I flee, Donald;
Nor can I think to be a slave,
When now I can be free, Donald.

Even Highland Maggie, though she's bred
Up under tyranny, Donald,
No sooner you her rights invade,
Than she'll a rebel be, Donald.
For all that you can say or do,
I'll never change my mind, Donald;
Your king takes so much of your heart,
To me you'll ne'er be kind, Donald."

A LITANY.

"From the lawless dominion of mitre and crown,
Whose tyrannies now are absolute grown,
So that men become slaves to the altar and throne,
And can call neither bodies nor souls their own,
Libera nos, Domine.

From a reverend bawling theological professor,
From a Protestant zealous for a Popish successor,
Who for a great benefice still leaves a lesser,
And ne'er will die martyr, nor make good confessor,
Libera nos, Domine.

From deans and from chapters who live at their
eases,
Whose lechery lies in renewing church-leases,
Who live in cathedrals like maggots in cheeses,
And lie like abbey-lubbers stew'd in their own
greases,
Libera nos, Domine.

From an altar-piece-monger who rails at Dissenters
And damns Nonconformists in the pulpit he enters,
Yet all the week long his own soul he ventures,
By being so drunk that he cutteth indentures,
Libera nos, Domine.

From fools, knaves, and villains, prerogative Tories,
From church, that for the Babylon whore is,
From a pretended prince, like pear rotten at core is,
From a court that has millions, yet as old Job
poor is,
Libera nos, Domine."

That the Jacobite songs tended largely to nourish and perpetuate Jacobite sympathies long after all idea of endeavouring to restore the Stuart dynasty had been abandoned, all must admit who know anything of Scotch social life during the latter part of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. In the early part of the latter century, an additional and most powerful instrument in the cause of sentimental Jacobitism came into play, in the shape of the poems, and especially the novels of Sir Walter Scott, on whose bold imagination and strong sympathy with chivalry and the days of old, the story of the young prince and the misfortunes of the Stuarts and their adherents generally, appear to have taken a stroug hold. The very first of the Waverley Novels presented the history of the '45 in its most fascinating aspect, and painted its hero in the most attractive colours, as the handsome, chivalrous, high-minded, but unfortunate prince. In one or two of Scott's other novels the same episode is made use of, and with such bewitching power as only the Wizard of the North could exercise. The influence of these matchless fictions continues unabated, and as it is from them that most people derive their knowledge of the last rebellion, and of the Stuarts and their cause, it is no wonder that even at the present day there exists a wide-spread, tender sympathy for the unfortunato race, a sort of sentimental Charlie-worship, adoring as its object the ideal presented by Scott, filled in with some of the most attractive and touching features from the sweetest and most popular of the songs. With perhaps no exception, this admiration of Prince Charlie and

the other heroes of '45 is of the same nature as the unthinking admiration of the "good old days" generally, of King Arthur and his knights, of the days of chivalry, of Robin Hood and his merry men, and of the bold Rob Roy; he would be looked upon as a harmless imbecile, who should ever talk of doing aught to restore any of the institutions of these old times, which are as likely to find active partizans as is the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

However, that Jacobitism still runs in a few old families as something more than a sentiment, as something like an ideal politico-religious creed, cherished as the remnant of the Cameronians cherish the ancient covenant, we have good reason to believe. These families are, practically, perfectly loyal to the present government and the present sovereign, and would as soon dream of taking to cattle-lifting as to rebellion; but still they seem to regard the Stuart dynasty as their first love, the love of their impulsive youth, with whom a closer relation was impossible. The creed of these modern Jacobites we may be permitted to state, in the words of one who has ample opportunities of mixing with them and knowing their sentiments. "As a principle of action," he writes, quoting the words of a noble lord, "it is dead and gone, but in sentiment and sympathy there are still lots of us." He himself proceeds:—"I quite agree with him. We claim, with the late Professor Aytoun, to be *White-Rose Scots*, Tories in some things but not in others—some of us Tories—some I daresay Radicals—none of us *Whigs*; all of us animated by an abhorrence of Macaulay's History as an audacious libel on our forefathers and their principles." In another letter he says:—"The question you ask, as to whether we would now stand up for any of the descendants of Prince Charles, is one I have no difficulty in answering. We should not. I cannot say we have any great love for the present royal family; they cross our feelings and prejudices in many ways, by marriages in Lent, and alliances with Campbells!! But were the time of trial to come (and a contest between monarchy and republicanism may come in this country sooner than many expect), Queen Victoria would find none more loyal—I could almost venture to say, none so

loyal—as those whose sympathies go with the former enemies of her race. To us she represents 'the powers that be, as ordained of God,' and we must bear a good deal at their hands. Queen Victoria herself certainly does appreciate the Highlands and Highlanders. Our loyalty is a matter of principle, not of preference, and might be found to wax the warmer, as that of others—when subjected to a strain by the royal family running counter to their ideas and prejudices—waxed cold." Indeed Jacobitism, as an active principle, is as much a thing of the past as clan-feuds, cattle-lifting, and active religious intolerance.

Her present Majesty has done more to win the hearts and command the loyalty of the Highlanders than ever did any of her predecessors, by taking up her residence yearly in their midst, and in many other ways showing her trust in and love for them, and her unbounded admiration for all that is Highland. As is well known, before her widowhood, her favourite plaid was one of Stuart tartan of a special pattern. If any section of her Majesty's subjects is at all inclined to use occasionally expressions savouring of disloyalty, it is that of which one or two Cockney newspapers are the mouthpieces, the grievance being that the Queen spends so much of her time in the Highlands. The loyalty and love of the Highlanders, and of all Scotchmen, have been intensified by the marriage of one of the Queen's daughters to the son and heir of one of the oldest and greatest Highland chiefs.⁸

⁸ In connection with the above subject, our Jacobite correspondent has communicated to us the following anecdote. He does not vouch for its truth, but he states that he had it on very good authority. On one occasion, when her Majesty's guests had been enjoying themselves, in scattered groups, in the pleasure-grounds around Balmoral, the conversation chanced to turn, amongst one of those groups, on Jacobite songs and Jacobite music. One of the ladies, known for her knowledge of Jacobite melodies, and for her skill in the execution of them, was asked to favour her companions with a specimen. The party having retired to a distance from the rest of the company, the lady sang her song. The echoes of the music reached, it is said, the quick ears of the Queen, who went at once to the spot whence it proceeded. And no one, it is added, enjoyed the melody more. One of the company having ventured to express surprise that the Queen could so enter into the spirit of a song which seemed to reflect so much on the present dynasty, her Majesty is said to have stated, as the representative of the family of Bonnie Prince Charlie, no one could be a greater Jacobite than herself; and

So far as the record of external strife or inward feud constitutes history, that of the Highlands may be said to end with the battle of Culloden in 1746. By many, however, the period from that date onwards will be considered as of far more interest and importance than all the previous centuries put together; for in the years succeeding the last rebellion are witnessed the struggle of lawlessness with law, of semi-barbarism with civilization, the gradual but rapid breaking-up of the old patriarcho-feudal way of ruling men and regulating property, on which the whole social life of the Highlands was based, and the assimilation of that district in all respects to the rest of the kingdom of which it forms a part.

That innovations such as were of necessity forced upon the Highlands should be adopted without a struggle, without resistance, without hardship to many, was not to be expected. No thoughtful person could expect that there could be accomplished without many difficulties and mistakes the abolition of a system which had maintained its sway for many centuries, and the introduction of a new one so little adapted to the character stamped on the Highlander under the former, and in every respect so contrary to the ideas and prejudices which had been transmitted from father to son for many generations. Any sudden change of an old-established system, by which the everyday life of thousands of people is regulated, would in any case almost inevitably lead at first to disorder and a certain amount of hardship. It was to be looked for that, in the case of the Highlands, which in many respects were centuries behind the rest of the country, there would be much trouble and confusion before they could be brought up to the stand-point of their Lowland fellow-countrymen. Such

that she considered all the songs in praise of "the Auld Stuarts" as songs in praise of her own ancestors.

was the ease. It took very many years--indeed, the process is still going on--before the various elements got settled into their places according to the new adjustment of matters. There were, of course, many interests to be attended to, and necessarily many collisions and misunderstandings between the various classes; often no doubt unnecessary hardness, selfishness, and want of consideration for inferiors on one side, as frequently met on the other by unreasonable demands, and a stubborn and uninformed determination to resist the current of change, and not to accommodate themselves to inevitable innovations. The old clan-system, with the idea which it nourished of the close relation between the various grades of the clan, of the duty of the chief to support his people, and of the people to do the will of the chief, must be abolished, and the Highlander must be taught, each man to depend entirely upon himself and his own exertions, and to expect nothing from any man but what he could pay for in labour or money. Of course it would be hard for a Celt to put himself on the same footing in this respect with the low-minded, greedy, over-reaching Saxon; but it had to be done, and, like many other things which seemed hard to face, has been done, and the process is still going on, and probably will go on, till there be not only an assimilation in habits and ways of living and thinking, but till the two races be so fused or blended together by intermarriage and otherwise, that there shall be neither Celt nor Saxon, but a mixed race superior to either, combining the best qualities of each, the fire, the imagination, the dash, the reverence, the heart of the Celt, with the perseverance, clear-headedness, patience, fairness, capacity for business, head of the Saxon. Ere long, no doubt, the two will become one flesh, and their separation and strife a tale of bygone days.

GENERAL HISTORY AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE HIGHLANDS.

GAELIC LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC.

CHAPTER XLII.

Social condition of the Highlands—Black Mail—Watch Money—The Law—Power of the Chiefs—Land Distribution—Tacksmen—Tenants—Reuts—Thirlage—Wretched State of Agriculture—Agricultural Implements—The *Caschrom*—The *Reestle*—Methods of Transportation—Drawbacks to Cultivation—Management of Crops—Farm Work—Live Stock—*Garrons*—Sheep—Black Cattle—Arable Land—Pasturage—Farm Servants—The *Baille Geamhre*—Davoch-lands—Milk—Cattle Drivers—Harvest Work—The *Quern*—Fuel—Food—*Social Life in Former Days*—Education—Dwellings—Habits—*Gartmore Papers*—Wages—Roads—Present State of the Highlands. ;

As we have already (in ch. xviii.) given a somewhat minute description of the clan-system, it is unnecessary to enter again in detail upon that subject here. We have, perhaps, in the chapter referred to, given the most brilliant side of the picture, still the reader may gather, from what is said there, some notion of what had to be done, what immense barriers had to be overcome, ere the Highlander could be modernised. Any further details on this point will be learned from the Introduction to the History of the Clans.

As might have been expected, for some time after the allaying of the rebellion, and the passing of the various measures already referred to, the Highlands, especially those parts which bordered on the Lowlands, were to a certain extent infested by what were known as cattle-lifters—*Anglicé*, cattle-stealers. Those who took part in such expeditions were generally “broken” men, or men who belonged to no particular clan, owned no chief, and who were regarded generally as outlaws. In a paper said to have been written in 1747, a very gloomy and lamentable picture of the state of

the country in this respect is given, although we suspect it refers rather to the period preceding the rebellion than to that succeeding it. However, we shall quote what the writer says on the matter in question, in order to give the reader an idea of the nature and extent of this system of pillage or “requisition:”—

“Although the poverty of the people principally produces these practices so ruinous to society, yet the nature of the country, which is thinly inhabited, by reason of the extensive moors and mountains, and which is so well fitted for concealments by the many glens, dens, and cavities in it, does not a little contribute. In such a country cattle are privately transported from one place to another, and securely hid, and in such a country it is not easy to get informations, nor to apprehend the criminals. People live so open to their resentment, either for giving intelligence, or prosecuting them, that they decline either, rather than risk their cattle being stolen, or their houses burnt. And then, in the pursuit of a rogue, though he was almost in hands, the grounds are so hilly and unequal, and so much covered with wood or brush, and so full of dens and hollows, that the sight of him is almost as soon lost as he is discovered.

“It is not easy to determine the number of persons employed in this way; but it may be safely affirmed that the horses, cows, sheep, and goats yearly stolen in that country are in value equal to £5,000; that the expenses lost in the fruitless endeavours to recover them will not be less than £2,000; that the extraordinary expenses of keeping herds and servants to look more narrowly after cattle on account of

stealing, otherways not necessary, is £10,000. There is paid in *blackmail* or *watch-money*, openly and privately, £5,000; and there is a yearly loss by understocking the grounds, by reason of thefts, of at least £15,000; which is, altogether, a loss to landlords and farmers in the Highlands of £37,000 sterling a year. But, besides, if we consider that at least one-half of these stolen effects quite perish, by reason that a part of them is buried under ground, the rest is rather devoured than eat, and so what would serve ten men in the ordinary way of living, swallowed up by two or three to put it soon out of the way, and that some part of it is destroyed in concealed parts when a discovery is suspected, we must allow that there is £2,500 as the value of the half of the stolen cattle, and £15,000 for the article of understock quite lost of the stock of the kingdom.

“These last mischiefs occasions another, which is still worse, although intended as a remedy for them—that is, the engaging companys of men, and keeping them in pay to prevent these thefts and depredations. As the government neglect the country, and don't protect the subjctes in the possession of their property, they have been forced into this method for their own security, though at a charge little less than the land-tax. The person chosen to command this *watch*, as it is called, is commonly one deeply concerned in the thefts himself, or at least that hath been in correspondence with the thieves, and frequently who hath occasioned thefts, in order to make this watch, by which he gains considerably, necessary. The people employed travell through the country armed, night and day, under pretence of enquiring after stolen cattle, and by this means know the situation and circumstances of the whole country. And as the people thus employed are the very rogues that do these mischiefs, so one-half of them are continued in their former bussiness of stealing that the busieness of the other half may be necessary in recovering.”¹

This is probably a somewhat exaggerated account of the extent to which this species of robbery was carried on, especially after the suppression of the rebellion; if written by one

¹ Gartmore MS. in Appendix to Burt's *Letters*.

of the Gartmore family, it can scarcely be regarded as a disinterested account, seeing that the Gartmore estate lies just on the southern skirt of the Highland parish of Aberfoyle, formerly notorious as a haunt of the Macgregors, affording every facility for lifters getting rapidly out of reach with their “ill-gotten gear.” Still, no doubt, curbed and dispirited as the Highlanders were after the treatment they got from Cumberland, from old habit, and the assumed necessity of living, they would attempt to resume their ancient practices in this and other respects. But if they were carried on to any extent immediately after the rebellion, when the Gartmore paper is said to have been written, it could not have been for long; the law had at last reached the Highlands, and this practice ere long became rarer than highway robbery in England, gradually dwindling down until it was carried on here and there by one or two “desperate outlawed” men. Long before the end of the century it seems to have been entirely given up. “There is not an instance of any country having made so sudden a change in its morals as that of the Highlands; security and civilization now possess every part; yet 30 years have not elapsed since the whole was a den of thieves of the most extraordinary kind.”²

As we have said above, after the suppression of the rebellion of 1745-6, there are no stirring narratives of outward strife or inward broil to be narrated in connection with the Highlands. Indeed, the history of the Highlands from this time onwards belongs strictly to the history of Scotland, or rather of Britain. Still, before concluding this division of the work, it may be well to give a brief sketch of the progress of the Highlands from the time of the suppression of the jurisdictions down to the present day. Not that after their disarmament the Highlanders ceased to take part in the world's strife; but the important part they have taken during the last century or more in settling the destinies of nations, falls to be narrated in another section of this work. What we shall concern ourselves with at present is the consequences of the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions (and with them the importance and power of the chiefs), on the

² Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*.

internal state of the Highlands; we shall endeavour to show the alteration which took place in the social condition of the people, their mode of life, their relation to the chiefs (now only landlords), their mode of farming, their religion, education, and other points.

From the nature of clanship—the relationship between chief and people, as well as from the state of the law and the state of the Highlands generally—it will be perceived that, previous to the measure which followed Culloden, it was the interest of every chief to surround himself with as many followers as he could muster; his importance and power of injury and defence were reckoned by government and his neighbours not according to his yearly income, but according to the number of men he could bring into the field to fight his own or his country's battles. It is told of a chief that, when asked as to the rent of his estate, he replied that he could raise 500 men. Previous to '45, money was of so little use in the Highlands, the chiefs were so jealous of each other and so ready to take advantage of each other's weakness, the law was so utterly powerless to repress crime and redress wrong, and life and property were so insecure, that almost the only security which a chief could have was the possession of a small army of followers, who would protect himself and his property; and the chief safety and means of livelihood that lay in the power of the ordinary clansman was to place himself under the protection and among the followers of some powerful chief. "Before that period [1745] the authority of law was too feeble to afford protection.³ The obstructions to the execution

³ As a specimen of the manner in which justice was administered in old times in the Highlands, we give the following: In the second volume of the Spalding Club Miscellany, p. 128, we read of a certain "John MacAlister, in Dell of Rothomurkus," cited on 19th July 1594 "before the Court of Regality of Spynie." He was "decerned by the judge—ryplie aduysit with the action of spuilzie persewit contrano him be the Baron of Kincardine, . . . to have wrongouslie intronittit with and detenit the hroune horse lyhellit, and thairfor to content and pay to the said Complainer the soume of threttene schillings and four pennis money." The reader will notice the delicate manner in which what looks very like a breach of the eighth commandment is spoken of in a legal document of that period. John the son of Alister "confessed" the intronission with the brown horse, hut pled in defence that he "took him away ordowrlie and nocht spulyed, but be vertuo of the Act of Athell,

of any legal warrant were such that it was only for objects of great public concern that an extraordinary effort was sometimes made to overcome them. In any ordinary case of private injury, an individual could have little expectation of redress unless he could avenge his own cause; and the only hope of safety from any attack was in meeting force by force. In this state of things, every person above the common rank depended for his safety and his consequence on the number and attachment of his servants and dependants; without people ready to defend him, he could not expect to sleep in safety, to preserve his house from pillage or his family from murder; he must have submitted to the insolence of every neighbouring robber, unless he had maintained a numerous train of followers to go with him into the field, and to fight his battles. To this essential object every inferior consideration was sacrificed; and the principal advantage of landed property consisted in the means it afforded to the proprietor of multiplying his dependants."⁴

Of course, the chief had to maintain his followers in some way, had to find some means by which he would be able to attach them to himself, keep them near him, and command their services when he required them. There can be no doubt, however chimerical it may appear at the present day, that the attachment and reverence of the Highlander to his chief were quite independent of any benefits the latter might be able to confer. The evidence is indubitable that the clan regarded the chief as the father of his people, and themselves as his children; he, they believed, was bound to protect and maintain them, while they were bound to regard his will as law, and to lay down their lives at his command. Of these statements there can be

boynd for ane better horse spuilzeat be the said persewar from the said Defender." Whether this was the truth, or whether, though it were true, John the son of Alister was justified in seizing upon the Baron's hroune horse in lieu of the one taken by the Baron from him, or whether it was that the Baron was the more powerful of the two, the judge, it will have been noticed, decerned against the said John M'Alister, not, however, ordaining him to return the horse, but to pay the Baron "thairfor" the sum of thirteen shillings.—*Memorials of Clan Shaw*, by Rev. W. G. Shaw, p. 24.

⁴ *Observations on the Present State of Uighlands*, by the Earl of Selkirk, p. 13.

no doubt. "This power of the chiefs is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several, and particularly one who commands in his clan, though, at the same time, they maintain him, having nothing left of his own."⁵ Still it was assuredly the interest, and was universally regarded as the duty of the chief, to strengthen that attachment and his own authority and influence, by bestowing upon his followers what material benefits he could command, and thus show himself to be, not a thankless tyrant, but a kind and grateful leader, and an affectionate father of his people. Theoretically, in the eye of the law, the tenure and distribution of land in the Highlands was on the same footing as in the rest of the kingdom; the chiefs, like the lowland barons, were supposed to hold their lands from the monarch, the nominal proprietor of all landed property, and these again in the same way distributed portions of this territory among their followers, who thus bore the same relation to the chief as the latter did to his superior, the king. In the eye of the law, we say, this was the case, and so those of the chiefs who were engaged in the rebellion of 1715-45 were subjected to forfeiture in the same way as any lowland rebel. But, practically, the great body of the Highlanders knew nothing of such a tenure, and even if it had been possible to make them understand it, they would probably have repudiated it with contempt. The great principle which seems to have ruled all the relations that subsisted between the chief and his clan, including the mode of distributing and holding land, was, previous to 1746, that of the family. The land was regarded not so much as belonging absolutely to the chief, but as the property of the clan of which the chief was head and representative. Not only was the clan bound to render obedience and reverence to their head, to whom each member supposed himself related, and whose name was the common name of all his people; he also was regarded as bound to maintain and protect

his people, and distribute among them a fair share of the lands which he held as their representative. "The chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who, by accidents, are fallen into decay. If, by increase of the tribe, any small farms are wanting, for the support of such addition he splits others into lesser portions, because *all must be somehow provided for*; and as the meanest among them pretend to be his relatives by consanguinity, they insist upon the privilege of taking him by the hand wherever they meet him."⁶ Thus it was considered the duty, as it was in those turbulent times undoubtedly the interest, of the chief to see to it that every one of those who looked upon him as their chief was provided for; while, on the other hand, it was the interest of the people, as they no doubt felt it to be their duty, to do all in their power to gain the favour of their chiefs, whose will was law, who could make or unmake them, on whom their very existence was dependent. Latterly, at least, this utter dependence of the people on their chiefs, their being compelled for very life's sake to do his bidding, appears to have been regarded by the former as a great hardship; for, as we have already said, it is well known that in both of the rebellions of last century, many of the poor clansmen pled in justification of their conduct, that they were compelled, sorely against their inclination, to join the rebel army. This only proves how strong must have been the power of the chiefs, and how completely at their mercy the people felt themselves to be.

To understand adequately the social life of the Highlanders previous to 1746, the distribution of the land among, the nature of their tenures, their mode of farming, and similar matters, the facts above stated must be borne in mind. Indeed, not only did the above influences affect these matters previous to the suppression of the last rebellion, but also for long after, if, indeed, they are not in active operation in some remote corners of the High

⁵ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 5.

⁶ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 5.

lands even at the present day; moreover, they afford a key to much of the confusion, misunderstanding, and misery that followed upon the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions.

Next in importance and dignity to the chief or laird, were the cadets of his family, the gentlemen of the clan, who in reference to the mode in which they held the land allotted to them, were denominated tacksmen. To these tacksmen were let farms, of a larger or smaller size according to their importance, and often at a rent merely nominal; indeed, they in general seem to have considered that they had as much right to the land as the chief himself, and when, after 1746, many of them were deprived of their farms, they, and the Highlanders generally, regarded it as a piece of gross and unfeeling injustice. As sons were born to the chief, they also had to be provided for, which seems to have been done either by cutting down the possessions of those tacksmen further removed from the family of the laird, appropriating those which became vacant by the death of the tenant or otherwise, and by the chief himself cutting off a portion of the land immediately in his possession. In this way the descendants of tacksmen might ultimately become part of the commonalty of the clan. Next to the tacksmen were tenants, who held their farms either directly from the laird, or as was more generally the case, from the tacksmen. The tenants again frequently let out part of their holdings to sub-tenants or cottars, who paid their rent by devoting most of their time to the cultivation of the tenant's farm, and the tending of his cattle. The following extract from the Gartmore paper written in 1747, and published in the appendix to Burt's *Letters*, gives a good idea of the manner generally followed in distributing the land among the various branches of the clan:—

“The property of these Highlands belongs to a great many different persons, who are more or less considerable in proportion to the extent of their estates, and to the command of men that live upon them, or follow them on account of their clanship, out of the estates of others. These lands are set by the landlord during pleasure, or a short tack, to people whom they call good-men, and who are of a

superior station to the commonalty. These are generally the sons, brothers, cousins, or nearest relations of the landlord. The younger sons of families are not bred to any business or employments, but are sent to the French or Spanish armies, or marry as soon as they are of age. Those are left to their own good fortune and conduct abroad, and these are preferred to some advantageous farm at home. This, by the means of a small portion, and the liberality of their relations, they are able to stock, and which they, their children, and grandchildren, possess at an easy rent, till a nearer descendant be again preferred to it. As the propinquity removes, they become less considered, till at last they degenerate to be of the common people; unless some accidental acquisition of wealth supports them above their station. As this hath been an ancient custom, most of the farmers and cottars are of the name and clan of the proprietor; and, if they are not really so, the proprietor either obliges them to assume it, or they are glad to do so, to procure his protection and favour.

“Some of these tacksmen or good-men possess these farms themselves; but in that case they keep in them a great number of cottars, to each of whom they give a house, grass for a cow or two, and as much ground as will sow about a boll of oats, in places which their own plough cannot labour, by reason of brush or rock, and which they are obliged in many places to delve with spades. This is the only visible subject which these poor people possess for supporting themselves and their families, and the only wages of their whole labour and service.

“Others of them lett out parts of their farms to many of these cottars or subtenants; and as they are generally poor, and not allways in a capacity to stock these small tenements, the tacksmen frequently enter them on the ground laboured and sown, and sometimes too stocks it with cattle; all which he is obliged to redeliver in the same condition at his removal, which is at the godman's pleasure, as he is usually himself tennent at pleasure, and for which during his possession he pays an extravagantly high rent to the tacksmen.

“By this practice, farms, which one family and four horses are sufficient to labour, will

have from four to sixteen families living upon them."⁷

"In the case of very great families, or when the domains of a chief became very extensive, it was usual for the head of the clan occasionally to grant large territories to the younger branches of his family in return for a trifling quit-rent. These persons were called chieftains, to whom the lower classes looked up as their immediate leader. These chieftains were in later times called tacksmen; but at all periods they were considered nearly in the same light as proprietors, and acted on the same principles. They were the officers who, under the chief, commanded in the military expeditions of the clans. This was their employment; and neither their own dispositions, nor the situation of the country, inclined them to engage in the drudgery of agriculture any farther than to supply the necessaries of life for their own families. A part of their land was usually sufficient for this purpose, and the remainder was let off in small portions to cottagers, who differed but little from the small occupiers who held their lands immediately from the chief; excepting that, in lieu of rent, they were bound to a certain amount of labour for the advantage of their immediate superior. The more of these people any gentleman could collect around his habitation, with the greater facility could he carry on the work of his own farm; the greater, too, was his personal safety. Besides this, the tacksmen, holding their lands from the chief at a mere quit-rent, were naturally solicitous to merit his favour by the number of their immediate dependants whom they could bring to join his standard."⁸

Thus it will be seen that in those times every one was, to a more or less extent, a cultivator or renter of land. As to rent, there was very little of actual money paid either by the tacksmen or by those beneath them in position and importance. The return expected by the laird or chief from the tacksmen for the farms he allowed them to hold, was that they should be ready when required to produce as many fighting men as possible, and give him a certain share of the produce of the land

they held from him. It was thus the interest of the tacksman to parcel out their land into as small lots as possible, for the more it was subdivided, the greater would be the number of men he could have at his command. This liability on the part of the subtenants to be called upon at any time to do service for the laird, no doubt counted for part of the rent of the pendicles allotted to them. These pendicles were often very small, and evidently of themselves totally insufficient to afford the means of subsistence even to the smallest family. Besides this liability to do service for the chief, a very small sum of money was taken as part of the rent, the remainder being paid in kind, and in assisting the tacksmen to farm whatever land he may have retained in his own hands. In the same way the cottars, who were subtenants to the tacksmen's tenants, had to devote most of their time to the service of those from whom they immediately held their lands. Thus it will be seen that, although nominally the various tenants held their land from their immediate superiors at a merely nominal rent, in reality what was actually given in return for the use of the land would, in the end, probably turn out to be far more than its value. From the laird to the cottar there was an incessant series of exactions and services, grievous to be borne, and fatal to every kind of improvement.

Besides the rent and services due by each class to its immediate superiors, there were numerous other exactions and services, to which all had to submit for the benefit of their chief. The most grievous perhaps of these was thirlage or multure, a due exacted from each tenant for the use of the mill of the district to convert their grain into meal. All the tenants of each district or parish were thirled or bound to take their grain to a particular mill to be ground, the miller being allowed to appropriate a certain proportion as payment for the use of the mill, and as a tax payable to the laird or chief. In this way a tenant was often deprived of a considerable quantity of his grain, varying from one-sixteenth to one-eighth, and even more. In the same way many parishes were thirled to a particular smith. By these and similar exactions and contributions did the proprietors

⁷ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 341-3.

⁸ *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 184, 5.

and chief men of the clan manage to support themselves off the produce of their land, keep a numerous band of retainers around them, have plenty for their own use, and for all who had any claim to their hospitality. This seems especially to have been the case when the Highlanders were in their palmiest days of independence, when they were but little molested from without, and when their chief occupations were clan-feuds and cattle raids. But latterly, and long before the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, this state of matters had for the most part departed, and although the chiefs still valued themselves by the number of men they could produce, they kept themselves much more to themselves, and showed less consideration for the inferior members of the clan, whose condition, even at its best, must appear to have been very wretched. "Of old, the chieftain was not so much considered the master as the father of his numerous clan. Every degree of these followers loved him with an enthusiasm, which made them cheerfully undergo any fatigue or danger. Upon the other hand, it was his interest, his pride, and his chief glory, to requite such animated friendship to the utmost of his power. The rent paid him was chiefly consumed in feasts given at the habitations of his tenants. What he was to spend, and the time of his residence at each village, was known and provided for accordingly. The men who provided these entertainments partook of them; they all lived friends together; and the departure of the chief and his retinue never fails to occasion regret. In more polished times, the cattle and corn consumed at these feasts of hospitality, were ordered up to the landlord's habitation. What was friendship at the first became very oppressive in modern times. Till very lately in this neighbourhood, Campbell of Auchinbreck had a right to carry off the best cow he could find upon several properties

at each Martinmas by way of mart. The Island of Islay paid 500 such cows yearly, and so did Kintyre to the Macdonalds."⁹ Still, there can be no doubt, that previous to 1746 it was the interest of the laird and chief tackmen to keep the body of the people as contented as possible, and do all in their power to attach them to their interest. Money was of but little use in the Highlands then; there was scarcely anything in which it could be spent; and so long as his tenants furnished him with the means of maintaining a substantial and extensive hospitality, the laird was not likely in general to complain. "The poverty of the tenants rendered it customary for the chief, or laird, to free some of them every year, from all arrears of rent; this was supposed, upon an average, to be about one year in five of the whole estate."¹

In the same letter from which the last sentence is quoted, Captain Burt gives an extract from a Highland rent-roll, of date probably about 1730; we shall reproduce it here, as it will give the reader a better notion as to how those matters were managed in these old times, than any description can. "You will, it is likely," the letter begins, "think it strange that many of the Highland tenants are to maintain a family upon a farm of twelve merks Scots per annum, which is thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, with perhaps a cow or two, or a very few sheep or goats; but often the rent is less, and the cattle are wanting.

"In some rentals you may see seven or eight columns of various species of rent, or more, viz., money, barley, oatmeal, sheep, lambs, butter, cheese, capons, &c.; but every tenant does not pay all these kinds, though many of them the greatest part. What follows is a specimen taken out of a Highland rent-roll, and I do assure you it is genuine, and not the least by many:—

	Scots Money.	English.	Butter. Stones. Lb. Oz.	Oatmeal. Bolls. B. P. Llp.	Muttons.
Donald mac Oil vic ille Challum ...	£3 10 4	£0 5 10½	0 3 2	0 2 1 3	½ and ¼
Murdoch mac ille Christ.....	5 17 6	0 9 9½	0 6 4	0 3 3 3	¼ and ¼
Duncan mac ille Phadrick.....	7 0 6	0 12 3½	0 7 8	1 0 3 0½	¼ and ¼

I shall here give you a computation of the first article, besides which there are seven more

of the same farm and rent, as you may perceive by the fraction of a sheep in the last column:—

⁹ Old Statistical Account of North Knapdale.

¹ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 57.

The money.....	£0	5	10½	Sterling.
The butter, three pounds two ounces, at 4d. per lb.	0	1	1½	
Oatmeal, 2 bushels, 1 peck, 3 lippys and ½, at 6d. per peck...	0	4	9½ and ½	
Sheep, one-eighth and one-sixteenth, at 2s.....	0	0	4½	

The yearly rent of the farm is.....£0 12 1½ and 1½."

It is plain that in the majority of cases the farms must have been of very small extent, almost equal to those of Goldsmith's Golden Age, "when every rood maintained its man." "In the head of the parish of Buchanan in Stirlingshire, as well as in several other places, there are to be found 150 families living upon grounds which do not pay above £90 sterling of yearly rent, that is, each family at a medium rents lands at twelve shillings of yearly rent."² This certainly seems to indicate a very wretched state of matters, and would almost lead one to expect to hear that a famine occurred every year. But it must be remembered that for the reasons above given, along with others, farms were let at a very small rent, far below the real value, and generally merely nominal; that besides money, rent at that time was all but universally paid in kind, and in services to the laird or other superior; and that many of the people, especially on the border lands, had other means of existance, as for example, cattle-lifting. Nevertheless, making all these allowances, the condition of the great mass of the Highlanders must have been extremely wretched, although they themselves might not have felt it to be so, they had been so long accustomed to it.

In such a state of matters, with the land so much subdivided, with no leases, and with tenures so uncertain, with so many oppressive exactions, with no incitements to industry or improvement, but with every encouragement to idleness and inglorious self-contentment, it is not to be supposed that agriculture or any other industry would make any great progress. For centuries previous to 1745, and indeed for long after it, agriculture appears to have remained at a stand-still. The implements in use were rude and inefficient, the time devoted to the necessary farming operations, generally a few weeks in spring and autumn, was totally insufficient to produce results of any imper-

tance, and consequently the crops raised, seldom anything else but oats and barley, were scanty, wretched in quality, and seldom sufficient to support the cultivator's family for the half of the year. In general, in the Highlands, as the reader will already have seen, each farm was let to a number of tenants, who, as a rule, cultivated the arable ground on the system of run-rig, *i.e.*, the ground was divided into ridges which were so distributed among the tenants that no one tenant possessed two contiguous ridges. Moreover, no tenant could have the same ridge for two years running, the ridges having a new cultivator every year. Such a system of allocating arable land, it is very evident, must have been attended with the worst results so far as good farming is concerned. The only recommendation that it is possible to urge in its favour is that, there being no inclosures, it would be the interest of the tenants to join together in protecting the land they thus held in common against the ravages of the cattle which were allowed to roam about the hills, and the depredations of hostile clans. As we have just said, there were no inclosures in the Highlands previous to 1745, nor were there for very many years after that. While the crops were standing in the ground, and liable to be destroyed by the cattle, the latter were kept, for a few weeks in summer and autumn, upon the hills; but after the crops were gathered in, they were allowed to roam unheeded through the whole of a district or parish, thus affording facilities for the cattle-raids that formed so important an item in the means of obtaining a livelihood among the ancient Highlanders.

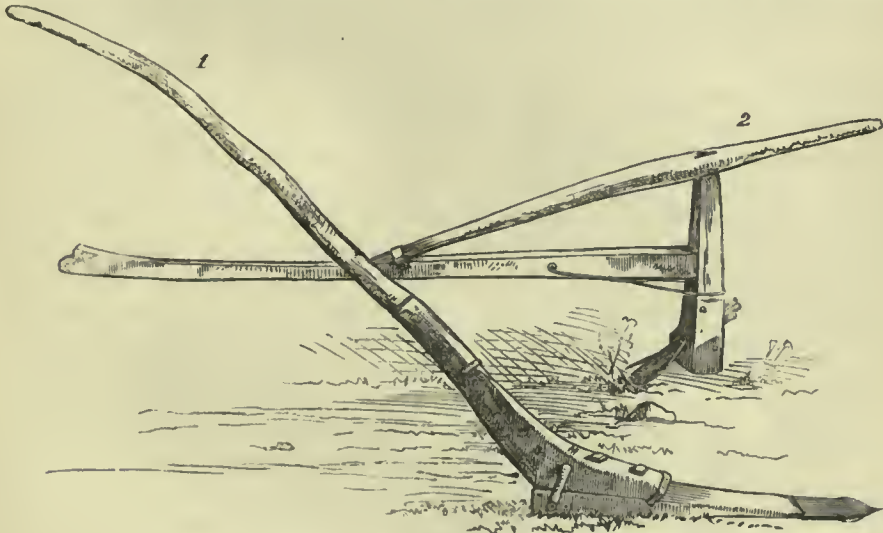
As a rule, the only crops attempted to be raised were oats and barley, and sometimes a little flax; green crops were almost totally unknown or despised, till many years after 1745; even potatoes do not seem to have been at all common till after 1750, although latterly they became the staple food of the

² Gartmore MS.

Highlanders. Rotation of crops, or indeed any approach to scientific agriculture, was totally unknown. The ground was divided into infield and outfield. The infield was constantly cropped, either with oats or bear; one ridge being oats, the other bear alternately. There was no other crop except a ridge of flax where the ground was thought proper for it. The outfield was ploughed three years for oats, and then pastured for six years with horses, black cattle, and sheep. In order to dung it, folds of sod were made for the cattle, and what were called flakes or rails of wood, removable at pleasure, for folding the sheep. A farmer who rented 60, 80,

or 100 acres, was sometimes under the necessity of buying meal for his family in the summer season.³

Their agricultural implements, it may easily be surmised, were as rude as their system of farming. The chief of these were the old Scotch plough and the *caschroim* or crooked spade, which latter, though primitive enough, seems to have been not badly suited to the turning over of the land in many parts of the Highlands. The length of the Highland plough was about four feet and a half, and had only one stilt or handle, by which the ploughman directed it. A slight mould-board was fastened to it with two leather straps, and



1. Old Scotch plough. 2. *Caschroim*, or crooked spade.

the sock and coulter were bound together at the point with a ring of iron. To this plough there were yoked abreast four, six, and even more horses or cattle, or both mixed, in traces made of thongs of leather. To manage this unwieldy machine it required three or four men. The ploughman walked by the side of the plough, holding the stilt with one hand; the driver walked backwards in front of the horses or cattle, having the reins fixed on a cross stick, which he appears to have held in his hands.⁴ Behind the ploughman came one

and sometimes two men, whose business it was to lay down with a spade the turf that he was a gentleman; and yet, in quality of a proprietor and conductor, might, without dishonour, employ himself in such a work. My first question was, whether that method was common to the Highlands, or peculiar to that part of the country? and, by way of answer, he asked me, if they ploughed otherwise anywhere else? Upon my further inquiry why the man went backwards? he stopped, and very civilly informed me that there were several small rocks, which I did not see, that had a little part of them just peeping on the surface, and therefore it was necessary his servant should see and avoid them, by guiding the horses accordingly, or otherwise his plough might be spoiled by the shock. The answer was satisfactory and convincing, and I must here take notice that many other of their methods are too well suited to their own circumstances, and those of the country, to be easily amended by such as undertake to deride them."—*Burt's Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 42, 43.

³ Old Statistical Account, vol. ix. p. 494.

⁴ "When I first saw this awkward method as I then thought it, I rode up to the person who guided the machine, to ask him some questions concerning it: he spoke pretty good English, which made me conclude

was torn off. In the Hebrides and some other places of the Highlands, a curious instrument called a *Reestle* or *Restle*, was used in conjunction with this plough. Its coulter was shaped somewhat like a sickle, the instrument itself being otherwise like the plough just described. It was drawn by one horse, which was led by a man, another man holding and directing it by the stilt. It was drawn before the plough in order to remove obstructions, such as roots, tough grass, &c., which would have been apt to obstruct the progress of a weak plough like the above. In this way, it will be seen, five or six men, and an equal number if not more horses or cattle, were occupied in this single agricultural operation, performed now much more effectively by one man and two horses.⁵

The *Caschroim*, *i.e.*, the crooked foot or spade, was an instrument peculiarly suited to the cultivation of certain parts of the Highlands, totally inaccessible to a plough, on account of the broken and rocky nature of the ground. Moreover, the land turned over with the *caschroim* was considerably more productive than that to which the above plough had been used. It consists of a strong piece of wood, about six feet long, bent near the lower end, and having a thick flat wooden head, shod at the extremity with a sharp piece of iron. A piece of wood projected about eight inches from the right side of the blade, and on this the foot was placed to force the instrument diagonally into the ground. "With this instrument a Highlander will open up more ground in a day, and render it fit for the sowing of grain, than could be done by two or three men with any other spades that are commonly used. He will dig as much ground in a day as will sow more than a peck of oats. If he works assiduously from about Christmas to near the end of April, he will prepare land sufficient to sow five bolls. After this he will dig as much land in a day as will sow two pecks of bere; and in the course of the season will cultivate as much land with his spade as is sufficient to supply a family of seven or eight persons, the year round, with meal and potatoes. . . . It appears, in general, that a field laboured with the *caschroim* affords usually one-third more crop than if laboured

with the plough. Poor land will afford near one-half more. But then it must be noticed that this tillage with the plough is very imperfect, and the soil scarcely half laboured."⁶ No doubt this mode of cultivation was suitable enough in a country overstocked with population, as the Highlands were in the early part of last century, and where time and labour were of very little value. There were plenty of men to spare for such work, and there was little else to do but provide themselves with food. Still it is calculated that this spade labour was three times more expensive than that of the above clumsy plough. The *caschroim* was frequently used where there would have been no difficulty in working a plough, the reason apparently being that the horses and cattle were in such a wretched condition that the early farming operations in spring completely exhausted them, and therefore much of the ploughing left undone by them had to be performed with the crooked spade.

As to harrows, where they were used at all, they appear to have been of about as little use as a hand-rake. Some of them, which resembled hay-rakes, were managed by the hand; others, drawn by horses, were light and feeble, with wooden teeth, which might scratch the surface and cover the seed, but could have no effect in breaking the soil.⁷ In some parts of the Highlands it was the custom to fasten the harrow to the horse's tail, and when it became too short, it was lengthened with twisted sticks.

To quote further from Dr Walker's work, which describes matters as they existed about 1760, and the statements in which will apply with still greater force to the earlier half of the century:—"The want of proper carriages in the Highlands is one of the great obstacles to the progress of agriculture, and of every improvement. Having no carts, their corn, straw, manures, fuel, stone, timber, seaweed, and kelp, the articles necessary in the fisheries, and every other bulky commodity, must be transported from one place to another on horseback or on sledges. This must triple or quadruple the expense of their carriage. It must prevent particularly the use of the natural manures with which the country abounds, as, with-

⁵ Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 122.

⁶ Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 127. ⁷ *Idem*, 131.

out cheap carriage, they cannot be rendered profitable. The roads in most places are so bad as to render the use of wheel-carriages impossible; but they are not brought into use even where the natural roads would admit them."⁸

As we have said already, farming operations in the Highlands lasted only for a few weeks in spring and autumn. Ploughing in general did not commence till March, and was concluded in May; there was no autumn or winter ploughing; the ground was left untouched and unoccupied except by some cattle from harvest to spring time. It was only after the introduction of potatoes that the Highlanders felt themselves compelled to begin operations about January. As to the *modus operandi* of the Highland farmer in the olden time, we quote the following from the old Statistical Account of the parish of Dunkeld and Dowally, which may be taken as a very fair representative of all the other Highland parishes; indeed, as being on the border of the lowlands, it may be regarded as having been, with regard to agriculture and other matters, in a more advanced state than the generality of the more remote parishes:—"The farmer, whatever the state of the weather was, obstinately adhered to the immemorial practice of beginning to plough on Old Candlemas Day, and to sow on the 20th of March. Summer fallow, turnip crops, and sown grass were unknown; so were compost dunghills and the purchasing of lime. Clumps of brushwood and heaps of stones everywhere interrupted and deformed the fields. The customary rotation of their general crops was—1. Barley; 2. Oats; 3. Oats; 4. Barley; and each year they had a part of the farm employed in raising flax. The operations respecting these took place in the following succession. They began on the day already mentioned to *rib* the ground, on which they intended to sow barley, that is, to draw a wide furrow, so as merely to make the land, as they termed it, red. In that state this ground remained till the fields assigned to oats were ploughed and sown. This was in general accomplished by the end of April. The farmer next proceeded to prepare for his flax crop, and to sow it, which occupied him till the middle of May,

⁸ Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. p. 133.

when he began to harrow, and dung, and sow the ribbed barley land. This last was sometimes not finished till the month of June."⁹ As to draining, fallowing, methodical manuring and nourishing the soil, or any of the modern operations for making the best of the arable land of the country, of these the Highlander never even dreamed; and long after¹ they had become common in the low country, it was with the utmost difficulty that his rooted aversion to innovations could be overcome. They literally seem to have taken no thought for the morrow, and the tradition and usage of ages had given them an almost insuperable aversion to manual labour of any kind. This prejudice against work was not the result of inherent laziness, for the Highlander, both in ancient and modern times, has clearly shown that his capacity for work and willingness to exert himself are as strong and active as those of the most industrious lowlander or Englishman. The humblest Highlander believed himself a gentleman, having blood as rich and old as his chief, and he shared in the belief, far from being obsolete even at the present day, that for a gentleman to soil his hands with labour is as degrading as slavery.² This belief was undoubtedly one

⁹ *Old Statistical Account*, vol. xx. p. 74.

¹ "Nothing is more common than to hear the Highlanders boast how much their country might be improved, and that it would produce double what it does at present if better husbandry were introduced among them. For my own part, it was always the only amusement I had in the hills, to observe every minute thing in my way; and I do assure you, I do not remember to have seen the least spot that would bear corn uncultivated, not even upon the sides of the hills, where it could be no otherwise broke up than with a spade. And as for manure to supply the salts and enrich the ground they have hardly any. In summer their cattle are dispersed about the *sheelings*, and almost all the rest of the year in other parts of the hills; and, therefore, all the dung they can have must be from the trifling quantity made by the cattle while they are in the house. I never knew or heard of any limestone, chalk, or marl, they have in the country; and, if some of their rocks might serve for limestone, in that case their kilns, carriage, and fuel would render it so expensive, it would be the same thing to them as if there were none. Their great dependence is upon the nitro of the snow, and they lament the disappointment if it does not fall early in the season." — *Burt's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 48-9.

² "An English lady, who found herself something decaying in her health, and was advised to go among the hills, and drink goat's milk or whey, told me lately, that seeing a Highlander basking at the foot of a hill in his full dress, while his wife and her mother were hard at work in reaping the oats, she asked the old woman how she could be contented to see her daughter labour in that manner, while her husband

of the strongest principles of action which guided the ancient Highlanders, and accounts, we think, to a great extent for his apparent laziness, and for the slovenly and laggard way in which farming operations were conducted.

There were, however, no doubt other reasons for the wretched state of agriculture in the Highlands previous to, and for long after, 1745. The Highlanders had much to struggle against, and much calculated to dishearten them, in the nature of the soil and climate, on which, to a great extent, the success of agricultural operations is dependent. In many parts of the Highlands, especially in the west, rain falls for the greater part of the year, thus frequently preventing the completion of the necessary processes, as well as destroying the crops when put into the ground. As to the soil, no unprejudiced man who is competent to judge will for one moment deny that a great part of it is totally unsuited to agriculture, but fitted only for the pasturage of sheep, cattle, and deer. In the Old Statistical Account of Scotland, this assertion is being constantly repeated by the various Highland ministers who report upon the state of their parishes. In the case of many Highland districts, one could conceive of nothing more hopeless and discouraging than the attempt to force from them a crop of grain. That there are spots in the Highlands as susceptible of high culture as some of the best in the lowlands cannot be denied; but these bear but a small proportion to the great quantity of ground that is fitted only to yield a sustenance to cattle and sheep. Now all reports seem to justify the conclusion that, previous to, and for long after 1745, the Highlands were enormously overstocked with inhabitants, considering the utter want of manufactures and the few other

outlets there were for labour. Thus, we think, the Highlander would be apt to feel that any extraordinary exertion was absolutely useless, as there was not the smallest chance of his ever being able to improve his position, or to make himself, by means of agriculture, better than his neighbour. All he seems to have sought for was to raise as much grain as would keep himself and family in bread during the miserable winter months, and meet the demands of the laird.

The small amount of arable land was no doubt also the reason of the incessant cropping which prevails, and which ultimately left the land in a state of complete exhaustion. "To this sort of management, bad as it is, the inhabitants are in some degree constrained, from the small proportion of arable land upon their farms. From necessity they are forced to raise what little grain they can, though at a great expense of labour, the produce being so inconsiderable. A crop of oats on outfield ground, without manure, they find more beneficial than the pasture. But if they must manure for a crop of oats, they reckon the crop of natural grass rather more profitable. But the scarcity of bread corn—or rather, indeed, the want of bread—obliges them to pursue the less profitable practice. Oats and bear being necessary for their subsistence, they must prefer them to every other produce. The land at present in tillage, and fit to produce them, is very limited, and inadequate to the consumption of the inhabitants. They are, therefore, obliged to make it yield as much of these grains as possible, by scourging crops."³

Another great discouragement to good farming was the multitude and grievous nature of the *services* demanded from the tenant by the landlord as part payment of rent. So multifarious were these, and so much of the farmer's time did they occupy, that frequently his own farming affairs got little or none of his personal attention, but had to be entrusted to his wife and family, or to the cottars whom he housed on his farm, and who, for an acre or so of ground and liberty to pasture an ox or two and a few sheep, performed to the farmer services similar to those rendered by the latter to his laird. Often a farmer had only one day in

was only an idle spectator? And to this the woman answered, that her son-in-law was a *gentleman*, and it would be a disparagement to him to do any such work; and that both she and her daughter too were sufficiently honoured by the alliance. This instance, I own, has something particular in it, as such; but the thing is very common, *à la Palatine*, among the middling sort of people."—*Burt's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 45.

The Highlander at home is indolent. It is with impatience that he allows himself to be diverted from his favourite occupation of traversing the mountains and moors in looking after his flocks, a few days in spring and autumn, for the purposes of his narrow scheme of agriculture. It is remarked, however, that the Highlander, when removed beyond his native bounds, is found capable of abundant exertion and industry.—*Graham's Perthshire*, 235.

³ Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. i. p. 197.

the week to himself, so undefined and so unlimited in extent were these services. Even in some parishes, so late as 1790, the tenant for his laird (or *master*, as he was often called) had to plough, harrow, and manure his land in spring; cut corn, cut, winnow, lead, and stack his hay in summer, as well as thatch office-houses with his own (the tenant's) turf and straw; in harvest assist to cut down the master's crop whenever called upon, to the latter's neglect of his own, and help to store it in the cornyard; in winter frequently a tenant had to thrash his master's crop, winter his cattle, and find ropes for the ploughs and for binding the cattle. Moreover, a tenant had to take his master's grain from him, see that it was properly put through all the processes necessary to convert it into meal, and return it ready for use; place his time and his horses at the laird's disposal, to buy in fuel for the latter, run a message whenever summoned to do so; in short, the condition of a tenant in the Highlands during the early part of last century, and even down to the end of it in some places, was little better than a slave.⁴

Not that, previous to 1745, this state of matters was universally felt to be a grievance by tenants and farmers in the Highlands, although it had to a large extent been abolished both in England and the lowlands of Scotland. On the contrary, the people themselves appear to have accepted this as the natural and inevitable state of things, the only system consistent with the spirit of clanship with the supremacy of the chiefs. That this was not, however, universally the case, may be seen from the fact that, so early as 1729, Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum (famous in the affair of 1715) published a book, or rather essay, on *Ways and Means for Enclosing, Fallowing, Planting, &c., Scotland*, which he prefaced by a strongly-worded exhortation to the gentlemen of Scotland to abolish this degrading and suicidal system, which was as much against their own interests as it was oppressive to the tenants. Still, after 1745, there seems to be no doubt that, as a rule, the ordinary Highlander acquiesced contentedly in the established state of things, and generally, so far as his immediate wants were concerned, suffered little or nothing from the system. It was only

after the abolition of the jurisdictions that the grievous oppressive hardship, injustice, and obstructiveness of the system became evident. Previous to that, it was, of course, the laird's or chief's interest to keep his tenants attached to him and contented, and to see that they did not want; not only so, but previous to that epoch, what was deficient in the supply of food produced by any parish or district, was generally amply compensated for by the levies of cattle and other gear made by the clans upon each other when hostile, or upon their lawful prey, the Lowlanders. But even with all this, it would seem that, not unfrequently, the Highlanders, either universally or in certain districts, were reduced to sore straits, and even sometimes devastated by famine. Their crops and other supplies were so exactly squared to their wants, that, whenever the least failure took place in the expected quantity, scarcity or cruel famine was the result. According to Dr Walker, the inhabitants of some of the Western Isles look for a failure once in every four years. Maston, in his *Description of the Western Islands*, complained that many died from famine arising from years of scarcity, and about 1742, many over all the Highlands appear to have shared the same fate from the same cause.⁵ So that, even under the old system, when the clansmen were faithful and obedient, and the chief was kind and liberal, and many cattle and other productions were imported free of all cost, the majority of the people lived from hand to mouth, and frequently suffered from scarcity and want. Infinitely more so was this the case when it ceased to be the interest of the laird to keep around him numerous tenants.

All these things being taken into consideration, it is not to be wondered at that agriculture in the Highlands was for so long in such a wretched condition.

They set much store, however, by their small black cattle and diminutive sheep, and appear in many districts to have put more dependence upon them for furnishing the means of existence, than upon what the soil could yield.

The live-stock of a Highland farm consisted mainly of horses, sheep, and cattle, all of them

⁴ *Old Statistical Account*, vol. x. p. 17.

⁵ See accounts of various Highland parishes in the *Old Statistical Account*.

of a peculiarly small breed, and capable of yielding but little profit. The number of horses generally kept by a farmer was out of all proportion to the size of his farm and the number of other cattle belonging to him. The proportion of horses to cattle often ranged from one in eight to one in four. For example, Dr Webster mentions a farm in Kintail, upon which there were forty milk cows, which with the young stock made one hundred and twenty head of cattle, about two hundred and fifty goats and ewes, young and old, and ten horses. The reason that so great a proportion of horses was kept, was evidently the great number that were necessary for the operation of ploughing, and the fact that in the greater part of the Highlands carts were unknown, and fuel, grain, manure, and many other things generally carried in machines, had to be conveyed on the backs of the horses, which were of a very small breed, although of wonderful strength considering their rough treatment and scanty fare. They were frequently plump, active, and enduring, though they had neither size nor strength for laborious cultivation. They were generally from nine to twelve hands high, short-necked, chubby-headed, and thick and flat at the withers.⁶ "They are so small that a middle-sized man must keep his legs almost in lines parallel to their sides when carried over the stony ways; and it is almost incredible to those who have not seen it how nimbly they skip with a heavy rider among the rocks and large moor-stones, turning zig-zag to such places as are passable."⁷ Walker believes that scarcely any horses could go through so much labour and fatigue upon so little sustenance.⁸ They were generally called

⁶ Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. ii. p. 159.

⁷ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 38.

⁸ Still they would seem to have been of comparatively little use for farming operations; for Dr Walker, writing about 1760, when the breed was at least no worse than it was previous to 1745, speaks thus:—"The number of horses is by far too great upon every Highland farm. They are so numerous, because they are inefficient; and they are inefficient, because they have neither stature nor food to render them sufficiently useful. Their number has never been restrained by the authority of the landlords, like that of the sheep. For in many places, they are bred and sold off the farm to advantage, being sent in droves to the south. In this case, their numbers upon a farm may be proper. But in general, there are six, eight, or ten horses upon the smaller farms, and sixteen, twenty, or more upon the larger; without any being bred for sale, and even few for supporting

garrons, and seem in many respects to have resembled the modern Shetland pony. These horses for the greater part of the year were allowed to run wild among the hills, each having a mark indicating its owner; during the severest part of winter they were sometimes brought down and fed as well as their owners could afford. They seem frequently to have been bred for exportation.

Sheep, latterly so intimately associated with the Highlands, bore but a very small proportion to the number of black cattle. Indeed, before sheep-farming began to take place upon so large a scale, and to receive encouragement from the proprietors, the latter were generally in the habit of restricting their tenants to a limited number of sheep, seldom more than one sheep for one cow. This restriction appears to have arisen from the real or supposed interest of the landlord, who looked for the money part of his rent solely from the produce of sale of the tenants' cattle. Sheep were thus considered not as an article of profit, but merely as part of the means by which the farmer's family was clothed and fed, and therefore the landlord was anxious that the number should not be more than was absolutely necessary. In a very few years after 1745, a complete revolution took place in this respect.

The old native sheep of the Highlands, now rare, though common in some parts of Shetland, is thus described by Dr Walker. "It is the smallest animal of its kind. It is of a thin lank shape, and has short straight horns. The face and legs are white, the tail extremely short, and the wool of various colours; for, beside black and white, it is sometimes of a bluish grey colour, at other times brown, and sometimes of a deep russet, and frequently an individual is blotched with two or three of these different colours. In some of the low islands, where the pasture answers, the wool of this small sheep is of the finest kind, and the same with that of Shetland. In the mountainous islands, the animal is found of the smallest size, with coarser wool, and with this the stock. None of them perform the work of a horse; even where such numbers are kept, and purely for labour, each of them, in many places, do not plough two acres of land annually. They get no food the whole year round, but what they can pick up upon the hills, and their sustenance is therefore unluckily accounted as nothing."

very remarkable character, that it has often four, and sometimes even six horns.

“Such is the original breed of sheep over all the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. It varies much indeed in its properties, according to the climate and pasture of different districts; but, in general, it is so diminutive in size, and of so bad a form, that it is requisite it should be given up, wherever sheep-farming is to be followed to any considerable extent. From this there is only one exception: in some places the wool is of such a superior quality, and so valuable, that the breed perhaps may, on that account, be with advantage retained.”

The small, shaggy black cattle, so well known even at the present day in connection with the Highlands, was the principal live-stock cultivated previous to the alterations which followed 1745. This breed appears to have been excellent in its kind, and the best adapted for the country, and was quite capable of being brought to admirable perfection by proper care, feeding, and management. But little care, however, was bestowed on the rearing of these animals, and in general they were allowed to forage for themselves as best they could. As we have said already, the Highland farmer of those days regarded his cattle as the only money-producing article with which his farm was stocked, all the other products being necessary for the subsistence of himself and his family. It was mainly the cattle that paid the rent. It was therefore very natural that the farmer should endeavour to have as large a stock of this commodity as possible, the result being that, blind to his own real interests, he generally to a large extent overstocked his farm. According to Dr Walker,⁹ over all the farms in the north, there was kept above one-third more of cattle than what under the then prevailing system of management could be properly supported. The consequence of course was, that the cattle were generally in a half-fed and lean condition, and, during winter especially, they died in great numbers.

As a rule, the arable land in the Highlands bore, and still bears, but a very small proportion to that devoted to pasture. The arable land is as a rule by the sea-shore, on the side of a river or lake, or in a valley; while the

rest of the farm, devoted to pasturage, stretches often for many miles away among the hills. The old mode of valuing or dividing lands in Scotland was into shilling, sixpenny, and threepenny lands of Scotch money. Latterly the English denomination of money was used, and these divisions were termed penny,¹ half-penny, and farthing lands. A tacksman generally rented a large number of these penny lands, and either farmed them himself, or, as was very often done, sublet them to a number of tenants, none of whom as a rule held more than a penny land, and many, having less than a farthing land, paying from a few shillings to a few pounds of rent. Where a number of tenants thus rented land from a tacksman or proprietor, they generally laboured the arable land in common, and each received a portion of the produce proportioned to his share in the general holding. The pasturage, which formed by far the largest part of the farm, they had in common for the use of their cattle, each tenant being allowed to pasture a certain number of cattle and sheep, *soumed* or proportioned² to the quantity of land he held. “The tenant of a penny land often keeps four or five cows, with what are called their followers, six or eight horses, and some sheep. The followers are the calf, a one-year-old, a two-year-old, and a three-year-old, making in all with the cow five head of black cattle. By frequent deaths among them, the number is seldom complete, yet this penny land has or may have upon it about twenty or twenty-five head of black cattle, besides horses and sheep.” The halfpenny and farthing lands seem to have been allowed a larger proportion of live stock than the penny lands, considering their size.³ It was seldom, however, that a tenant confined himself strictly to the number for which he was soumed, the desire to have as much as possible of the most profitable commodity frequently inducing to overstock, and thus defeat his main purpose.

During summer and autumn, the cattle and other live stock were confined to the hills to prevent them doing injury to the crops, for

¹ A penny land apparently contained about the tenth part of a davoch, *i.e.*, about forty acres.

² The rule in souming seems to have been that one cow was equal to eight, in some places ten, sheep, and two cows equal to one horse.

³ Walker's *Hebrides*, &c., vol. i. p. 56.

the lands were totally unprotected by enclosures. After the ground was cleared of the crops, the animals were allowed to roam promiscuously over the whole farm, if not over the farms of a whole district, having little or nothing to eat in the winter and spring but what they could pick up in the fields. It seems to have been a common but very absurd notion in the Highlands that the housing of cattle tended to enfeeble them; thus many cattle died of cold and starvation every winter, those who survived were mere skeletons, and, moreover, the farmer lost all their dung which could have been turned to good use as manure. Many of the cows, from poverty and disease, brought a calf only once in two years, and it was often a month or six weeks before the cow could give sufficient milk to nourish her offspring. Thus many of the Highland cattle were starved to death in their calf's skin.

A custom prevailed among the Highlanders of old, common to them with other mountainous pastoral countries, *e.g.*, Switzerland. During winter the tenants of a farm with their families, cottars, and servants, lived in the *Bailte Gearhre*, or winter town, in the midst of the arable land; but in summer, after all the sowing was done, about the middle of June, a general migration was made to the hills along with the cattle, the arable ground with all its appurtenances being allowed to take care of itself. The following passage, quoted from the old Statistical Account of Bolcskine and Aber-tarff, Inverness-shire, will give a notion of the working of this practice:—

“The whole country, with two exceptions, consists of a variety of half davoch-lands, each of which was let or disposed by the Lovat family or their chamberlain to a wadsetter or principal tacksman, and had no concern with the sub-tenantry; each sub-tenant had again a variety of cottars, equally unconnected with the principal tacksman; and each of these had a number of cattle of all denominations, proportional to their respective holdings, with the produce whereof he fed and clad himself and whole family. As there were extensive sheallings or grasings attached to this country, in the neighbourhood of the lordship of Badenoch, the inhabitants in the beginning of summer removed to these sheallings with their whole

cattle, man, woman, and child; and it was no uncommon thing to observe an infant in one creel, and a stone on the other side of the horse, to keep up an equilibrium; and when the grass became scarce in the sheallings, they returned again to their principal farms, where they remained while they had sufficiency of pasture, and then, in the same manner, went back to their sheallings, and observed this ambulatory course during the seasons of vegetation; and the only operations attended to during the summer season was their peats or fuel, and repairing their rustic habitations. When their small crops were fit for it, all hands descended from the hills, and continued on the farms till the same was cut and secured in barns, the walls of which were generally made of dry stone, or wreathed with branches or boughs of trees; and it was no singular custom, after harvest, for the whole inhabitants to return to their sheallings, and to abide there till driven from thence by the snow. During the winter and spring, the whole pasturage of the country was a common, and a poind-fold was a thing totally unknown. The cultivation of the country was all performed in spring, the inhabitants having no taste for following green crops or other modern improvements.”

The milk produced by the small Highland cows was, and indeed is, small in quantity, but in quality it resembles what in the Lowlands is known as cream. Of course, the butter and cheese made from such milk is unusually rich.

About the end of August or beginning of September, the cattle had generally been got into good condition by their summer feeding, the beef then, according to Captain Burt, being “extremely sweet and succulent.” It was at this time that the drovers collected their herds, and drove them to the fairs and markets on the borders of the lowlands, and sometimes so far south as the north of England. As from the want of good roads and any means of rapid conveyance, the drovers took a considerable time to reach their destination, and had in the meantime to be fed, a certain sum per head had to be paid to the owners of the territories through which they passed, for the liberty of being allowed grazing for the cattle. Burt gives the following graphic account of a scene

he himself witnessed on the march south of one of these herds of cattle. "I have several times seen them driving great numbers of cattle along the sides of the mountains at a great distance, but never, except once, was near them. This was in a time of rain, by a wide river, where there was a boat to ferry over the drovers. The cows were about fifty in number, and took the water like spaniels; and when they were in, their drivers made a hideous cry to urge them forwards: this, they told me, they did to keep the foremost of them from turning about; for, in that case, the rest would do the like, and then they would be in danger, especially the weakest of them, to be driven away and drowned by the torrent. I thought it a very odd sight to see so many noses and eyes just above water, and nothing of them more to be seen, for they had no horns, and upon the land they appeared like so many large Lincolnshire calves." These drovers do not seem as a rule to have been the owners of cattle, but a class of men whose business it was to collect into one herd or drove the saleable cattle of a number of farmers, take them south to the markets and bring back the money, receiving a small commission for their trouble. As a rule they seem to have been men who, when their integrity was relied on, made it a point of honour to be able to render a satisfactory account of every animal and every farthing; although probably no one would be more ready to join in a *creach* or cattle-lifting expedition, which in those days was considered as honourable as warfare. The drovers "conducted the cattle by easy stages across the country in trackways, which, whilst they were less circuitous than public roads, were softer for the feet of the animals, and he often rested at night in the open fields with his herds."⁴ A good idea of the character of this class of Highlanders may be obtained from Sir Walter Scott's *Chronicles of the Canongate*.⁵

⁴ Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii. p. 65.

⁵ The following remarks, taken from the Gartmore MS. at the end of Burt's *Letters*, gives one by no means a favourable idea of these drovers, but it must be borne in mind that the writer lived on the border of the most notorious and ill-behaved part of the Highlands, Rob Roy's country, and that he himself was properly a Lowlander. The extract will serve to show how business transactions were conducted in the Highlands. "It is alledged, that much of the Highlands lye at a great distance from publick fairs, mercates, and places of comerce, and that the access to these places is both

All the other operations connected with or arising out of agriculture were conducted in as rude and ineffective a manner as those above mentioned. The harvest was always an anxious season with the Highlander, as from the wetness of the climate and the early period at which rain set in, their crops might never come to useful perfection, or might be swept away by floods or heavy rains before they could be gathered in.⁶ Dr Walker declares that in the Hebrides and Western Highlands the people made up their minds to lose one harvest in four on account of the wetness of the climate. If the crops, however, escaped destruction from the elements, the farmers were glad to get them reaped as quickly as possible. As a rule, the common sickle seems to have been used for cutting down the grain, although it appears to have been not uncommon to tear it from the

difficult and dangerous; by reason of all which, trading people decline to go into the country in order to traffick and deal with the people. It is on this account that the farmers, having no way to turn the produce of their farms, which is mostly cattle, into money, are obliged to pay their rents in cattle, which the landlord takes at his own price, in regard that he must either graze them himself, send them to distant markets, or credit some person with them, to be againe at a certain profite disposed of by him. This introduced the busieness of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Drovers. These men have little or no substance, they must know the language, the different places, and consequently be of that country. The farmers, then, do either sell their cattle to these drovers upon credite, at the drovers price (for ready money they seldom have), or to the landlord at his price, for payment of his rent. If this last is the case, the landlord does again dispose of them to the drover upon credite, and these drovers make what profit they can by selling them to grasiers, or at markets. These drovers make payments, and keep credite for a few years, and then they either in reality become bankrupts, or pretend to be so. The last is most frequently the case, and then the subject of which they have cheated is privately transferred to a confident person in whose name, upon that real stock, a trade is sometimes carried on, for their behoof, till this trustee gett into credite, and prepare his affairs for a bankruptcy. Thus the farmers are still kept poor; they first sell at an under rate, and then they often lose altogether. The landlords, too, must either turn traders, and take their cattle to markets, or give these people credite, and by the same means suffer."—Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 364, 365.

⁶ "The latter part of the season is often very wet; and the corn, particularly oats, suffer very much. June and August are the months which have least rain. September and October are frequently very wet: during these months, not only a greater quantity of rain falls, but it is more constant, accompanied by a cold and cloudy atmosphere, which is very unfavourable either to the ripening of grain, or drying it after it is ent. In July and August a good deal of rain falls; but it is in heavy showers, and the intervals are fine, the sun shining clear and bright often for several days together."—*Garnett's Tour*, vol. i. p. 24.

earth by the roots.⁷ The harvest work seems to have been generally performed by women, as is indeed the case still in some parts of Scotland. This, Burt thinks, tended much to retard the harvest, as it sometimes took a woman and a girl a fortnight to do what with the aid of a man might have been done in a couple of days.⁸ So short-lived was the supply of grain, and so ill-off were the people sometimes, that it was not uncommon for them to pluck the ears as they ripened, like fruit, and even scorch the grain when green and squeeze it into an unwholesome pulp.⁹

The flail appears to have been the only article used to separate the grain from its husk, and the only winnowing it got was from the draught that passed through the rude barn, which had two doors opposite each other for the purpose.

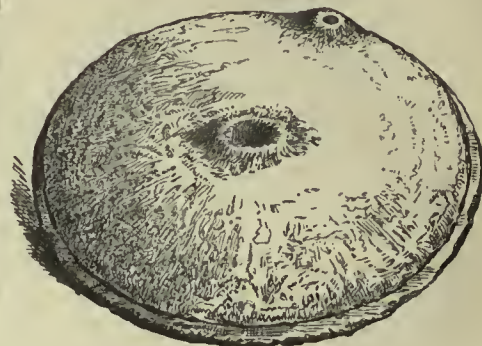
The quern or hand-mill is the oldest machine used for grinding grain. It consisted of two stones, one above the other, the fermer turned round by a handle and having an opening in

⁷ Buchanan's *Travels in the Hebrides*, p. 154.

⁸ "In larger farms belonging to gentlemen of the clan, where there are any number of women employed in harvest-work, they all keep time together by several barbarous tones of the voice, and stoop and rise together as regularly as a rank of soldiers when they ground their arms. Sometimes they are incited to their work by the sound of a bagpipe, and by either of these they proceed with great alacrity, it being disgraceful for any one to be out of time with the sickle." This custom of using music to enable a number of common workers to keep time, seems to have been in vogue in many operations in the Highlands. We quote the following graphic account of the process of fulling given by Burt in the same letter that contains the above quotation, (vol. ii. p. 48.) "They use the same tone, or a piper, when they thicken the newly-woven plaiding, instead of a fulling-mill. This is done by six or eight women sitting upon the ground, near some river or rivulet, in two opposite ranks, with the wet cloth between them; their coats are tucked up, and with their naked feet they strike one against another's, keeping exact time as above mentioned. And among numbers of men, employed in any work that requires strength and joint labour (as the launching a large boat, or the like), they must have the piper to regulate their time, as well as usky to keep up their spirits in the performance; for pay they often have little, or none at all."—Burt's *Letters*.

⁹ Burton's *Scotland* (1689-1748), vol. ii. p. 395.—"The poverty of the field labourers hereabouts is deplorable. I was one day riding out for air and exercise, and in my way I saw a woman cutting green barley in a little plot before her hut: this induced me to turn aside and ask her what use she intended it for, and she told me it was to make bread for her family. The grain was so green and soft that I easily pressed some of it between my fingers; so that when she had prepared it, certainly it must have been more like a poultice than what she called it, bread."—Burt's *Letters*, vol. i. p. 224.

the top to admit the grain. This primitive kind of mill, even for long after 1745, was used all over the Highlands to convert the scanty supply of grain into meal. The quern was generally driven by two women sitting opposite each



Quern, from the collection of the late Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart.

other, but it was also adapted to a rude water-wheel, the axle of which was fixed in the upper stone. This rude water-mill is still used in Shetland, and is of the very simplest construction.

A common method of preparing the grain for the quern was called *graddaning*, which consisted in taking a handful of corn in the stalk, setting fire to it, and when it had burnt long enough, knocking the grain from the head by means of a stick; thus both thrashing and drying it at the same time. This of course was a wretched and most extravagant mode of procedure, blackening and otherwise spoiling the grain, and wasting the straw. This process was common in the Western Islands, where also there was a kind of very rude kiln, on the bare ribs of which were put the heads of the grain, which, when dried, were pulled down on the floor and immediately thrashed and winnowed, and stored up hot in plates, ready for the quern. Thus could a man have cut the sheaves, dry and thrash the barley, clean it for the quern, and make his breakfast thereof after it was ground.¹ Another method common in Badenoch and the central Highlands was to switch the corn out of the ear with a stick, separate it from the chaff, and put it in a pot on the fire, while a person kept stirring it

¹ Buchanan's *Hebrides*, p. 156.

with a wooden spatula. "I have seen," says a gentleman from Laggan, "the corn cut, dried, ground, baked, and eaten in less than two hours."²

There must, however, have been a mill on a somewhat larger scale than either the hand or water-quern, situated in a great many of the Highland districts, as it is well known that in the Highlands as well as the Lowlands, multure and thirlage were common exactions by which the tenants were oppressed. The tenants would be no doubt glad in many cases to escape the heavy mill-dues by grinding their grain for themselves, as well as their rude contrivances would allow them. But the convenience of a well-constructed mill in a district is evident, and of course it is but fair that those who take advantage of the mill should pay for it. Moreover, in early times, when large mills were first introduced into a district by the laird or proprietor, it was natural enough that he should endeavour, either by bargain or force, to get his tenants to take their grain to the district-mill to be ground, as only by this means could the expense of building and keeping up of the mill be defrayed and a miller induced to rent it. As money was scarce in those days, and as rent and other dues were paid in kind, it was natural and fair enough that the landlord should exact a small portion of the grain taken to his mill as due to him for keeping the mill up, and also for the miller to take payment for his trouble and time by keeping to himself a certain proportion of the meal into which he had converted the grain. But like every other custom, this was liable to abuse, and did in the end turn out to be a most grievous exaction and a great hindrance to agricultural improvement. Every farmer was thirled to a particular mill, thirlage being a due payable to the landlord; and the miller, besides having a croft or small farm attached to the mill, was allowed to exact multure, or a proportion of meal, to pay himself for his trouble. Besides these there appears to have been other exactions which could be made by the miller on various pretexts, and the amount of which depended pretty much upon his own caprice. Altogether they not unfrequently amounted to an eighth or a tenth of the meal produced by the grain. Yet for long after 1745, even into the present century, did

these exactions continue to be in force in many parts of the country; and an almost universal complaint by the writers of the articles on the Highland parishes in the Old Statistical Account, is the grievous nature of these and other exactions.

Almost the only fuel used by the Highlanders, not only in the early part but during the whole of last century, was peat, still used in many Highland districts, and the only fuel used in a great part of Orkney and Shetland. The cutting and preparing of the fuel, composed mainly of decayed roots of various plants, consumed a serious part of the Highlander's time, as it was often to be found only at a great distance from his habitation; and he had to cut not only for himself but for his laird, the process itself being long and troublesome, extending from the time the sods were first cut till they were formed in a stack at the side of the farmer's or cottar's door, over five or six months; and after all, they frequently turned out but a wretched substitute for either wood or coal; often they were little else than a mass of red earth. It generally took five people to cut peats out of one spot. One cut the peats, which were placed by another on the edge of the trench from which they were cut; a third spread them on the field, while a fourth trimmed them, a fifth resting in the meantime ready to relieve the man that was cutting.

As would naturally be expected, the houses and other buildings of the Highlanders were quite in keeping with their agricultural implements and general mode of life. Even the tacksmen or gentlemen of the clan, the relations of the chief, lived in huts or hovels, that the poorest farmer in most parts of Scotland at the present day, would shudder to house his cattle in. In most cases they appear to have been pretty much the same as those of the small farmers or cottars, only perhaps a little larger. Burt mentions such a house belonging to a gentleman of the clan, which he visited in one of his peregrinations round Inverness. He says³ it consisted of one long apartment without any partition, "where the family was at one end, and some cattle at the other." The owner of this rude habitation must have been somewhat shrewd and sensible, as he

² Logan's *Gael*, vol. ii. p. 97.

³ *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 7.

could not only perceive the disadvantages of this mode of life to which he was doomed, but had insight and candour enough to be able to account for his submission to them. "The truth is," Captain Burt reports him to have said, "we are insensibly inured to it by degrees; for, when very young, we know no better; being grown up, we are inclined, or persuaded by our near relations, to marry—thence come children, and fondness for them: but above all," says he, "is the *love of our chief*, so strongly is it inculcated to us in our infancy; and if it were not for that, I think the Highlands would be much thinner of people than they now are." How much truth there is in that last statement is clearly evidenced by the history of the country after the abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, which was the means of breaking up the old intimate relation between, and mutual dependence of, chief and people. Burt says elsewhere, that near to Inverness, there were a few gentlemen's houses built of stone and lime, but that in the inner part of the mountains there were no stone-buildings except the barracks, and that one might have gone a hundred miles without seeing any other dwellings but huts of turf. By the beginning of last century the houses of most of the chiefs, though comparatively small, seem to have been substantially built of stone and lime, although their food and manner of life would seem to have been pretty much the same as those of the tacksmen. The children of chiefs and gentlemen seem to have been allowed to run about in much the same apparently uncared for condition as those of the tenants, it having been a common saying, according to Burt, "that a gentleman's bairns are to be distinguished by their speaking English." To illustrate this he tells us that once when dining with a laird not very far from Inverness—possibly Lord Lovat—he met an English soldier at the house who was catching birds for the laird to exercise his hawks on. This soldier told Burt that for three or four days after his first coming, he had observed in the kitchen ("an out-house hovel") a parcel of dirty children half naked, whom he took to belong to some poor tenant, but at last discovered they were part of the family. "But," says the fastidious English Captain, "although these were so little regarded, the young laird, about the age of fourteen, was

going to the university; and the eldest daughter, about sixteen, sat with us at table, clean and genteelly dressed."⁴

There is no reason to doubt Burt's statement when he speaks of what he saw or heard, but it must be remembered he was an Englishman, with all an Englishman's prejudices in favour of the manners and customs, the good living, and general fastidiousness which characterise his own half of the kingdom, and many of an Englishman's prejudices against the Scotch generally and the turbulent Highlanders in particular. His letters are, however, of the utmost value in giving us a clear and interesting glimpse into the mode of life of the Highlanders shortly before 1745, and most Scotchmen at least will be able to sift what is fact from what is exaggeration and English colouring. Much, no doubt, of what Burt tells of the Highlanders when he was there is true, but it is true also of people then living in the same station in other parts of Scotland, where however among the better classes, and even among the farmers, even then, there was generally a rough abundance combined with a sort of affectation of rudeness of manner. It is not so very long ago since the son of the laird, and he might have been a duke, and the son of the hind were educated at the same parish school; and even at the present day it is no uncommon sight to see the sons of the highest Scottish nobility sitting side by side on the same college-benches with the sons of day-labourers, ploughmen, mechanics, farmers, and small shop-keepers. Such a sight is rare in the English universities; where there are low-born intruders, it will in most cases be found that they belong to Scotland. We do not make these remarks to prejudice the reader in any way against the statements of Burt or to depreciate the value of his letters; all we wish the reader to understand is that he was an Englishman, rather fond of gossip, and perhaps of adding point to a story at the expense of truth, with all the prejudices and want of enlightenment and cosmopolitanism of even educated Englishmen of 150 years ago. He states facts correctly, but from a peculiar and very un-Scottish point of view. His evidence, even when stripped of its slight colouring, is invaluable, and, even to the

⁴ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 96.

modern Highlander, must prove that his ancestors lived in a very miserable way, although they themselves might not have realised its discomfort and wretchedness, but on the contrary, may have been as contented as the most well-to-do English squire or prosperous English farmer.

Even among the higher members of the clans, the tacksmen and most extensive farmers, the fare does not seem to have been by any means abundant, and generally was of the commonest kind. For a few months in the end of the year, when the cattle and sheep were in condition to be killed, animal food appears to have been plentiful enough, as it must also have been after any successful cattle-foray. But for the rest of the year, the food of even the gentlemen in many places must have been such as any modern farmer would have turned up his nose at. In other districts again, where the chief was well-off and liberal, he appears to have been willing enough to share what he had with his relations the higher tenants, who again would do their best to keep from want the under tenants and cottars. Still it will be seen, the living of all was very precarious. "It is impossible for me," says Burt,⁵ "from my own knowledge, to give you an account of the ordinary way of living of these gentlemen; because, when any of us (the English) are invited to their houses there is always an appearance of plenty to excess; and it has been often said they will ransack all their tenants rather than we should think meanly of their housekeeping: but I have heard it from many whom they have employed, and perhaps had little regard to their observations as inferior people, that, although they have been attended at dinner by five or six servants, yet, with all that state, they have often dined upon oatmeal varied several ways, pickled herrings, or other such cheap and indifferent diet." Burt complains much of their want of hospitality; but at this he need not have been surprised. He and every other soldier stationed in the Highlands would be regarded with suspicion and even dislike by the natives, who were by no means likely to give them any encouragement to frequent their houses, and pry into their secrets and mode of life. The Highlanders were well-known for their hospitality, and are so in many

places even at the present day, resembling in this respect most people living in a wild and not much frequented country. As to the everyday fare above mentioned, those who partook of it would consider it no hardship, if indeed Burt had not been mistaken or been deceived as to details. Oatmeal, in the form of porridge and brose, is common even at the present day among the lower classes in the country, and even among substantial farmers. As for the other part of it, there must have been plenty of salmon and trout about the rivers and lochs of Inverness-shire, and abundance of grain of various kinds on the hills, so that the gentlemen to whom the inquisitive Captain refers, must have taken to porridge and pickled herring from choice: and it is well known, that in Scotland at least, when a guest is expected, the host endeavours to provide something better than common for his entertainment. Burt also declares that he has often seen a laird's lady coming to church with a maid behind her carrying her shoes and stockings, which she put on at a little distance from the church. Indeed, from what he says, it would seem to have been quite common for those in the position of ladies and gentlemen to go about in this free and easy fashion. Their motives for doing so were no doubt those of economy and comfort—not because they had neither shoes nor stockings to put on. The practice is quite common at the present day in Scotland, for both respectable men and women when travelling on a dusty road on a broiling summer-day, to do so on their bare feet, as being so much more comfortable and less tiresome than travelling in heavy boots and thick worsted stockings. No one thinks the worse of them for it, nor infers that they must be wretchedly ill off. The practice has evidently at one time been much more common even among the higher classes, but, like many other customs, lingers now only among the common people.

From all we can learn, however, the chiefs and their more immediate dependants and relations appear by no means to have been ill-off, so far as the necessaries of life went, previous to the rebellion of 1745. They certainly had not a superfluity of money, but many of the chiefs were profuse in their hospitality, and had always abundance if not variety to eat and drink.

⁵ *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 97.

Indeed it is well known, that about 200 years before the rebellion, an enactment had to be made by parliament limiting the amount of wine and brandy to be used by the various chiefs. Claret, in Captain Burt's time, was as common in and around Inverness as it was in Edinburgh; the English soldiers are said to have found it selling at sixpence a quart, and left it at three or four times that price. In their habits and mode of life, their houses and other surroundings, these Highland gentlemen were no doubt rough and rude and devoid of luxuries, and not over particuar as to cleanliness either of body or utensils, but still always dignified and courteous, respectful to their superiors and affable to their inferiors. Highland pride is still proverbial, and while often very amusing and even pitiable, has often been of considerable service to those who possess it, stimulating them to keep up their self-respect and to do their best in whatever situation they may be placed. It was this pride that made the poorest and most tattered of the tacksmen tenants with whom Burt came in contact, conduct himself as if he had been lord of all he surveyed, and look with suspicion and perhaps with contempt upon the unknown English red-coat.

As a kind of set-off to Burt's disparaging account of the condition of Highland gentlemen, and yet to some extent corroborating it, we quote the following from the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Boleskine and Aber-tarf in Inverness-shire. The district to which this account refers was at least no worse than most other Highland parishes, and in some respects must have been better than those that were further out of the reach of civilisation.⁶ "Till the beginning of this century, all the heritors and wadsetters in this parish lived in houses composed of cupple trees, and the walls and thatch made up of sod and divot; but in every wadsetter's house there was

⁶ The following quotations from Mr Dunbar's *Social Life in Former Days*, giving details of household furniture and expenses, may be taken as "a correct index of the comforts and conveniences" of the best off of the old Highland lairds; for as they refer to Morayshire, just on the borders of the Highlands, they cannot be held as referring to the Highlands generally, the interior and western districts of which were considerably behind the border lands in many respects:—

a spacious hall, containing a large table, where he and his family and dependants eat their two

"SIR ROBERT GORDON'S ALLOWANCE FOR HIS LADY AND FAMILY, FROM DECEMBER 14TH 1740 TO DECEMBER 14TH 1741.

	Sterling.
	£ s. d.
Imprimis, to 36 bolls malt, at 8 shillings and 4 pence per boll,	15 0 0
Item, to 36 bolls meal, at sama price,	15 0 0
Item, to 10 bolls wheat, at 13 shillings and 4 pence per boll,	6 13 4
Item, to 12 beeves at £1 per piece,	12 0 0
Item, to meal to servants without doors,	9 7 6
Item, to servants' wages within and without doors,	41 5 0
Item, to cash instantly delivered,	50 6 2
Item, to be paid monthly, £4, 4s.,	50 8 0
	£200 0 0

"Servants' Wages 1741.

Imprimis to gentlewomen,	10 0 0
Item, to five maids,	5 6 8
Item, to two cooks,	5 0 0
Item, to two portiers,	3 0 0
Item, to Robin's servant,	1 0 0
Item, to the groom,	5 5 0
Item, to the neighbour,	3 6 8
Item, to three cont-servants,	7 0 0
Item, to two herds,	1 6 8
	£41 5 0

"INVENTAR OF PLENISHING IN THUNDERTON'S LONGINO IN DUFFUS, MAY 25, 1708.

"*Strypt Room.*

"Camlet hangings and curtains, feather bed and bolster, two pillows, five pair blankets, and an English blanket, a green and white cover, a blew and white chamber-pot, a blew and white bason, a black jopand table and two looking-glasses, a jopand tea-table with a tea-pat and plate, and nine cups and nine dysches, and a tea silver spoon, two glass secones, two little bowles, with a leam stoap and a pewter head, eight black ken chairs, with eight silk cushions conform, an easle chair with a big cushion, a jopand cabinet with a walnut tree stand, a grate, shuffie, tonges, and brush; in the closet, three piece of paper hangings, a chamber box, with a powder pan therein, and a brush for cloaths.

"*Closet next the Strypt Room.*

"Four dishes, two assets, six broth plates, and twelve flesh plates, a quart flagon, and a pynt flagon, a pewter porengr, and a pewter facket, a white iron jaculato pot, and a skellet pann, twenty-one timber plates, a winter for warming plates at the fire, two Highland plaids, and a sewed blanket, a bolster, and four pillows, a chamber-box, a sack with wool, and a white iron dripping pann.

"*In the farest Closet.*

"Seventeen drinking glasses, with a glass tumbler and two decanters, a oil cruet, and a vinegar cruet, a urinal glass, a large blew and white posset pot, a white leam posset pat, a blew and white bowl, a dozen of blew and white leam plates, three milk dishes, a blew and white leam porengr, and a white leam porengr, four jelly pots, and a little butter dish, a crying chair, and a silk cradle.

"*In the Moyhair Room.*

"A sute of stamped cloath hangings, and a moyhair bed with feather bed, bolster, and two pillows, six pair blankets, and an English blanket and a twilt, a leam chamber-pat, five moyhair chairs, two looking-glasses, a cabinet, a table, two stands, a table cloak, and window hangings, a chamber-box with a pewter pann, a leam bason, with a grate and tonges and a brush; in the closet, two carpets, a piece of Arres, three pieces lyn'd strypt hangings, three wawed strypt curtains, two pieces gilded leather, three trunks and a cradle, a chamber-box, and a pewter pann, thirty-three pound of heckled lint, a ston of wax, and a firkin of sop, and a brush for cloaths, two pair blankets, and a single blanket.

"*In the Dynyng-Room.*

"A sute of gilded hangings, two folding tables, eighteen low-backed ken chairs, a grate, a fender, a brass tonges, shuffie, brush, and timber brush, and a poring iron, and a glass kea.

"*In my Lady's Room.*

"Gilded hangings, standing bed, and box bed, stamped drogged hangings, feather bed, bolster, and two pillows, a pallise, five pair of blankets, and a single one, and a twilt, and two pewter chamber-pots, six chairs, table, and looking-glass a little folding table, and a ehst of drawers, tonges, shuffie, porin-iron, and a brush, two window curtains of lincin; in the Laird's closet, two trunks, two chists, and a cirena cabinet, a

meals a-day with this single distinction, that he and his family sat at the one end of the table, and his dependants at the other; and it was reckoned no disparagement for the gentlemen to sit with commoners in the inns, such as the country then afforded, where one *cap*, and afterwards a single glass, went round the whole company. As the inhabitants experienced no want, and generally lived on the produce of their farms, they were hospitable to strangers, providing they did not attempt a settlement among them. But it was thought then disgraceful for any of the younger sons of these wadsetters to follow any other profession than that of arms and agriculture; and it is in the remembrance of many now living, when the meanest tenant would think it disparaging to sit at the same table with a manufacturer."

The following quotation from the Statistical Account of Rannoch, in Perthshire, will give an idea of another phase of the life of Highland gentlemen in those days, as well as enable the reader to see how it was, considering the general poverty of the country, the low rent,

table, and a looking-glass, the dow holes, two carpet chairs, and a chamber-box with a pewter pan, and a little bell, and a hrush for cloth.

"My Lady's Closet.

"A cabinet, three presses, three kists, and a spicerie box, a dozen leam white plates, a blew and white leam plate, a little blew butter plate, a white leam porenger, and three gelly pots, two leam dishes, and two big timber capes, four tin congs, a new pewter basson, a pynt chupen, and mutebken stoups, two copper tankers, two pewter salts, a pewter mustard box, a white iron peper and suggar box, two white iron graters, a pot for starch, and a pewter spoon, thirteen candlesticks, five pair snuffers and snaf dibes conform, a brass mortar and pistol, a lantern, a timber box, a dozen knives and a dozen forks, and a carpet chair, two milk congs, a milk curn, and kirm staff, a sismilk, and creamen dish and a cheswel, a neprie basket, and two new pewter chamber pots.

"A Note of Plate.

"Three silver salvers, four salts, a large tanker, a big spoon, and thirteen littler spoons, two jugs, a sugar box, a mustard box, a peper box, and two little spoons.

"An Account of Bottles in the Salt Cellar.

"June the first 1708.

Of Sack, five dozen and one,	5 1
Of Brandie, three dozen and three,	3 3
Of Vinegar and Aquavite, seven,	0 7
Of Strong Ale, four dozen and four,	4 4
Of other Ale, nine dozen,	9 0
In the ale cellar, fifteen dozen and ten,	15 10
In the hamper, five dozen empty,	5 0
In the wine cellar, nine with English Ale,	0 9
White Wine, ten,	0 10
Of Brandy, three,	0 3
With Brandy and Surup, two,	0 2
With Claret, fifteen,	1 3
With Mm, fifteen,	1 3
Throw the horse, nineteen,	1 7
There is in all, forty-nine dozen and two,	49 2
And of mntchkin bottles twenty-five,	2 1

There is in all, forty-nine dozen and two, and of mntchkin bottles twenty-five,

"Received ten dozen and one of chapen bottles full of claret. More received—eleven dozen and one of pynt bottles, whereof there was six broke in the home-coming. 1709, June the 4th, received from Elgin forty-three chopen bottles of claret."

the unproductiveness of the soil, and the low price of eattle, they were still able to keep open table and maintain more retainers than the land could support. "Before the year 1745 Rannoch was in an uncivilized barbarous state, under no check, or restraint of laws. As an evidence of this, one of the principal proprietors never could be compelled to pay his debts. Two messengers were sent from Perth, to give him a charge of horning. He ordered a dozen of his retainers to bind them across two hand-barrows, and carry them, in this state, to the bridge of Cainachan, at nine miles distance. His property in particular was a nest of thieves. They laid the whole country, from Stirling to Coupar of Angus, under contribution, obliging the inhabitants to pay them Black Meal, as it is called, to save their property from being plundered. This was the centre of this kind of traffic. In the months of September and October they gathered to the number of about 300, built temporary huts, drank whisky all the time, settled accounts for stolen eattle, and received balanees. Every man then bore arms. It would have required a regiment to have brought a thief from that country."

As to the education of the Highland gentry, in this respect they seem not to have been so far behind the rest of the country, although latterly they appear to have degenerated in this as in other respects; for, as will be seen in the Chapter on Gaelic Literature, there must have been at one time many learned men in the Highlands, and a taste for literature seems not to have been uncommon. Indeed, from various authorities quoted in the Introduction to *Stuart's Costume of the Clans*, it was no uncommon accomplishment in the 16th and 17th centuries for a Highland gentleman to be able to use both Gaelic and Latin, even when he could scarcely manage English. "If, in some instances," says Mrs Grant,⁷ "a chief had some taste for literature, the Latin poets engaged his attention more forcibly than the English, which he possibly spoke and wrote, but inwardly despised, and in fact did not understand well enough to relish its delicacies, or taste its poetry." "Till of late years," says the same writer on

⁷ *Essays*, vol. i. p. 30.

the same page, "letters were unknown in the Highlands except among the highest rank of gentry and the clergy. The first were but partially enlightened at best. Their minds had been early imbued with the stores of knowledge peculiar to their country, and having no view beyond that of passing their lives among their tenants and dependants, they were not much anxious for any other. . . . In some instances, the younger brothers of patrician families were sent early out to lowland seminaries, and immediately engaged in some active pursuit for the advancement of their fortune." In short, so far as education went, the majority of the Highland lairds and tacksmen appear to have been pretty much on the same footing with those in a similar station in other parts of the kingdom.

From what has been said then as to the condition of the chiefs or lairds and their more immediate dependants the tacksmen, previous to 1745, it may be inferred that they were by no means ill-off so far as the necessaries and even a few of the luxuries of life went. Their houses were certainly not such as a gentleman or even a well-to-do farmer would care to inhabit now-a-days, neither in build nor in furnishing; but the chief and principal tenants as a rule had always plenty to eat and drink, lived in a rough way, were hospitable to their friends, and, as far as they were able, kind and lenient to their tenants.

It was the sub-tenants and cottars, the common people or peasantry of the Highlands, whose condition called for the utmost commiseration. It was they who suffered most from the poverty of the land, the leanness of the cattle, the want of trades and manufactures, the want, in short, of any reliable and systematic means of subsistence. If the crops failed, or disease or a severe winter killed the half of the cattle, it was they who suffered, it was they who were the victims of famine, a thing of not rare occurrence in the Highlands.⁸ It seems indeed impossible that any one now living could imagine anything more seemingly wretched and miserable than the state of the Highland sub-tenants and cottars as described in various con-

temporary accounts. The dingiest hovel in the dirtiest narrowest "close" of Edinburgh may be taken as a fair representative of the house inhabited formerly in the Highlands by the great mass of the farmers and cottars. And yet they do not by any means appear to have regarded themselves as the most miserable of beings, but on the contrary to have been light-hearted and well content if they could manage to get the year over without absolute starvation. No doubt this was because they knew no better state of things, and because love for the chief would make them endure any thing with patience. Generally the houses of the sub-tenants and cottars who occupied a farm were built in one spot, "all irregularly placed, some one way, some another, and at any distance, look like so many heaps of dirt." They were generally built in some small valley or strath by the side of a stream or loch, and the collection of houses on one farm was known as the "toon" or town, a term still used in Shetland in the very same sense, and in many parts of Scotland applied to the building occupied by even a single farmer. The cottages were generally built of round stones without any cement, thatched with sods, and sometimes heath; sometimes they were divided into two apartments by a slender partition, but frequently no such division was made. In the larger half resided the family, this serving for kitchen, eating, and sleeping-room to all. In the middle of this room, on the floor, was the peat fire, above which was a gaping hole to allow the escape of the smoke, very little however of this finding its way out, the surplus, after every corner of the room was filled, escaping by the door. The other half of the cottage was devoted to the use of the live-stock when "they did not choose to mess and lodge with the family."⁹ Sometimes these cottages were built of turf or mud, and sometimes of wattle-work like baskets, a common system of fencing even yet in many parts of the Highlands where young wood is abundant. As a rule these huts had to be thatched and otherwise repaired every year to keep them habitable; indeed, in many places it was quite customary every spring to remove the thatch and use it as man-

⁸ There appears to have been a dreadful one just three years before '45. See Stat. Account of various Highland parishes.

⁹ Garnett's *Tour*, vol. i. p. 121.

ura. Buchanan, even in the latter half of the 13th century, thus speaks of the dwellings of tenants in the Western Isles; and, in this respect at least, it is not likely they were in worse plight than those who lived in the early part of the century. "The huts of the op-



A Cottage in Islay. From Pennant's *Voyage to the Hebrides*, 1774.

pressed tenants are remarkably naked and open ; quite destitute of furniture, except logs of timbers collected from the wrecks of the sea, to sit on about the fire, which is placed in the middle of the house, or upon seats made of straw, like foot hassacks, stuffed with straw or stubble. Many of them must rest satisfied with large stones placed around the fire in order. As all persons must have their own blankets to sleep in, they make their beds in whatever corner suits their fancy, and in the mornings they fold them up into a small compass, with all their gowns, cloaks, coats, and petticoats, that are not in use. The cows, goats, and sheep, with the ducks, hens, and dogs, must have the common benefit of the fire, and particularly the young and tenderest are admitted next to it. This filthy sty is never cleaned but once a-year, when they place the dung on the fields as manure for barley crops. Thus, from the necessity of laying litter below these cattle to keep them dry, the dung naturally increases in height almost mid-wall high, so that the men sit low

about the fire, while the cattle look down from above upon the company." We learn from the same authority that in the Hebrides every tenant must have had his own beams and side timbers, the walls generally belonging to the tacksman or laird, and these were six feet thick with a hollow wall of rough stones, packed with moss or earth in the centre. A tenant in removing carried his timbers with him to his new location, and speedily mounted them on the top of four rude walls. But indeed the condition of many of the Western Isles both before and after 1745 and even at the present day, was frequently much more wretched than the Highlands in the mainland generally. Especially was this the case after 1745, although even before that their condition can by no means be taken as typical of the Highlands generally. The following, however, from the Statistical Account of the island of Tiree, might have applied at the time (about 1745), to almost any part of the Highlands. "About 40 years ago, a great part of the lands in this parish lay in their natu-

ral uncultivated state, and such of them as were in culture produced poor starved crops. The tenants were in poor circumstances, the rents low, the farm houses contemptible. The communication from place to place was along paths which were to be known by the footsteps of beasts that passed through them. No turnips, potatoes, or cabbages, unless a few of the latter in some gardens; and a great degree of poverty, indolence, and meanness of spirit, among the great body of the people. The appearance of the people, and their mode of thinking and acting, were but mean and indelicate; their peats were brought home in creels; the few things the farmer had to sell were carried to market upon the backs of horses; and their dunghills were hard by their doors." We have reliable testimony, however, to prove, that even the common Highland tenants on the mainland were but little better off than those in the islands; their houses were almost equally rude and dirty, and their furniture nearly as scanty. The Statistical Account of the parish of Fortingal, in Perthshire, already quoted, gives a miserable account of the country and inhabitants previous to 1745, as does also the letters of Captain Burt in reference to the district which came under his observation; and neither of these districts was likely to be in worse condition than other parts of the Highlands, further removed from intercourse with the Lowlands. "At the above period [1745], the bulk of the tenants in Rannoch had no such thing as beds. They lay on the ground, with a little heather, or fern, under them. One single blanket was all their bed-cloaths, excepting their body-cloaths. Now they have standing-up beds, and abundance of blankets. At that time the heuses in Rannoch were huts of, what they called, 'Stake and Rife.' One could not enter but on all fours; and after entering, it was impossible to stand upright. Now there are comfortable heuses built of stone. Then the people were miserably dirty, and foul-skinned. Now they are as cleanly, and are clothed as well as their circumstances will admit of. The rents of the parish, at that period, were not much above £1500, and the people were starving. Now they pay £1660 *per annum*, and upwards, and the

people have fulness of bread. It is hardly possible to believe, on how little the Highlanders formerly lived. They bled their cows several times in the year, boiled the blood, eat a little of it like bread, and a most lasting meal it was. The present incumbent has known a poor man, who had a small farm hard by him, by this means, with a boll of meal for every mouth in his family, pass the whole year." This bleeding of the cattle to eke out the small supply of oatmeal is testified to by many other witnesses. Captain Burt refers to it;¹ and Knox, in his *View of the British Empire*,² thus speaks of it:—"In winter, when the grounds are covered with snow, and when the naked wilds afford them neither shelter nor subsistence, the few cows, small, lean, and ready to drop down through want of pasture, are brought into the hut where the family resides, and frequently share with them their little stock of meal, which had been purchased or raised for the family only, while the cattle thus sustained are bled occasionally to afford nourishment for the children, after it has been boiled or made into cakes."

It must be borne in mind that at that time potatoes were all but unknown in the Highlands, and even in the Lowlands had scarcely got beyond the stage of a garden root. The staple food of the common Highlander was the various preparations of oats and barley; even fish seems to have been a rarity, but why it is difficult to say, as there were plenty both in the sea and in freshwater rivers and lochs. For a month or two after Michaelmas, the luxury of fresh meat seems to have been not uncommon, as at that time the cattle were in condition for being slaughtered; and the mere provident or less needy might even go the length of salting a quantity for winter, but even this practice does not seem to have been common except among the tacksmen. "Nothing is more deplorable than the state of this people in time of winter." Then they were completely confined to their narrow glens, and very frequently night and day to their houses, on account of the severe snow and rain storms. "They have no diversions to amuse them, but sit brooding in the smoke over the fire till

¹ *Letters*, vol. ii. 28. ² Vol. i. p. 124.

their legs and thighs are scorched to an extraordinary degree, and many have sore eyes and some are quite blind. This long continuance in the smoke makes them almost as black as chimney-sweepers; and when the huts are not water-tight, which is often the case, the rain that comes through the roof and mixes with the sootiness of the inside, where all the stieks look like charecoal, falls in drops like ink. But, in this circumstance, the Highlanders are not very solicitous about their outward appearance."³ We need not wonder under these circumstances at the prevalence of a loathsome distemper, almost peculiar to the Highlands, and the universality of various kinds of vermin; and indeed, had it not been that the people spent so much of their time in the open air, and that the pure air of the mountains, and been on the whole temperate in drinking and correct in morals, their condition must have been much more miserable than it really was. The misery seems to have been apparent only to onlookers, not to those whose lot it was to endure it. No doubt they were most mercilessly oppressed sometimes, but even this oppression they do not seem to have regarded as any hardship, as calling for complaint on their part:—they were willing to endure anything at the hands of the chief, who, they believed, could do no wrong.

As a rule the chiefs and gentlemen of the clan appear to have treated their inferiors with kindness and consideration, although, at the same time, it was their interest and the practice of most of them to encourage the notions the people entertained of their duty to their chiefs, and to keep them in ignorance of everything that would tend to diminish this profitable belief. No doubt many of the chiefs themselves believed as firmly in the doctrine of clanship as their people; but there is good reason to believe, that many of them encouraged the old system from purely interested and selfish motives. Burt tells us that when a chief wanted to get rid of any troublesome fellow, he compelled him, under threat of perpetual imprisonment or the gallows, to sign a contract for his own banishment, when he was shipped off from the nearest port by the first vessel bound for the

West Indies. Referring no doubt to Lord Lovat,⁴ he informs us that this versatile and long-headed chief acted on the maxim that to render his clan poor would double the tie of their obedience; and accordingly he made use of all oppressive means to that end. "To prevent any diminution of the number of those who do not offend him, he dissuades from their purpose all such as show an inclination to traffic, or to put their children out to trades, as knowing they would, by such an alienation shake off at least good part of their slavish attachment to him and his family. This he does, when downright authority fails, by telling them how their ancestors chose to live sparingly, and be accounted a martial people, rather than submit themselves to low and mercenary employments like the Lowlanders, whom their forefathers always despised for the want of that warlike temper which they (his vassals) still retained, &c." This cunning chief was in the habit, according to Dr Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, of sending from Inverness and paying for the insertion in the *Edinburgh Courant* and *Mercury* of glaring accounts of feasts and rejoicings given by himself or held in his honour.⁵ And it is well known that this same lord during his life-time erected a handsome tombstone for himself inscribed with a glowing account of his heroic exploits, intended solely for the use of his clansmen. By these and similar means would crafty selfish lairds keep their tenants and cottars in ignorance of their rights, and make them resigned to all the oppressive impositions laid upon them. No doubt Lovat's was an extreme case, and there must have been many gradations of oppressions, and many chiefs who really cared for their people, and did their best to make them happy and comfortable, although, considering their circumstances and general surroundings, it is difficult to see how they could succeed. Yet notwithstanding their miserable and filthy huts, their scanty and poor food, their tattered and insufficient clothes, their lean cattle and meagre crops, their country wet above and below, their apparent want of all amusements and of anything to lighten their cheerless condition, and the op-

³ Burt, ii. p. 34.

⁴ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 51.

⁵ Fraser-Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 1.

pressive exactions of their chiefs, the Highlanders as a body certainly do not seem to have been an unhappy or discontented people, or to have had any feeling of the discomfort attending their lot.⁶ There seems to have been little or no grumbling, and it is a most remarkable fact that suicide was and probably is all but unknown among the Highlanders. Your genuine Highlander was never what could strictly be called a merry man; he never had any of the effervescence of the French Celt, nor of the inimitable never failing light-hearted humour of his Irish brother; but, on the other hand, under the old system, at heart he showed little or no discontent, but on the contrary seems to have been possessed of a self-satisfied, contented cheerfulness, a quiet resignation to fate, and a belief in the power and goodness of his chief, together with an ignorance and contempt for all outside his own narrow sphere, that made him feel as happy and contented as the most comfortable peasant farmer in France. They only became discontented and sorely cut up when their chiefs,—it being no longer the interest of the latter to multiply and support their retainers,—began to look after their own interests solely, and show little or no consideration for those who regarded them with reverence alone, and who thought their chief as much bound to support and care for them and share his land and his bread with them, as a father is to maintain his children. After the heritable jurisdictions were abolished, of course everything was changed; but before that there is every reason to believe that the Highland tenants and cottars were as contented and happy, though by no means so well off, as the majority of those in the same condition throughout the United Kingdom. Indeed the evils which prevailed formerly in the Highlands, like all other evils,

⁶ "The manners and habits of this parish [as of all other Highland parishes] have undergone a material change within these 50 years; before that period they lived in a plain simple manner, experienced few wants, and possessed not the means, nor had any desire, of procuring any commodities. If they had salt [upon which there was a grievous duty] and tobacco, paid their pittance of rents, and performed their ordinary services to their superiors, and that their conduct in general met their approbation, it seemed to be the height of their ambition."—*Old Statistical Account of Boleskin and Abernethy, Inverness-shire* (1798).

look far worse in prospect (in this case retrospect) than they do in reality. Misery in general is least perceived by those who are in its midst, and no doubt many poor and apparently miserable people wonder what charitable associations for their relief make so much fuss about, for they themselves see nothing to relieve. Not that this misery is any the less real and fruitful of evil consequences, and demanding relief; it is simply that those who are in the midst of it can't, very naturally, see it in its true light. As to the Highlands, the tradition remained for a long time, and we believe does so still in many parts, that under the old regime, chiefs were always kind as fathers, and the people faithful and loving as children; the men were tall and brave, and the women fair and pure; the cattle were fat and plentiful, and the land produced abundance for man and beast; the summers were always warm, and the winters mild; the sun was brighter than ever it has been since, and rain came only when wanted. In short everybody had plenty with a minimum of work and abundance of time for dancing and singing and other amusements; every one was as happy as the day was long. It was almost literally "a land flowing with milk and honey," as will be seen from the following tradition:⁷—"It is now indeed idle, and appears fabulous, to relate the crops raised here 30 or 40 years ago. The seasons were formerly so warm, that the people behaved to unyoke their ploughs as soon as the sun rose, when sowing barley; and persons yet living, tell, that in traveling through the meadows in the loan of Fearn, in some places drops of honey were seen as the dew in the long grass and plantain, sticking to their shoes as they passed along in a May morning; and also in other parts, their shoes were oiled as with cream, going through such meadows. Honey and bee hives were then very plenty. . . Cattle, butter, and cheese, were then very plenty and cheap." This glowing tradition, we fear, must melt away before the authentic and too sober accounts of contemporaries and eye-witnesses.

As for wages to day-labourers and mechanics, in many cases no money whatever was given; every service being frequently paid for in kind;

⁷ *Old Statistical Account of Fearn, Ross-shire.*

where money was given, a copper or two a day was deemed an ample remuneration, and was probably sufficient to provide those who earned it with a maintenance satisfactory to themselves, the price of all necessary provisions being excessively low. A pound of beef or mutton, or a fowl could be obtained for about a penny, a cow cost about 30 shillings, and a boll of barley or oatmeal less than 10 shillings; butter was about twopence a pound, a stone (21 lbs.) of cheese was to be got for about two shillings. The following extract, from the Old Statistical Account of Caputh, will give the reader an idea of the rate of wages, where servants were employed, of the price of provisions, and how really little need there was for actual cash, every man being able to do many things for himself which would now require perhaps a dozen workmen to perform. This parish being strictly in the lowlands, but on the border of the Highlands, may be regarded as having been, in many respects, further advanced than the majority of Highland parishes.⁸ "The ploughs and carts were usually made by the farmer himself; with little iron about the plough, except the colter and share; none upon the cart or harrows; no shoes upon the horses; no hempen ropes. In short, every instrument of farming was procured at small expense, wood being at a very low price. Salt was a shilling the bushel: little soap was used:

⁸ "The spades, ploughs, harrows, and sledges, of the most feeble and imperfect kinds, with all their harnessing, are made by the farmer and his servants; as also the boats, with all their tackle.—The boat has a Highland plaid for a sail; the running rigging is made of leather thongs and willow twigs; and a large stone and a leather rope serve for an anchor and cable; and all this, among a people of much natural ingenuity and perseverance. There is no fulling mill nor bleachfield; no tanner, maltster, or dyer; all the yarn is dyed, and all the cloth fullered or bleached by the women on the farm. The grain for malt is steeped in sacks in the river; and the hides are tanned, and the shoes made at home. There are, indeed, itinerant shoemakers, tailors, wrights, and masons, but none of these has full employment in his business, as all the inhabitants, in some measure, serve themselves in these trades: hence, in the royal boroughs of Inveraray, Campbelton, and Inverness, and in the considerable villages of Crieff, Callander, Oban, Maryburgh, Fort Augustus, and Stornoway, there are fewer tradesmen, and less demand for the workmanship of mechanics, than in any other places of the same size; yet these are either situated in, or are next adjacent to, a more extensive and populous country, than any other similar towns or villages in Scotland."—Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. ii. pp. 374, 5.

they had no candles, instead of which they split the roots of fir trees, which, though brought 50 or 60 miles from the Highlands, were purchased for a trifle. Their clothes were of their own manufacturing. The average price of weaving ten yards of such cloth was a shilling, which was paid partly in meal and partly in money. The tailor worked for a quantity of meal, suppose 3 pecks or a firloft a-year, according to the number of the farmer's family. In the year 1735, the best ploughman was to be had for L.8 Scots (13s. 4d.) a year, and what was termed a bounty, which consisted of some articles of clothing, and might be estimated at 11s. 6d.; in all L.1, 4s. 10d. sterling. Four years after, his wages rose to L.24 Scots, (L.2) and the bounty. Female servants received L.2 Scots, (3s. 4d.) and a bounty of a similar kind; the whole not exceeding 6s. or 7s. Some years after their wages rose to 15s. Men received for harvest work L.6 Scots, (10s.); women, L.5 Scots, (8s. 4d.). Poultry was sold at 40 pennies Scots, (3½d.) Oat-meal, bear and oats, at L.4 or L.5 Scots the boll. A horse that then cost 100 merks Scots, (L.5 : 11 : 1½) would now cost L.25. An ox that cost L.20 Scots, (L.1 : 13 : 4) would now be worth L.8 or L.9. Beef and mutton were sold, not by weight, but by the piece; about 3s. 4d. for a leg of beef of 3½ stones; and so in proportion. No tea nor sugar was used: little whisky was drunk, and less of other spirits: but they had plenty of good ale; there being usually one malt barn (perhaps two) on each farm."⁹

When a Highlander was in need of anything which he could not produce or make himself, it was by no means easy for him to obtain it, as by far the greater part of the Highlands was utterly destitute of towns and manufactures; there was little or no commerce of any kind. The only considerable Highland town was Inverness, and, if we can believe Captain Burt, but little business was done there; the only other places, which made any pretensions to be towns were Stornoway and Campbeltown, and these at the time we are writing of, were little better than fishing villages. There were no manufactures strictly speaking, for although the people

⁹ *Old Stat. Account*, vol. ix. pp. 494, 5.

spun their own wool and made their own cloth, exportation, except perhaps in the case of stockings, seems to have been unknown. In many cases a system of merchandise somewhat similar to the ruinous, oppressive, and obstructive system still common in Shetland, seems to have been in vogue in many parts of the Highlands. By this system, some of the more substantial tacksmen would lay in a stock of goods such as would be likely to be needed by their tenants, but which these could not procure for themselves, such as iron, corn, wine, brandy, sugar, tobacco, &c. These goods the tacksmen would supply to his tenants as they needed them, charging nothing for them at the time; but, about the month of May, the tenant would hand over to his tacksman-merchant as many cattle as the latter considered an equivalent for the goods supplied. As the people would seldom have any idea of the real value of the goods, of course there was ample room for a dishonest tacksman to realise an enormous profit, which, we fear, was too often done. "By which traffic the poor wretched people were cheated out of their effects, for one half of their value; and so are kept in eternal poverty."¹

As to roads, with the exception of those made for military purposes by General Wade, there seems to have been none whatever, only tracks here and there in the most frequented routes, frequently impassable, and at all time unsafe without a guide. Captain Burt could not move a mile or two out of Inverness without a guide. Bridges seem to have been even rarer than slated houses or carriages.

We have thus endeavoured to give the reader a correct idea of the state of the country and people of the Highlands previous to the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. Our only aim has been to find out the truth, and we have done so by appealing to the evidence of contemporaries, or of those whose witness is almost as good. We have endeavoured to exhibit both the good and bad side of the picture, and we are only sorry that space will not permit of giving further details. However, from what has been said above, the reader must see how much had to be accomplished by the

Highlanders to bring them up to the level of the rest of the country, and will be able to understand the nature of the changes which from time to time took place, the difficulties which had to be overcome, the prejudices which had to be swept away, the hardships which had to be encountered, in assimilating the Highlands with the rest of the country.

Having thus, as far as space permits, shown the condition of the Highlands previous to 1745, we shall now, as briefly as possible, trace the history down to the present day, showing the march of change, and we hope, of progress after the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions. In doing so we must necessarily come across topics concerning which there has been much rancorous and unprofitable controversy; but, as we have done in the case of other disputed matters, we shall do our best to lay facts before the reader, and allow him to form his opinions for himself. The history of the Highlands since 1745 is no doubt in some respects a sad one; much misery and cruel disappointment come under the notice of the investigator. But in many respects, and, we have no doubt in its ultimate results, the history is a bright one, showing as it does the progress of a people from semi-barbarism and slavery and ignorance towards high civilisation, freedom of action with the world before them, and enlightenment and knowledge, and vigorous and successful enterprise. Formerly the Highlanders were a nuisance to their neighbours, and a drag upon the progress of the country; now they are not surpassed by any section of her Majesty's subjects for character, enterprise, education, loyalty, and self-respect. Considering the condition of the country in 1745, what could we expect to take place on the passing and enforcing of an act such as that which abolished the heritable jurisdictions? Was it not natural, unavoidable that a fermentation should take place, that there should be a war of apparently conflicting interests, that, in short, as in the achievement of all great results by nations and men, there should be much experimenting, much groping to find out the best way, much shuffling about by the people to fit themselves to their new circumstances, before matters could again fall into something like a settled condition, before each man would find his place in the

¹ Gartmore Paper, in Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 364.

new adjustment of society? Moreover, the Highlanders had to learn an inevitable and a salutary lesson, that in this or in any country under one government, where prosperity and harmony are desired, no particular section of the people is to consider itself as having a right to one particular part of the country. The Highlands for the Highlanders is a barbarous, selfish, obstructive cry in a united and progressive nation. It seems to be the law of nature, as it is the law of progress, that those who can make the best use of any district ought to have it. This has been the case with the world at large, and it has turned out, and is still turning out to be the case with this country. The Highlands now contain a considerable lowland population, and the Highlanders are scattered over the length and breadth of the land, and indeed of the world, honourably fulfilling the noble part they have to play in the world's history. Ere long there will be neither Highlander nor Lowlander; we shall all be one people, having the best qualities of the blood of the formerly two antagonistic races running in our veins. It is, we have no doubt, with men as with other animals, the best breeds are got by judicious crossings.

Of course it is seldom the case that any great changes take place in the social or political policy of a country without much individual suffering: this was the case at all events in the Highlands. Many of the poor people and tacksmen had to undergo great hardships during the process of this new adjustment of affairs; but that the lairds or chiefs were to blame for this, it would be rash to assert. Some of these were no doubt unnecessarily harsh and unfeeling, but even where they were kindest and most considerate with their tenants, there was much misery prevailing among the latter. In the general scramble for places under the new arrangements, every one, chief, tacksmen, tenant, and cottar, had to look out for himself or go to the wall, and it was therefore the most natural thing in the world that the instinct of self-preservation and self-advancement, which is stronger by far than that of universal benevolence, should urge the chiefs to look to their own interests in preference to those of the people, who unfortunately, from the habit of centuries, looked to their superiors alone for that help

which they should have been able to give themselves. It appears to us that the results which have followed from the abolition of the jurisdictions and the obliteration of the power of the chiefs, were inevitable; that they might have been brought about in a much gentler way, with much less suffering and bitterness and recrimination, there is no doubt; but while the process was going on, who had time to think of these things, or look at the matter in a calm and rational light? Certainly not those who were the chief actors in bringing about the results. With such stubbornness, bigotry, prejudice, and ignorance on one side, and such power and poverty and necessity for immediate and decided action on the other, and with selfishness on both sides, it was all but inevitable that results should have been as they turned out to be. We shall do what we can to state plainly, briefly, and fairly the real facts of the case.

CHAPTER XLIII.

State of Highlands subsequent to 1745—Progress of innovation—First mention of Emigration—Penant's account of the country—Dr Johnson—Emigration fairly commenced in 1760—The Tacksmen the first to suffer and emigrate—Consequences to those who remained—Wretched condition of the Western Islands—Introduction of large sheep-farms—Ejection of small tenants—"Mailers"—Hebrides—Real Highland grievance—Title-deeds—The two sides of the Highland Question—Truth on both sides—Excessive population—Argument of those who condemn depopulation—The sentimental and military arguments—Testimony as to wretched condition of Highlanders—Highlands admirably suited for sheep—Effect of sheep-farming on Highland scenery—Highlands unsuited to black cattle—Large and small farms—Interference—Fishing and farming cannot be successfully united—Raising rents—Depopulation—How far the landlords were to blame—Kelp—Advantages and disadvantages of its manufacture—Potatoes—Introduction into the Highlands—Their importance—Failures of Crop—Disease—Amount of progress made during latter part of 18th century.

As we have said already, the Highlanders, chiefs and people, were so confounded, and prostrated by the cruel proceedings and stringent measures which followed Culloden, that it was some time ere they could realise the new position of affairs. Little alteration appears to have, for some years, been effected

in the relationship subsisting between people and chiefs, the latter being now simply landlords. The gentlemen and common people of the clans continued to regard their chief in the same light as they did previous to the abolition of the jurisdictions, for they did not consider that their obedience to the head of the clan was in the least dependent upon any legislative enactments. They still considered it their duty to do what they could to support their chief, and were still as ready as ever to make any sacrifice for his sake. At the same time, their notions of the chief's duty to his people remained unaltered; he, they thought, was bound as much as ever to see to it that they did not want, to share with them the land which belonged to the chief not so much as a proprietor, but as the head and representative of his people. The gentlemen, especially, of the clan, the tacksmen or large farmers, most firmly and sincerely believed that they had as much right to a share of the lands as the chief himself, their relation; he was as much bound to provide for them as a father is bound to make provision for his children. There is no doubt also that many of the chiefs themselves, especially the older ones, held the same belief on this matter as their subordinates, so that in many instances it was not till the old laird had passed away, and a new one had filled his place, that the full effect of the measures already described began to be felt. Of course, many of the chiefs and gentlemen who had taken part in the rebellion had been compelled to leave the country in order to save their lives, and many of the estates had been forfeited to government, which entrusted the management of them to commissioners. It was probably these estates upon which changes began to be first effected.

All the accounts we have of the Highlands from travellers and others down to the end of the 18th century, show the country in a state of commotion and confusion, resulting from the changes consequent on the rebellion, the breaking up of old relationships, and the gradual encroachment of lowland civilisation, lowland modes of life, and lowland methods of agriculture. Up to the end of the century, the positive changes do not appear to have been great or extensive, they seem more to have been of a tentative experimental kind, attempts to

find out the most suitable or profitable way of working under the new regime. The result of these experiments of this unsettling of many-century-old customs and ideas, and of the consequent shifting and disturbing of the people, was for a long time much discontent and misery. The progress of change, both with regard to place and in respect of the nature of the innovations, was gradual, beginning, as a rule, with those districts of the Highlands which bordered on the lowlands, and proceeding in a direction somewhat north-west. It was these border districts which got first settled down and assimilated in all respects to the lowlands, and, although in some instances the commotion was felt in the Western Islands and Highlands a few years after 1746, yet these localities, as a rule, were longest in adjusting themselves to the new state of things; indeed, in many western districts, the commotion has not yet subsided, and consequently misery and discontent still frequently prevail. In the same way it was only little by little that changes were effected, first one old custom giving way and then another, their places being filled by others which had prevailed in the lowlands for many years before. Indeed, we think the progress made by the Highlands during the last century has been much greater than that of the lowlands during the same period; for when, in the case of the Highlands, the march of progress commenced, they were in many respects centuries behind the rest of the country, whereas at the present day, with the exception of some outlying districts above mentioned, they are in almost every respect as far forward and as eager to advance farther as the most progressive districts of the south. This is no doubt owing to the extra pressure which was brought to bear upon them in the shape of the measures which followed Culloden, without which they no doubt must have progressed, but at a much slower rate. Perhaps this is the reason why certain outlying districts have lagged behind and are still in a state of unsettlement and discontent, the people, and often the lairds, refusing to acknowledge and give way to the necessity for change, but even yet attempting to live and act in accordance with the old-fashioned clannish mode of managing men and land.

The unsettled state of the Highlands, and the fact that many Highlanders were leaving the country, attracted attention so early as about 1750. For in 1752, a pamphlet was published by a Mr John Campbell, pretending to give "A Full and Particular Description of the Highlands," and propounding a scheme which, in the author's estimation, would "prove effectual in bringing in the most disaffected among them." There is little said in this book of the actual condition of the Highlanders at that time, only a few details as to their manners, funeral-customs, marriages, &c., and a lamentation, ever since repeated, that so many should be compelled to leave their native land and settle among foreigners. The author does not mention emigration to America; what he chiefly deplures is the fact that so many Highlanders, from the unkindness of their superiors at home, should have taken service in various capacities, civil and military, in other European countries, frequently fighting in foreign armies against their fellow-countrymen. However, from the general tone of his remarks, it may be gathered that he refers mainly to those who were compelled to leave the country on account of the part they took in the late rebellion, and not on account of any alterations which had yet taken place in the internal affairs of the Highlands. Still it is plainly to be inferred that already much misery and discontent prevailed in the country.

Pennant made his two tours in Scotland in the years 1769 and 1772. His travels in the Highlands were confined mainly to the Western Islands and the districts on the west coast, and his account is little else than a tale of famine and wretchedness from beginning to end. What little agriculture there was, was as bad as ever, the country rarely producing enough of grain to supply the inhabitants, and in many places he fears "the isles annually experience a temporary famine." In the island of Islay a thousand pounds worth of meal was annually imported, and at the time of Pennant's visit "a famine threatened." Indeed, the normal state of the Western Highlands at least appears for long to have been one bordering on famine, or what would have been considered so in any less wretched country; and periodically many seem to have died from absolute want of food.

Here is a sad picture of misery; Pennant is speaking more particularly of Skye, but his remarks might have been applied to most of the Western Islands. "The poor are left to Providence's care; they prowl like other animals along the shores to pick up limpets and other shell-fish, the casual repasts of hundreds during part of the year in these unhappy islands. Hundreds thus annually drag through the season a wretched life; and numbers, unknown, in all parts of the Western Highlands, fall beneath the pressure, some of hunger, more of the putrid fever, the epidemic of the coasts, originating from unwholesome food, the dire effects of necessity."¹ No change for the better to record in agriculture, the farms still overstocked with horses, black cattle and men, the fishing still all but neglected, hovels wretched as ever, and clothes as tattered and scanty—nothing in short to be seen but want and wretchedness, with apparently no inclination in the people to better their condition. Johnson, who visited the Western Islands in the autumn of 1773, has a very similar report to make. Everything seemed to be in a state of transition; old relationships were being broken up, and a spirit of general discontent and feeling of insecurity were abroad. As to the poor condition of the people generally, Johnson essentially confirms the statements of Pennant, although he hints that they did by no means appear to be unhappy, or able to realise their wretched condition.

At the time of Pennant's and Johnson's visits to the Highlands, the new leaven of change had fairly begun to work. Already had depopulation and emigration begun, and to some extent sheep-farming on a large scale had been introduced.

Emigration from the Highlands to America seems to have fairly commenced shortly after 1760, as, in a pamphlet² published in 1784, it is stated that between the years 1763 and 1775 above 20,000 Highlanders left their homes to settle on the other side of the Atlantic. The first apparently to suffer from the altered state of things in the Highlands, the decreasing value of men and the increasing value of money, were the tacksmen, or large farmers,

¹ Pennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 305.

² *A View of the Highlands, &c.*

the relations of the old chiefs, who had held their farms from generation to generation, who regarded themselves as having about as much right to the land as the lairds, and who had hitherto been but little troubled about rent. After a time, when the chiefs, now merely lairds, began to realise their new position and to feel the necessity of making their land yield them as large an income as possible, they very naturally sought to get a higher rent for the farms let to these tacksmen, who, in most cases, were the only immediate holders of land from the proprietor. These tacksmen, in many cases, appear to have resented this procedure as they would a personal injury from their dearest friends. It was not that the addition to the rents was excessive, or that the rents were already as high as the land could bear, for generally the additions seem to have been trifling, and it is well known that the proprietors received nothing like the rents their lands should have yielded under a proper system of management. What seems to have hurt these gentlemen was the idea that the laird, the father of his people, should ever think of anything so mercenary as rent, or should ever by any exercise of his authority indicate that he had it in his power to give or let his farms to the highest bidders. It was bad enough, they thought, that an alien government should interfere with their old ways of doing; but that their chiefs, the heads of their race, for whom they were ready to lay down their lives and the lives of all over whom they had any power, should turn against them, was more than they could bear. The consequence was that many of them, especially in the west, threw up their farms, no doubt thinking that the lairds would at once ask them to remain on the old terms. This, however, was but seldom done, and the consequence was that many of these tacksmen emigrated to America, taking with them, no doubt, servants and sub-tenants, and enticing out more by the glowing accounts they sent home of their good fortune in that far-off land.

In some cases, the farms thus vacated were let to other tacksmen or large tenants, but in most instances, the new system was introduced of letting the land directly to what were formerly the sub-tenants, those who had held the

land immediately from the ousted tacksmen. A number of these sub-tenants would take a large farm among them, sub-dividing it as they chose, and each becoming liable for his proportion of the rent. The farms thus let were generally cultivated on the run-rig system already referred to, the pasture being common to all the tenants alike.

That certain advantages followed these changes there is no doubt. Every account we have of the Highlands during the earlier part of the 18th century, agrees in the fact that the Highlands were over-peopled and over-stocked, that it was impossible for the land to yield sufficient to support the men and beasts who lived upon it. Hence, this drafting off of a considerable portion of the population gave that which remained breathing-room; fewer people were left to support, and it is to be supposed that the condition of these would be improved. Moreover, they would probably have their farms at a cheaper rent than under the old system, when the demands of both tacksmen and laird had to be satisfied, the former, of course, having let the land at a much higher rate than that at which they held it from their superior. Now, it was possible enough for the laird to get a higher rent than before, and at the same time the people might have their farms at a lower rent than they had previously given to the tacksmen. There would also be fewer oppressive services demanded of these small tenants than under the old system, for now they had only the laird to satisfy, whereas previously they had both him and the tacksman. There would still, of course, be services required by the laird from these tenants, still would part of the rent be paid in kind, still would they be thirled to particular mills, and have to submit to many similar exactions, of the oppressiveness of which, however, it was long before they became conscious; but, on the whole, the condition of those districts from which emigrations took place must to some extent have been the better for the consequent thinning of the population. Still no alteration appears to have taken place in the mode of farming, the nature of tenures, mode of paying rent, houses, clothes, food of the people. In some parts of the Highlands and islands, no alteration whatever appears

to have been made on the old system; the tacksmen were allowed to remain undisturbed, and the people lived and held land as formerly. But even in those districts from which emigrations were largely made, little or no improvement seems to have been the consequence, if we may trust the reports of those who saw how things stood with their own eyes. Pennant, Johnson, Buchanan,³ Newte,⁴ the Old Statistical Account, all agree that but little improvement was noticeable over the greater part of the Highlands from 1745 down till near the end of the 18th century.

One reason why emigration made so little difference in the way of improvement on the condition of those who remained in the country was, that no check was put upon the overstocking of the farms with men and animals. In spite of emigration, the population in many districts increased instead of diminished. A common practice among those tenants who conjointly held a large farm was for a father, on the marriage of a son or daughter, to divide his share of the farm with the young couple, who either lived in the old man's house or built a hut for themselves and tried to make a living out of the share of the pendicle allotted to them. To such an extent was this practice carried, that often a portion of land of a few acres, originally let to and sufficient to maintain one family, might in a few years be divided among six or eight families, and which, even if cultivated in the best manner possible, could not support its occupants for more than two or three months a year. On account of this ruinous practice, Skye, which in 1750 had 15,000 inhabitants, most of whom were in a condition of misery and want, in 1857, in spite of large and repeated emigrations, had a population of about 23,000. This custom was common in many Highland (chiefly western) districts down to only a few years ago, and was fruitful of many pernicious consequences—of frequent famines, the constant impoverishing of the soil, the overstocking of pasture-land, and continual wretchedness.

In some cases, the farms vacated by the old tacksmen, instead of being let to the old sub-tenants, were let to whatever stranger would

give the highest offer. On farms so let, the condition of the sub-tenants who were continued on the old footing, appears often to have been miserable in the extreme. These new-come tacksmen or middlemen cared nothing either for chiefs or people; they paid their rent and were determined to squeeze from those under them as large a return as possible for their outlay. In confirmation of these statements, and to show the sad condition of many parts of the Highlands in their state of transition, we quote the following passage from Buchanan's *Travels in the Hebrides*, referring to about 1780. Even allowing for exaggeration, although there is no reason to believe the writer goes beyond the truth, the picture is almost incredibly deplorable:—

“At present they are obliged to be much more submissive to their tacksmen than ever they were in former times to their lairds or lords. There is a great difference between that mild treatment which is shown to sub-tenants and even scallags, by the old lessees, descended of ancient and honourable families, and the outrageous rapacity of those necessitous strangers who have obtained leases from absent proprietors, who treat the natives as if they were a conquered and inferior race of mortals. In short, they treat them like beasts of burthen; and in all respects like slaves attached to the soil, as they cannot obtain new habitations, on account of the combinations already mentioned, and are entirely at the mercy of the laird or tacksman. Formerly, the personal service of the tenant did not usually exceed eight or ten days in the year. There lives at present at Scalpa, in the Isle of Harris, a tacksman of a large district, who instead of six days' work paid by the sub-tenants to his predecessor in the lease, has raised the predial service, called in that and in other parts of Scotland, *manerial bondage*, to fifty-two days in the year at once; besides many other services to be performed at different though regular and stated times: as tanning leather for brogues, making heather ropes for thatch, digging and drying peats for fuel; one pannier of peat charcoal to be carried to the smith; so many days for gathering and shearing sheep and lambs; for ferrying cattle from island to island, and other distant places, and

³ *Travels in the Western Islands.*

⁴ *Tour in England and Scotland* (1785).

several days for going on distant errands ; so many pounds of wool to be spun into yarn. And over and above all this, they must lend their aid upon any unforeseen occurrence whenever they are called on. The constant service of two months at once is performed at the proper season in the making of kelp. On the whole, this gentleman's sub-tenants may be computed to devote to his service full three days in the week. But this is not all : they have to pay besides yearly a certain number of cocks, hens, butter, and cheese, called CAORIGH-FERRIN, the WIFE'S PORTION ! This, it must be owned, is one of the most severe and rigorous tacksmen descended from the old inhabitants, in all the Western Hebrides : but the situation of his sub-tenants exhibits but too faithful a picture of the sub-tenants of those places in general, and the exact counterpart of such enormous oppression is to be found at Luskintire."

Another cause of emigration and of depopulation generally, was the introduction of sheep on a large scale, involving the junction into one of several small farms, each of which might before have been occupied by a number of tenants. These subjects of the introduction of sheep, engrossing of farms, and consequent depopulation, have occupied, and still to some extent do occupy, the attention of all those who take an interest in the Highlands, and of social economists in general. Various opinions have been passed on the matters in question, some advocating the retention of the people at all costs, while others declare that the greatest part of the Highlands is fit only for pasture, and it would be sheer madness, and shutting our eyes wilfully to the sad lessons of experience, to stock a land with people that is fit only to sustain sheep, and which at its very best contains mere specks of arable ground, which, even when cultivated to the utmost, can yield but a poor and unprofitable return.

Whatever opinion may be passed upon the general question, there can be no doubt that at first the introduction of sheep was fruitful of misery and discontent to those who had to vacate their old home and leave their native glens to find shelter they knew not well where. Many of those thus displaced by sheep and by one or two lowland shepherds, emigrated like

the discontented tacksmen to America, those who remained looking with ill-will and an evil eye on the lowland intruders. Although often the intruder came from the South country, and brought his sheep and his shepherds with him, still this was not always the case ; for many of the old tacksmen and even sub-tenants, after they saw how immensely more profitable the new system was over the old, wisely took a lesson in time, and following the example of the new lowland tenant, took large farms and stocked them with sheep and cattle, and reduced the arable land to a minimum. But, generally speaking, in cases where farms formerly subdivided among a number of tenants were converted into sheep farms, the smaller tenant had to quit and find a means of living elsewhere. The landlords in general attempted to prevent the ousted tenants from leaving the country by setting apart some particular spot either by the sea-shore or on waste land which had never been touched by plough, on which they might build houses and have an acre or two of land for their support. Those who were removed to the coast were encouraged to prosecute the fishing along with their agricultural labours, while those who were settled on waste land were stimulated to bring it into a state of cultivation. It was mainly by a number of such ousted Highlanders that the great and arduous undertaking was accomplished of bringing into a state of cultivation Kincardine Moss, in Perthshire. At the time the task was undertaken, about 1767, it was one of stupendous magnitude ; but so successfully was it carried out, that in a few years upwards of 2000 acres of fine clay-soil, which for centuries had been covered to the depth of seven feet with heath and decayed vegetable matter, were bearing luxuriant crops of all kinds. In a similar way, many spots throughout the Highlands, formerly yielding nothing but heath and moss, were, by the exertions of those who were deprived of their farms, brought into a state of cultivation. Those who occupied ground of this kind were known as *mailers*, and, as a rule, they paid no rent for the first few years, after which they generally paid the proprietor a shilling or two per acre, which was gradually increased as the land improved

and its cultivation extended. For the first season or two the proprietor usually either lent or presented them with seed and implements. In the parish of Urray, in the south-east of Ross-shire, about the year 1790, there were 248 families of this kind, most of whom had settled there within the previous forty years. Still the greater number of these, both tacksmen and sub-tenants, who were deprived of their farms, either on account of the raising of the rents or because of their conversion into large sheep-walks, emigrated to America. The old *Statistical Account of North Uist* says that between the years 1771 and 1775, a space of only four years, several thousands emigrated from the Western Highlands and Islands alone. At first few of the islands appear to have been put under sheep; where any alteration on the state of things took place at all, it was generally in the way of raising rents, thus causing the tacksmen to leave, who were succeeded either by strangers who leased the farms, or by the old sub-tenants, among whom the lands were divided, and who held immediately from the laird. It was long, however, as we have already indicated, before the innovations took thorough hold upon the Hebrides, as even down almost to the present time many of the old proprietors, either from attachment to their people, or from a love of feudal show, struggle to keep up the old system, leaving the tacksmen undisturbed, and doing all they can to maintain and keep on their property a large number of sub-tenants and cottars. Almost invariably, those proprietors who thus obstinately refused to succumb to the changes going on around them, suffered for their unwise conduct. Many of them impoverished their families for generations, and many of the estates were disposed of for behoof of their creditors, and they themselves had to sink to the level of landless gentlemen, and seek their living in commerce or otherwise.

Gradually, however, most of the proprietors, especially those whose estates were on the mainland Highlands, yielded, in general no doubt willingly, to change, raised their rents, abolished small tenancies, and gave their lands up to the sheep farmers. The temptation was, no doubt, often very great, on account

of the large rents offered by the lowland graziers. One proprietor in Argyleshire, who had some miles of pasture let to a number of small tenants for a few shillings yearly, on being offered by a lowlander who saw the place £300 a year, could not resist, but, however ruefully, cleared it of his old tenants, and gave it up to the money-making lowlander. It was this engrossing of farms and the turning of immense tracks of country into sheep-walks, part of which was formerly cultivated and inhabited by hundreds of people, that was the great grievance of the Highlanders during the latter part of last century. Not that it could aggravate their wretchedness to any great extent, for that was bad enough already even before 1745; it seems to have been rather the fact that their formerly much-loved chiefs should treat them worse than they could strangers, prefer a big income to a large band of faithful followers, and eject those who believed themselves to have as great a right to the occupancy of the land as the chiefs themselves. "The great and growing grievance of the Highlands is not the letting of the land to tacksmen, but the making of so many sheep-walks, which sweep off both tacksmen and sub-tenants all in a body."⁵ The tacksmen especially felt naturally cut to the quick by what they deemed the selfish and unjust policy of the chiefs. These tacksmen and their ancestors in most cases had occupied their farms for many generations; their birth was as good and their genealogy as old as those of the chief himself, to whom they were all blood relations, and to whom they were attached with the most unshaken loyalty. True, they had no writing, no document, no paltry "sheep-skin," as they called it, to show as a proof that they had as much right to their farms as the laird himself. But what of that? Who would ever have thought that their chiefs would turn against them, and try to wrest from them that which had been gifted by a former chief to their fathers, who would have bitten out their tongue before they would ask a bond? The gift, they thought, was none the less real because there was no written proof of it. These parchments were quite a modern innovation, not even then uni-

⁵ Newte.

versally acknowledged among the Highlanders, to whom the only satisfactory proof of proprietorship and chiefship was possession from time immemorial. Occasionally a chief, who could produce no title-deed to his estate, was by law deprived of it, and his place filled by another. But the clan would have none of this; they invariably turned their backs upon the intruder, and acknowledged only the ousted chief as their head and the real proprietor, whom they were bound to support, and whom they frequently did support, by paying to him the rents which were legally due to the other. In some cases, it would seem,⁶ the original granters of the land to the tacksmen conveyed it to them by a regular title-deed, by which, of course, they became proprietors. And we think there can be no doubt, that originally when a chief bestowed a share of his property upon his son or other near relation, he intended that the latter should keep it for himself and his descendants; he was not regarded merely as a tenant who had to pay a yearly rent, but as a sub-proprietor, who, from a sense of love and duty would contribute what he could to support the chief of his race and clan. In many cases, we say, this was the light in which chief, tacksmen, and people regarded these farms tenanted by the gentlemen of the clan; and it only seems to have been after the value of men decreased and of property increased, that most of the lairds began to look at the matter in a more commercial, legal, and less romantic light. According to Newte—and what he says is supported to a considerable extent by facts—"in the southern parts of Argyleshire, in Perthshire, Aberdeenshire, Moray, and Ross, grants of land were made in writing, while in Inverness-shire, Sutherlandshire, the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the Western Islands, the old mode was continued of verbal or emblematical transference. In Ross-shire, particularly, it would appear that letters and the use of letters in civil affairs had been early introduced and widely spread; for property is more equally divided in that country than in most other counties in Scotland, and than in any other of the Highlands. Agreeably to these observations, it is

from the great estates on the northern and western sides of Scotland that the descendants of the original tacksmen of the land, with their families, have been obliged to migrate by the positive and unrelenting demands of rent beyond what it was in their power to give, and, indeed, in violation of those conditions that were understood and observed between the original granter and original tenant and their posterity for centuries."³ These statements are exceedingly plausible, and we believe to a certain extent true; but it is unnecessary here to enter upon the discussion of the question. What we have to do with is the unquestionable fact that the Highland proprietors did in many instances take advantage of the legal power, which they undoubtedly possessed, to do with their land as they pleased, and, regardless of the feelings of the old tacksmen and sub-tenants, let it to the highest bidders. The consequence was that these tacksmen, who to a certain extent were demoralised and knew not how to use the land to best advantage, had to leave the homes of their ancestors; and many of the small farmers and cottars, in the face of the new system of large sheep-farms, becoming cumberers of the ground, were swept from the face of the country, and either located in little lots by the sea-side, where they became useful as fishers and kelp-burners, or settled on some waste moor, which they occupied themselves in reclaiming from its native barrenness, or, as was frequently the case, followed the tacksmen, and sought a home in the far west, where many of them became lairds in their own right.

These then are the great results of the measures which followed the rebellion of 1745-6, and the consequent breaking up of the old clan system—extensive sheep-farming, accompanied with a great rise in the rent of land, depopulation, and emigration. As to the legality of the proceedings of the proprietors, there can be no doubt; as little doubt is there that the immediate consequence to many of the Highlanders was great suffering, accompanied by much bitterness and discontent. As to the morality or justice of the laird's conduct, various opinions have been, and no doubt for

⁶ Newte's *Travels*, p. 127.

³ Newte's *Travels*, p. 127.

long will be, expressed. One side maintains that it was the duty of these chiefs upon whom the people depended, whom they revered, and for whom they were ready to die, at all events, to see to it that their people were provided for, and that ultimately it would have been for the interest of the proprietors and the country at large to do everything to prevent from emigrating in such numbers as they did, such a splendid race of men, for whose services to the country no money equivalent could be found. It is maintained that the system of large farms is pernicious in every respect, and that only by the system of moderate sized farms can a country be made the best of, an adequate rural population be kept up, and self-respect and a high moral tone be nourished and spread throughout the land. Those who adopt this side of the question pooh-pooh the common maxims of political economy, and declare that laws whose immediate consequences are widespread suffering, and the unpeopling of a country, cannot be founded on any valid basis; that proprietors hold their lands only in trust, and it is therefore their duty not merely to consider their own narrow interests, but also to consult the welfare and consult the feelings of their people. In short, it is maintained by this party, that the Highland lairds, in acting as they did, showed themselves to be unjust, selfish, heartless, unpatriotic, mercenary, and blind to their own true interests and those of their country.

On the other hand, it is maintained that what occurred in the Highlands subsequent to 1745 was a step in the right direction, and that it was only a pity that the innovations had not been more thorough and systematic. For long previous to 1745, it is asserted the Highlands were much over-peopled, and the people, as a consequence of the vicious system under which they had lived for generations, were incurably lazy, and could be roused from this sad lethargy only by some such radical measures as were adopted. The whole system of Highland life and manners and habits were almost barbarous, the method of farming was thoroughly pernicious and unproductive, the stock of cattle worthless and excessive, and so badly managed that about one half perished every winter. On account of the excessive popula-

tion, the land was by far too much subdivided, the majority of so-called farmers occupying farms of so small a size that they could furnish the necessaries of life for no more than six months, and consequently the people were continually on the verge of starvation. The Highlands, it is said, are almost totally unsuited for agriculture, and fit only for pasturage, and that consequently this subdivision into small farms could be nothing else than pernicious; that the only method by which the land could be made the most of was that of large sheep-farms, and that the proprietors, while no doubt studying their own interests, adopted the wisest policy when they let out their land on this system. In short, it is maintained by the advocates of innovations, the whole body of the Highlanders were thoroughly demoralised, their number was greater by far than the land could support even if managed to the best advantage, and was increasing every year; the whole system of renting land, of tenure, and of farming was ruinous to the people and the land, and that nothing but a radical change could cure the many evils with which the country was afflicted.

There has been much rather bitter discussion between the advocates of the two sides of the Highland question; often more recrimination and calling of names than telling argument. This question, we think, is no exception to the general rule which governs most disputed matters; there is truth, we believe, on both sides. We fear the facts already adduced in this part of the book comprise many of the assertions made by the advocates of change. As to the wretched social condition of the Highlanders, for long before and after 1745, there can be no doubt, if we can place any reliance on the evidence of contemporaries, and we have already said enough to show that the common system of farming, if worthy of the name, was ruinous and inefficient; while their small lean cattle were so badly managed that about one half died yearly. That the population was very much greater than the land, even if used to the best advantage, could support, is testified to by every candid writer from the Gartmore paper^s down almost to the

^s Burt's *Letters*, Appendix.

present day. The author of the Gartmore paper, written about 1747, estimated that the population of the Highlands at that time amounted to about 230,000; "but," he says, "according to the present economy of the Highlands, there is not business for more than one half of that number of people. . . The other half, then, must be idle and beggars while in the country." "The produce of the crops," says Pennant,⁹ "very rarely are in any degree proportioned to the wants of the inhabitants; golden seasons have happened, when they have had superfluity, but the years of famine are as ten to one." It is probable, from a comparison with the statistics of Dr Webster, taken in 1755,¹ that the estimate of the author of the Gartmore paper was not far from being correct; indeed, if anything, it must have been under the mark, as in 1755 the population of the Highlands and Islands amounted, according to Webster, to about 290,000, which, in 1795, had increased to 325,566,² in spite of the many thousands who had emigrated. This great increase in the population during the latter part of the 18th century is amply confirmed by the writers of the Statistical Accounts of the various Highland parishes, and none had better opportunities of knowing the real state of matters than they. The great majority of these writers likewise assert that the population was far too large in proportion to the produce of the land and means of employment, and that some such outlet as emigration was absolutely necessary. Those who condemn emigration and depopulation, generally do so for some merely sentimental reason, and seldom seek to show that it is quite possible to maintain the large population without disastrous results. It is a pity, they say, that the Highlander, possessing so many noble qualities, and so strongly attached to his native soil, should be compelled to seek a home in a foreign land, and bestow upon it the services which might be profitably employed by his mother country. By permitting, they say, these loyal and brave Highlanders to leave the country, Britain is throwing away some of the finest recruiting material in the

world, for—and it is quite true—the Highland soldier has not his match for bravery, moral character, and patriotism.

These statements are no doubt true; it certainly is a pity that an inoffensive, brave, and moral people should be compelled to leave their native laud, and devote to the cultivation of a foreign soil those energies which might be used to the benefit of their own country. It would also be very bad policy in government to lose the chance of filling up the ranks of the army with some of the best men obtainable anywhere. But then, if there was nothing for the people to do in the country, if their condition was one of chronic famine, as was undoubtedly the case with the Highlanders, if the whole productions of the country were insufficient even to keep them in bare life, if every few years the country had to contribute thousands of pounds to keep these people alive, if, in short, the majority of them were little else than miserable beggars, an encumbrance on the progress of their country, a continual source of sadness to all feeling men, gradually becoming more and more demoralised by the increasingly wretched condition in which they lived, and by the ever-recurring necessity of bestowing upon them charity to keep them alive,—if such were the case, the advocates for a thinning of the population urge, whom would it profit to keep such a rabble of half-starved creatures huddled together in a corner of the country, reaping for themselves nothing but misery and degradation, and worse than useless to everybody else. Moreover, as to the military argument, it is an almost universal statement made by the writers of the Old Statistical Account (about 1790), that, at that time, in almost all the Highland parishes it was scarcely possible to get a single recruit, so great was the aversion of the people both to a naval and military life. Besides, though the whole of the surplus population had been willing to volunteer into the army, of what value would it have been if the country had no use for them; and surely it would be very questionable policy to keep thousands of men in idleness on the bare chance that they might be required as soldiers.

The sentimental and military arguments are no doubt very touching and very convincing to

⁹ *Tour*, ii. 306.

¹ See Walker's *Hebrides*, vol. i. pp. 24, 23.

² Walker, vol. i. p. 31.

men in whom impulse and imagination predominate over reason and clearness of vision, and are fitting subjects for a certain kind of poetry, which has made much of them; but they cannot for one moment stand the test of facts, and become selfishly cruel, impracticable, and disastrous, when contrasted with the teachings of genuine humanity and the best interests of the Highlanders. On this subject, the writer of the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Lochgoilhead makes some remarks so sensible, and so much to the point, that we are tempted to quote them here. "It is frequent," he says, "with people who wish well to their country, to inveigh against the practice of turning several small farms into one extensive grazing, and dispossessing the former tenants. If the strength of a country depends upon the number of its inhabitants, it appears a pernicious measure to drive away the people by depriving them of their possessions. This complaint is very just with regard to some places in Scotland; for it must be greatly against the interest of the nation to turn rich arable land, which is capable at the same time of supporting a number of people, and of producing much grain, into pasture ground. But the complaint does not seem to apply to this country. The strength of a nation cannot surely consist in the number of idle people which it maintains; that the inhabitants of this part of the country were formerly sunk in indolence, and contributed very little to the wealth, or to the support of the state, cannot be denied. The produce of this parish, since sheep have become the principal commodity, is at least double the intrinsic value of what it was formerly, so that half the number of hands produce more than double the quantity of provisions, for the support of our large towns, and the supply of our tradesmen and manufacturers; and the system by which land returns the most valuable produce, and in the greatest abundance, seems to be the most beneficial for the country at large. Still, however, if the people who are dispossessed of this land emigrated into other nations, the present system might be justly condemned, as diminishing the strength of the country. But this is far from being the case; of the great number of people who have been deprived of their farms in this

parish, for thirty years past, few or none have settled out of the kingdom; they generally went to sea, or to the populous towns upon the Clyde. In these places, they have an easy opportunity, which they generally embrace, of training up their children to useful and profitable employments, and of rendering them valuable members of society. So that the former inhabitants of this country have been taken from a situation in which they contributed nothing to the wealth, and very little to the support of the state, to a situation in which their labour is of the greatest public utility. Nor has the present system contributed to make the condition of the inhabitants of the country worse than it was before; on the contrary, the change is greatly in their favour. The partiality in favour of former times, and the attachment to the place of their nativity, which is natural to old people, together with the indolence in which they indulged themselves in this country, mislead them in drawing a comparison between their past and their present situations. But indolence was almost the only comfort which they enjoyed. There was scarcely any variety of wretchedness with which they were not obliged to struggle, or rather to which they were not obliged to submit. They often felt what it was to want food; the scanty crops which they raised were consumed by their cattle in winter and spring; for a great part of the year they lived wholly on milk, and even that in the end of spring and beginning of winter was very scarce. To such extremity were they frequently reduced, that they were obliged to bleed their cattle in order to subsist for some time upon the blood; and even the inhabitants of the glens and valleys repaired in crowds to the shore, at the distance of three or four miles, to pick up the scanty provision which the shell-fish afforded them. They were miserably ill clothed, and the huts in which they lived were dirty and mean beyond expression. How different from their present situation? They now enjoy the necessaries, and many of the comforts of life in abundance: even those who are supported by the charity of the parish feel no real want. Much of the wretchedness which formerly prevailed in this and in other parishes in the Highlands, was owing to the indolence of the

people, and to their want of management ; but a country which is neither adapted for agriculture nor for rearing black cattle, can never maintain any great number of people comfortably."

No doubt the very men who deplore what they call the depopulation of the Highlands would advocate the advisability of emigration in the case of the unemployed surplus population of any other part of the country. If their arguments against the emigration of the Highlanders to another country, and in favour of their being retained in their own district were logically carried out, to what absurd and disastrous consequences would they lead? Supposing that all the people who have emigrated from this country to America, Australia, and elsewhere, had been kept at home, where would this country have been? There would scarcely have been standing room for the population, the great majority of whom must have been in a state of indescribable misery. The country would have been ruined. The same arguments might also be used against the emigration of the natives of other countries, many of whom are no doubt as attached to their native soil as the Highlanders; and if the principle had been rigidly carried out, what direful consequences to the world at large would have been the result. In fact, there would have been little else but universal barbarism. It seems to be admitted by all thoughtful men that the best outlet for a redundant or idle population is emigration; it is beneficial to the mother country, beneficial to the emigrants, and beneficial to the new country in which they take up their abode. Only thus can the earth be subdued, and made the most of.

Why then should there be any lamentation over the Highlanders leaving their country more than over any other class of respectable willing men? Anything more hopelessly wretched than their position at various times from 1745 down to the present day it would be impossible to imagine. If one, however, trusted the descriptions of some poets and sentimentalists, a happier or more comfortably situated people than the Highlanders at one time were could not be found on the face of the globe. They were always clean, and tidy,

and well dressed, lived in model cottages, surrounded by model gardens, had always abundance of plain wholesome food and drink, were exuberant in their hospitality, doated on their chiefs, carefully cultivated their lands and tended their flocks, but had plenty of time to dance and sing, and narrate round the cheerful winter hearth the legends of their people, and above all, feared God and honoured the king. Now, these statements have no foundation in fact, at least within the historical period; but generally the writers on this side of the question refer generally to the period previous to 1745, and often, in some cases, to a time subsequent to that. Every writer who pretends to record facts, the result of observation, and not to draw imaginary Arcadian pictures, concurs in describing the country as being sunk in the lowest state of wretchedness. The description we have already given of the condition of the people before 1745, applies with intensified force to the greater part of the Highlands for long after that year. Instead of improving, and often there were favourable opportunities for improvement, the people seemed to be retrograding, getting more and more demoralised, more and more miserable, more and more numerous, and more and more famine-struck. In proof of what we say, we refer to all the writers on and travellers in the Highlands of last century, to Pennant, Boswell, Johnson, Newte, Buchanan,³ and especially the Old Statistical Account. To let the reader judge for himself as to the value of the statements we make as to the condition of the Highlands during the latter part of last century, we quote below a longish extract from a pamphlet written by one who had visited and enquired into the state of the Highlands about the year 1780.⁴ It is written

³ *Western Isles.*

⁴ "Upon the whole, the situation of these people, inhabitants of Britain! is such as no language can describe, nor fancy conceive. If, with great labour and fatigue, the farmer raises a slender crop of oats and barley, the autumnal rains often baffle his utmost efforts, and frustrate all his expectations; and instead of being able to pay an exorbitant rent, he sees his family in danger of perishing during the ensuing winter, when he is precluded from any possibility of assistance elsewhere.

"Nor are his cattle in a better situation; in summer they pick up a scanty support amongst the morasses or heathy mountains; but in winter, when the grounds are covered with snow, and when the naked wilds

by one who deploras the extensivo emigration which was going on, but yet who, we are in-

afford neither shelter nor subsistence, the few cows, small, lean, and ready to drop down through want of pasture, are brought into the hut where the family resides, and frequently share with them the small stock of meal which had been purchased, or raised, for the family only; while the cattle thus sustained, are bled occasionally, to afford nourishment for the children after it hath been boiled or made into cakes.

"The sheep being left upon the open heaths, seek to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather amongst the hollows upon the lee-side of the mountains, and here they are frequently buried under the snow for several weeks together, and in severe seasons during two months or upwards. They eat their own and each other's wool, and hold out wonderfully under cold and hunger; but even in moderate winters, a considerable number are generally found dead after the snow hath disappeared, and in rigorous seasons few or none are left alive.

"Meanwhile the steward, hard pressed by letters from Almack's or Newmarket, demands the rent in a tone which makes no great allowance for unpropitious seasons, the death of cattle, and other accidental misfortunes; disguising the feelings of his own breast—his Honour's wants must at any rate be supplied, the bills must be duly negotiated.

"Such is the state of farming, if it may be so called, throughout the interior parts of the Highlands; but as that country hath an extensive coast, and many islands, it may be supposed that the inhabitants of those shores enjoy all the benefits of their maritime situation. This, however, is not the case; those gifts of nature, which in any other commercial kingdom would have been rendered subservient to the most valuable purposes, are in Scotland lost, or nearly so, to the poor natives and the public. The only difference, therefore, between the inhabitants of the interior parts and those of the more distant coasts, consists in this, that the latter, with the labours of the field, have to encounter alternately the dangers of the ocean and all the fatigues of navigation.

"To the distressing circumstances at home, as stated above, new difficulties and toils await the devoted farmer when abroad. He leaves his family in October, accompanied by his sons, brothers, and frequently an aged parent, and embarks on board a small open boat, in quest of the herring fishery, with no other provision than oatmeal, potatoes, and fresh water; no other bedding than heath, twigs, or straw, the covering, if any, an old sail. Thus provided, he searches from bay to bay, through turbulent seas, frequently for several weeks together, before the shoals of herrings are discovered. The glad tidings serve to vary, but not to diminish his fatigues. Unremitting nightly labour (the time when the herrings are taken), pinching cold winds, heavy seas, uninhabited shores covered with snow, or deluged with rains, contribute towards filling up the measure of his distresses; while to men of such exquisite feelings as the Highlanders generally possess, the scene which awaits him at home does it most effectually.

"Having disposed of his capture to the Busses, he returns in January through a long navigation, frequently amidst unceasing hurricanes, not to a comfortable home and a cheerful family, but to a hut composed of turf, without windows, doors, or chimney, environed with snow, and almost hid from the eye by its astonishing depth. Upon entering this solitary mansion, he generally finds a part of his family, sometimes the whole, lying upon heath or straw, languishing through want or epidemical disease; while the few surviving cows, which possess the other

clined to believe, has slightly exaggerated the misery of the Highlanders in order to make the sin of absentee chiefs, who engross farms, and raise enormously the rents, as great as possible. Still, when compared with the statements made by other contemporary authorities, the exaggeration seems by no means great, and making allowances, the picture presented is a mocking, weird contrast to the fancies of the sentimentalist. That such a woful state of things required radical and uncompromising measures of relief, no one can possibly deny. Yet this same writer laments most pitiably that 20,000 of these wretched people had to leave their wretched homes and famine-struck condition, and the oppression of their lairds, for lands and houses of their own in a fairer and more fertile land, where independence and affluence were at the command of all who cared to bend their backs to labour. What good purpose, divine or human, could be served by keeping an increasing population in a land that cannot produce enough to keep the life in one-half of its people? Nothing but misery, and degradation, and oppression here; happiness, advancement, riches, and freedom on the other side of the water. Is there more than one conclusion?

In spite of all the emigration that has taken place from this country, no one has, we daresay, any real dread of depopulation; the population is increasing over all the land every year, not excepting the Highlands. As for soldiers, no

end of the cottage, instead of furnishing further supplies of milk or blood, demand his immediate attention to keep them in existence.

"The season now approaches when he is again to delve and labour the ground, on the same slender prospect of a plentiful crop or a dry harvest. The cattle which have survived the famine of the winter, are turned out to the mountains; and, having put his domestic affairs into the best situation which a train of accumulated misfortunes admits of, he resumes the oar, either in quest of the herring or the white fishery. If successful in the latter, he sets out in his open boat upon a voyage (taking the Hebrides and the opposite coast at a medium distance) of 200 miles, to vend his cargo of dried cod, ling, &c., at Greenock or Glasgow. The produce, which seldom exceeds twelve or fifteen pounds, is laid out, in conjunction with his companions, upon meal and fishing tackle; and he returns through the same tedious navigation.

"The autumn calls his attention again to the field; the usual round of disappointment, fatigue, and distress awaits him; thus dragging through a wretched existence in the hope of soon arriving in that country where the weary shall be at rest."—*A View of the Highlands, &c.*, pp. 3-7.

doubt plenty will be forthcoming when wanted; if not so, it is not for want of men well enough fitted for the occupation. As every one knows, there is seldom a want of willing workers in this country, but far more frequently a great want of work to do.

That by far the larger part of the surface of the Highland districts is suited only for the pasturage of sheep, is the testimony of every one who knows anything about the subject. Those who speak otherwise must either ignore facts or speak of what they do not know, urged merely by impulse and sentimentalism. True, there are many spots consisting of excellent soil suited for arable purposes, but generally where such do occur the climate is so unfavourable to successful agriculture that no expenditure will ever produce an adequate return.⁵ Other patches again, not, however, of frequent occurrence, have everything in their favour, and are capable of producing luxuriant crops as the most fertile district of the lowlands. But nearly all these arable spots, say those who advocate the laying of the whole country under sheep, it is absolutely necessary to retain as winter pasturage, if sheep-farming is to be carried on successfully. The mountainous districts, comprising nearly the whole of the Highlands, are admirably suited for sheep pasturage when the weather is mild; but in winter are so bleak and cold, and exposed to destructive storms, that unless the sheep during winter can be brought down to the low and sheltered grounds, the loss of a great part of the flocks would inevitably be the consequence. Hence, it is maintained, unless nearly the whole of the country is allowed to lie waste, or unless a sheep farmer makes up his mind to carry on an unprofitable business, the arable spots in the valleys and elsewhere must, as a rule, be retained as pasture. And this seems to be the case in most districts. It must not be imagined, however, that the surface of the Highlands is one universal expanse of green and brown fragrant heather; every tourist knows that in almost every glen, by the side of many lochs, streams, and bogs, patches of cultivated land are to be met with,

bearing good crops of oats, barley, potatoes, and turnips. These productions chiefly belong to the large sheep farmers, and are intended for the use of themselves, their servants, and cattle, and but seldom have they any to dispose of. Others of these arable spots belong to small farmers, the race of whom is happily not yet extinct. But, on the whole, it would seem that so far as agricultural products are concerned, the Highlands seldom, if ever, produce sufficient to supply the wants of the inhabitants, importation being thus necessary.

A curious and interesting point connected with the introduction of sheep into the Highlands may be mentioned here:—By means of this innovation, the whole aspect of the country seems to have been changed. Previous to that, the whole country seems to have borne a universal aspect of blackness, rarely relieved by a spot of green, arising from the fact that almost the only product of the mountains was dark-brown heath. Captain Burt and others who visited the Highlands previous to the extensive introduction of sheep, indulge in none of the raptures over Highland scenery, that the most common-place and prosy tourist thinks it his duty to get into at the present day. They speak of the country almost with horror, as a bleak howling wilderness, full of bogs and big boulders, and almost unfit for human habitation. They could see no beauty in the country that it should be desired; it was a place to get out of as soon as possible. How far these sentiments may have been justified by facts it is impossible now to say; but it is the almost universal assertion by the writers in the *Old Statistical Account*, that the appearance of the Highland hills was rapidly changing, and that instead of the universal dark-brown heath which previously covered them, there was springing up the light-brown heath and short green bent or strong grass so well known to all modern tourists. If the Highland hills formerly bore anything like the aspect presented at the present day by the dreary bleak wet hills of Shetland, the remarks of Burt and others need not cause astonishment. But as the great outlines and peculiar features of the country must have been the same then as now, we suspect that these early English adventurers into the High-

⁵ See *Old and New Statistical Accounts, passim.*

lands wanted training in scenery or were determined to see nothing to admire. But, indeed, admiration of and hunting for fine scenery seem to be quite a modern fashion, and were quite unknown to our ancestors in the beginning of last century, or were confined to a few crazy poets. Men require to be trained to use their eyes in this as in many other respects. There can be no doubt that the first impulse to the admiration of the Highlands and Highlanders was given by the poems and novels of Sir Walter Scott; it was he who set the sheepish stream of tourists agoing, and indirectly to him many a Highland hotel-keeper owes a handsome fortune. The fact at all events seems unquestionable, that the extensive introduction of sheep has to a large extent changed the external aspect of the Highlands.

It must not be imagined that, previous to the changes we are speaking of, there were no sheep in the Highlands; there were always a few of a very small native breed, but the staple stock of the Highland farmer was, as we previously mentioned, black cattle. The sheep, however, have also to a very large extent superseded them, a fact which is deplored by those who lament the many innovations which have been introduced since 1745. But by all accounts much of the country is unsuited to the pasturage of black cattle, and as cattle and sheep do not thrive well together, the only alternative seems to be the introduction of sheep alone into those districts unsuited for cattle. "More than one-third of the country consists of mountains and declivities too steep and abrupt for black cattle, and the grass they produce too short and fine to afford them a tolerable pasture except in the height of summer. The greater part of the pasture is therefore lost, though it might all be beneficially consumed with sheep. A flock of sheep will thrive where cows and oxen would starve, and will go at all seasons of the year to such heights as are inaccessible to black cattle. . . . In a situation of this kind the very wool of a flock would amount to more than the whole profit to be obtained by black cattle."⁶ The only conclusion to be drawn from these state-

ments is, that the wisest thing that could be done was to introduce sheep into those districts which were being wasted on black cattle.

Along with the introduction of sheep, indeed, to a great extent caused by that, was the enlargement of farms, which with the raising of rents led to the depopulation of many districts. The old system of letting farms in the Highlands has already been sufficiently explained, and the introduction of sheep seems to have rendered it necessary that this old system should be abolished, and that a large extent of country should be taken by one man. The question between large and small farms does not appear to us to be the same as between the old and new system of letting land. Under the old system, a farm of no great extent was often let to a large number of tenants, who frequently subdivided it still more, by either sub-letting part, or by sharing their respective portions with their newly-married sons and daughters. The testimony as to the perniciousness of this old system is universal; it was, and until recently continued to be, the chief source of all the misfortunes that have afflicted the Highlands. As to whether, however, this old system should have been entirely abolished, or whether some modification of it might not have been retained, has been a matter of dispute. Some maintain that the Highlands can be profitably managed only on the large farm system, and only thus can sheep be made to pay, while others assert that, though many districts are suitable for large farms, still there are others that might with great profit be divided into small holdings. By this latter method, it is said, a fair proportion of all classes would be maintained in the Highlands, noblemen, gentlemen, farmers large and small, cottars, labourers, and that only when there is such a mixture can a country be said to be prosperous. Moreover, it is held a proprietor, who in this country should be considered as a steward rather than the absolute owner of his estate, has no right to exclude the small farmer from having a chance of making a respectable living by the occupation for which he is suited; that he stands in the way of his own and his country's interests when he discourages the

⁶ Walker's *Hebrides and Highlands*.

small farmer, for only by a mixture of the two systems can the land be made the most of; and that, to say the least of it, it is selfish and wrong in proprietors not to consider the case of the poor as well as the rich.

On the question as to the expediency of large or small farms we cannot pretend to be able to judge; we know too little of its real merits. However, it appears to us that there is no reason why both systems cannot be very well combined in many parts of the Highlands, although there are many districts, we believe, totally unsuited for anything else but sheep-farms of the largest dimensions. Were the small farms made large enough to sufficiently support the farmer and his family, and remunerate him for his outlay and labour, were precautions taken against the subdivision of these moderate-sized holdings, and were leases of sufficient duration granted to all, it seems to us that there is nothing in the nature of things why there should not be farms of a small size in the Highlands as well as farms covering many miles in extent. We certainly do think it too bad to cut out the small respectable class of farmers entirely, and put the land of the country in the hands of a sort of farmer aristocracy; it is unfair and prejudicial to the best interests of the country. But the small farmers must first show that they deserve to be considered; certainly the small farmers under the old Highland system, which we believe is not yet quite extinct in some remote districts, deserved only to have the land they so mismanaged taken from them and given to others who could make a better use of it. Some consideration, we think, ought to be had towards the natives of the country, those whose ancestors have occupied the land for centuries, and if they are able to pay as good a rent as others, and show themselves willing to manage the land as well, in all humanity they ought to have the preference. But these are matters which we think ought to be left to adjust themselves according to the inevitable laws which regulate all human affairs. Interference in any way between landlord and tenant by way of denunciation, vituperation, or legislation, seems to us only to make matters worse. It seems to us that the simplest commercial maxims—the laws of profit and loss, if

they have fair play—will ultimately lead to the best system of managing the land of the Highlands and of every other district, both in the interests of the proprietors and those of the tenants. If proprietors find it most profitable to let their lands in large lots, either for agriculture, for cattle, for sheep, or for deer, there is no reason why they should not do so, and there is no doubt that in the end what is most advantageous to the proprietor is so to the tenant, and *vice versa*, as also to the country at large. If, on the other hand, it be found that letting land in small lots is more profitable than the other practice, few proprietors, we daresay, would hesitate to cut up their land into suitable lots. But all this, we think, must be left to experiment, and it cannot be said that the Highlands as a whole have as yet got beyond the stage of probation; changes from small to large and from large to small farms—mostly the former—and changes from sheep to deer and deer to sheep are still going on; but, no doubt, ere long both proprietors and tenants of land will find out what their real common interest is, and adjust themselves in their proper relations to each other. It is best to leave them alone and allow them to fight the battle out between themselves. Interference was attempted at the end of last century to stop emigration and to settle the ousted tenants on small lots by the sea-shore, where both fishing and farming could be carried on, but the interference did no good. Emigration was not diminished, although curiously it was the proprietors themselves, who subsequently did their best to promote emigration, that at this time attempted to stop it. The people seem generally until lately to have been quite willing and even anxious to emigrate at least those of most intelligence; not that they cared not for their country, but that, however much they loved it, there was no good in staying at home when nothing but misery and starvation stared them in the face. We say that the landlords and others, including the Highland Society, interfered, and endeavoured to get government to interfere, to prevent the great emigrations which were going on, and which they feared would ere long leave the country utterly peopleless. But the interference was of no use, and was quite

uncalled for. Emigration still went on, and will go on so long as there is a necessity for it; and the country will always have plenty of inhabitants so long as it can afford a decent subsistence. When men know better the laws of sociology—the laws which govern human affairs—interference of this kind will be simply laughed at.

The scheme of the landlords—who, while they raised the rents and extended their farms, were still loath to lose their numerous tenants and retainers—of settling those on the coast where they could combine farming and fishing, failed also, for the simple reason that, as it has been fairly proved, one man cannot unite successfully the two occupations in his own person. In this sense “no man can serve two masters.” “No two occupations can be more incompatible than farming and fishing, as the seasons which require undivided exertion in fishing are precisely those in which the greatest attention should be devoted to agriculture. Grazing, which is less incompatible with fishing than agriculture, is even found to distract the attention and prevent success in either occupation. This is demonstrated by the very different success of those who unite both occupations from those who devote themselves exclusively to fishing. Indeed, the industrious fisher finds the whole season barely sufficient for the labours of his proper occupation.”⁷ It seems clear, then, that the Highland proprietors should be left alone and allowed to dispose of their land as they think fit, just as the owner of any other commercial commodity takes it to whatever market he chooses, and no harm accrues from it. If the Highland peasantry and farmers see it to be to their advantage to leave their native land and settle in a far-off soil where they will have some good return for hard work, we do not see that there is any call for interference or lamentation. Give all help and counsel to those who require and deserve them by all means either to stay at home or go abroad; but to those who are able to think and free to act for themselves nothing is necessary but to be left alone.

As we have already said, another cause

of emigration besides sheep-farming, though to some extent associated with it, was the raising of rents. Naturally enough, when the number of tenants upon a laird's estate ceased to make him of importance and give him power, he sought by raising his rents to give himself the importance derived from a large income. There can be no doubt that, previous to this, farms were let far below their real value, and often at a merely nominal rent; and thus one of the greatest incitements to industry was wanting in the case of the Highland tenants, for when a man knows that his landlord will not trouble him about his rent, but would rather let him go scot-free than lose him, it is too much to expect of human nature in general that it will bestir itself to do what it feels there is no absolute necessity for. Thus habits of idleness were engendered in the Highlanders, and the land, for want of industrious cultivation, was allowed to run comparatively waste. That the thinning of the population gave those who remained a better chance of improving their condition, is testified to by many writers in the *Old Statistical Account*, and by other contemporary authorities, including even Dr Walker, who was no friend to emigration. He says,⁸ “these measures in the management of property, and this emigration, were by no means unfriendly to the population of the country. The sub-tenants, who form the bulk of the people, were not only retained but raised in their situation, and rendered more useful and independent.” It is amusing now to read Dr Walker's remarks on the consequences of emigration from the Highlands; had his fears been substantiated,—and had they been well grounded, they ought to have been by this time, for sheep-farming, rent-raising, depopulation, and emigration have been going on rapidly ever since his time—the Highlands must now have been “a waste howling wilderness.” “If the [Highlanders],” he says,⁹ “are expelled, the Highlands never can be reclaimed or improved by any other set of men, but must remain a mere grazing-field for England and the South of Scotland. By this alteration, indeed, the present rents may, no doubt, be augmented, but they must become

⁷ *Essay on The Fisheries of Scotland, in Highland Society Prize Essays, vol. ii.*

⁸ *Hebrides and Highlands, vol. ii. p. 406.*

⁹ *Idem, p. 409.*

immediately stationary, without any prospect of further advancement, and will in time from obvious causes be liable to great diminution. All improvement of the country must cease when the people to improve it are gone. The soil must remain unsubdued for ever, and the progress of the Highlands must be finally stopt, while all the cultivated wastes of the kingdom are advancing in population and wealth." How these predictions have been belied by facts, all who know anything of the progress of the Highlands during the present century must perceive. All these changes and even grievances have taken place, and yet the Highlands are far enough from anything approximating to depopulation or unproductiveness, and rents, we believe, have not yet ceased to rise.

Notwithstanding the large emigration which has been going on, the population of the Highlands at the census of 1861 was at least 70,000 greater than it was in the time of Dr Walker.¹ The emigration, especially from the west, does not seem to have been large enough, for periodically, up even to the present day, a rueful call for help to save from famine comes from that quarter." This very year (1863) the cry of destitution in Skye has been loud as ever, and yet from no part of the Highlands has there been a more extensive emigration. From the very earliest period in the history of emigration down to this date, Skye has been largely drawn upon, and yet the body of the people in Skye were never more wretched than at this moment."² Dr Walker himself states that, in spite of an emigration of about 6000 between the years 1771 and 1794 from the Hebrides and Western Highlands, the population had increased by about 40,000 during the forty years subsequent to 1750.³ Yet though he knew of the wretched condition of the country from an over-crowded population, practical man as he was, he gives way to the vague and unjustifiable fears expressed above. It is no doubt sad to see the people of a country, and these possessing many high qualities, compelled to leave it in order to get room to breathe; but to tirade against emigra-

tion as Dr Walker and others do in the face of such woful facts as are known concerning the condition of the Highlands is mere selfish and wicked sentimentalism.

Another fact, stated by the same author, and which might have taught him better doctrines in connection with some of the border parishes, is worth introducing here. The population of seventeen parishes in Dumbartonshire, Perthshire, and Argyllshire, bordering on the low country, decreased in population between 1755 and 1795, from 30,525 to 26,748, *i.e.*, by 3,787; these parishes having been during that time to a great extent laid out in cattle and sheep. Now, according to the *Old Statistical Account* (about 1795), these very parishes were on the whole among the most prosperous in the Highlands, those in which improvements were taking place most rapidly, and in which the condition of the people was growing more and more comfortable. It appears to us clear that the population of the Highlands did require a very considerable thinning; that depopulation to a certain extent was, and in some places still is, a necessary condition to improvement.

The main question is, we think, how to get these districts which are in a state of wretchedness and retrogression from over-population rid of the surplus. Unless some sudden check be put upon the rate of increase of the general population, there never will be a lack of hands to bring in the waste places when wanted, and to supply all other demands for men. No doubt, it is a pity, if it be the case, that any extensive districts which could be brought to a high style of cultivation, and would then be better employed than in pasture should be allowed to lie waste, when there is every necessity for the land being made to yield as much as possible. And if the Highlanders are willing, it certainly does seem to be better to keep them at home and employ them for such purposes rather than let them go abroad and give their services to strangers. We should fancy the larger a population there is in a country where there is room enough for them, and which can give them enough to eat and drink, the better for that country. All we maintain is, that it being proved that the population in many parts of the Highlands having been redundant,

¹ Social Science Transactions for 1863, p. 608.

² *Idem.*

³ *Hebrides, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 401

so much so as to lead to misery and degradation, it was far better that the surplus should emigrate than that they should be kept at home to increase the misery and be an obstruction to the progress of the country. Keep them at home if possible; if not, permit them without any weak sentimental lamentation to go abroad. It has been said that if the Highlander is compelled to leave his native glen, he would as soon remove to a distance of 4000 as to a distance of 40 miles; and that indeed many of them, since they must move, prefer to leave the country altogether rather than settle in any part of it out of sight of their native hills. There is no doubt much truth in this, so that the outcry about keeping the Highlanders at home is to a great extent uncalled for; they don't wish to stay at home. Still many of them have been willing to settle in the lowlands or in other parts of the Highlands. We have already referred to the great services rendered by the ousted tenants on the borders of the Perthshire and Dumbartonshire Highlands who settled in the neighbourhood of Stirling and reclaimed many thousand acres of Kincairdine moss, now a fertile strath. Similar services have been rendered to other barren parts of the country by many Highlanders, who formerly spent their time in lolling idleness, but who, when thus given the opportunity, showed themselves to be as capable of active and profitable exertion as any lowland peasant or farmer. Many Highlanders also, when deprived of their farms, removed to some of our large towns, and by their exertions raised themselves and their families to an honourable and comfortable position, such as they could never have hoped to reach had they never left their native hills. By all means keep the Highlanders at home if they are willing to stay and there is work for them to do; but what purpose can be served in urging them to stay at home if the consequence be to increase the already enormous sort of pauperism?

That the landlords, the representatives of the old chiefs, were not accountable for much of the evil that flowed from the changes of which we have been speaking, no one who knows the history of the Highlands during the last century will venture to assert. Had they

all uniformly acted towards their old tenants with humanity, judiciousness, and unselfishness, much misery, misunderstanding, and bitter ill-will might have been avoided. It is, we venture to believe, quite against the spirit of the British constitution as it now exists, and quite out of accordance with enlightened reason and justice, not to say humanity, that these or any other landed proprietors should be allowed to dispose of their land as they choose without any consideration for the people whose fathers have been on it for centuries, or without regard to the interests of the country to which the land belongs. Many of the Highland proprietors, in their haste to get rich, or at least to get money to spend in the fashionable world, either mercilessly, and without warning, cleared their estates of the tenants, or most unseasonably oppressed them in the matter of rent. The great fault of many of the landlords—for they were not all alike—was in bringing about too suddenly changes, in themselves, perhaps, desirable enough. Rents seem to have been too suddenly raised to such a rate as tended to inspire the tenant with despair of being able to meet it. Some also, in their desire to introduce the large farm system, swept the tenants off the ground without warning, and left them to provide for themselves; while others made a show of providing for them by settling them in hamlets by the seaside, where, in general, they were worse off than ever. It was in their utter want of consideration for these old tenants that many of the Highland landlords were to blame. Had they raised the rents gradually, extended the size of their farms slowly, giving the old tenants a chance under the new system, and doing their best to put these necessarily ejected in a way of making a living for themselves, tried to educate their people up to the age in the matter of agriculture, social habits, and other matters; lived among them, and shown them a good example;—in short, as proprietors, rigidly done their duty to their tenants, as descendants of the old chiefs treated with some tender consideration the sons of those who worshipped and bled for the fathers of their clan, and as men, shown some charity and kindness to their poorer brethren, the improvement of the Highlands might have been brought

about at a much less expense of misery and rancour. That these old Highlanders were open to improvement, enlightenment, and education, when judiciously managed, is proved by what took place in some of the border and other districts, where many improvements were effected without great personal inconvenience to any one, and without any great or sudden diminution of the population. Especially in the Western and Northern Highlands and the Islands, the landlords went to extremes in both directions. Some of them acted as we have just indicated, while others again, moved by a laudable consideration for, and tenderness towards the old tenants, retained the old system of small holdings, which they allowed to be now and then still more subdivided, endeavouring, often unsuccessfully, to obtain a rise of rent. In most cases the latter course was as fatal and as productive of misery and ruin as the former. Indeed, in some cases it was more so; for not only was the lot of the tenant not improved, but the laird had ultimately to sell his estate for behoof of his creditors, and himself emigrate to the lowlands or to a foreign country. This arose from the fact that, as the number of tenants increased, the farms were diminished in size more and more, until they could neither support the tenant nor yield the landlord a rent adequate to his support. In this way have many of the old hospitable chiefs with small estates dropped out of sight; and their places filled by some rich lowland merchants, who would show little tenderness to the helpless tenantry.

But it is an easy matter now to look calmly back on these commotions and changes among the Highlanders, and allot praise or blame to chiefs and people for the parts they played, forgetting all the time how difficult these parts were. Something decisive had to be done to prevent the Highlands from sinking into inconceivable misery and barbarism; and had the lairds sat still and done nothing but allowed their estates to be managed on the old footing, ruin to themselves and their tenants would have been the consequence, as indeed was the case with most of those who did so. It was very natural, then, that they should deem it better to save themselves at the expense of their tenants, than that both land and tenants

should be involved in a common ruin. They were not the persons to find out the best mode of managing their estates, so that they themselves might be saved, and the welfare of their tenants only considered. In some cases, no doubt, the lairds were animated by utter indifference as to the fate of their tenants; but we are inclined to think these were few, and that most of them would willingly have done much for the welfare of their people, and many of them did what they could; but their first and most natural instinct was that of self-preservation, and in order to save themselves, they were frequently compelled to resort to measures which brought considerable suffering upon their poor tenants. We have no doubt most did their best, according to their knowledge and light, to act well their parts, and deal fairly with their people; but the parts were so difficult, and the actors were so unaccustomed to their new situation, that they are not to be too severely blamed if they sometimes blundered. No matter how gently changes might have been brought about, suffering and bitterness would necessarily to a certain extent have followed; and however much we may deplore the great amount of unnecessary suffering that actually occurred, still we think the lasting benefits which have accrued to the Highlands from the changes which were made, far more than counterbalance this temporary evil.

What we have been saying, while it applies to many recent changes in the Highlands, refers chiefly to the period between 1750 and 1800, during which the Highlands were in a state of universal fermentation, and chiefs and people were only beginning to realise their position and perceive what were their true interests. We shall very briefly notice one or two other matters of interest connected with that period.

The only manufacture of any consequence that has ever been introduced into the Highlands is that of kelp, which is the ashes of various kinds of sea-weed containing some of the salts, potash, and chiefly soda, used in some of the manufactures, as soap, alum, glass, &c. It is used as a substitute for barilla, imported from Spain, America, and other places, during the latter part of last century, on

account of the American and continental wars, as well as of the high duties imposed on the importation of salt and similar commodities. The weeds are cut from the rocks with a hook or collected on the shore, and dried to a certain degree on the beach. They are afterwards burnt in a kiln, in which they are constantly stirred with an iron rake until they reach a fluid state; and when they cool, the ashes become condensed into a dark blue or whitish-coloured mass, nearly of the hardness and solidity of rock. The manufacture is carried on during June, July, and August; and even at the present day, in some parts of the Islands and Highlands, affords occupation to considerable numbers of both sexes.⁴ This manufacture seems to have been introduced into some of the lowland parts of the Scottish coast early in the eighteenth century, but was not thoroughly established in the Highlands till about the year 1750. At first it was of little importance, but gradually the manufacture spread until it became universal over all the western islands and coasts, and the value of the article, from the causes above-mentioned, rose rapidly from about £1 per ton, when first introduced, to from £12 to £20 per ton⁵ about the beginning of the present century. While the great value of the article lasted, rents rose enormously, and the income of proprietors of kelp-shore rose in proportion. As an example, it may be stated that the rent of the estate of Clanranald in South Uist previous to 1790 was £2200, which, as kelp increased in value, rapidly rose to £15,000.⁶ While the kelp season lasted, the whole time of the people was occupied in its manufacture, and the wages they received, while it added somewhat to their scanty income, and increased their comfort, were small in proportion to the time and labour they gave, and to the prices received by those to whom the kelp belonged. Moreover, while the kelp-fever lasted, the cultivation of the ground and other agricultural matters seem to have been to a great extent neglected, extravagant habits were contracted by the proprietors, whose incomes were thus so considerably increased, and the permanent improve-

ment of their estates were neglected in their eagerness to make the most of an article whose value, they did not perceive, was entirely factitious, and could not be lasting. Instead of either laying past their surplus income or expending it on the permanent improvement of their estates, they very foolishly lived up to it, or borrowed heavily in the belief that kelp would never decrease in value. The consequence was that when the duties were taken off the articles for which kelp was used as a substitute in the earlier part of the 19th century, the price of that article gradually diminished till it could fetch, about 1830-40, only from £2 to £4 a ton. With this the incomes of the proprietors of kelp-shores also rapidly decreased, landing not a few of them in ruin and bankruptcy, and leading in some instances to the sale of the estates. The income above mentioned, after the value of kelp decreased, fell rapidly from £15,000 to £5000. The manufacture of this article is still carried on in the West Highlands and Islands, and to a greater extent in Orkney, but although it occupies a considerable number of hands, it is now of comparatively little importance, much more of the sea-weed being employed as manure. While it was at its best, however, the manufacture of this article undoubtedly increased to a very large extent the revenue of the West Highlands, and gave employment to and kept at home a considerable number of people who otherwise might have emigrated. Indeed, it was partly on account of the need of many hands for kelp-making that proprietors did all they could to prevent the emigration of those removed from the smaller farms, and tried to induce them to settle on the coast. On the whole, it would seem that this sudden source of large income ultimately did more harm than good to the people and to the land. While this manufacture flourished, the land was to a certain extent neglected, and the people somewhat unfitted for agricultural labour; instead of looking upon this as a temporary source of income, and living accordingly, both they and the proprietors lived as if it should never fail, so that when the value of kelp rapidly decreased, ruin and absolute poverty stared both proprietors and people in the face. Moreover, by preventing the small tenants from leaving

⁴ *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 95.

⁵ *New Statistical Account of Barony*.

⁶ *New Stat. Account of South Uist*

the country, and accumulating them on the coasts, the country became enormously over-peopled, so that when the importance of this source of employment waned, multitudes were left with little or no means of livelihood, and the temporary benefits which accrued to the Highlanders from the adventitious value of kelp, indirectly entailed upon them ultimately hardships and misfortunes greater than ever they experienced before, and retarded considerably their progress towards permanent improvement.

By all accounts the potato, introduced from Chili into Spain about the middle of the sixteenth century, was first introduced into Ireland by or through the instrumentality of Sir Walter Raleigh about the end of that century. From Ireland it seems shortly after to have been introduced into England, although its cultivation did not become anything like common till more than a century afterwards, and its use seems to have been restricted to the upper classes.⁷ Its value as a staple article of food for the poorer classes remained for long unappreciated. According to the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, potatoes were first cultivated in the fields there in the county of Stirling, in the year 1739, although for long after that, in many parts of the country, they were planted only as a garden vegetable. According to Dr Walker, potatoes were first introduced into the Hebrides from Ireland in the year 1743, the island of South Uist being the first to welcome the strange root, although the welcome from the inhabitants seems to have been anything but hearty. The story of its introduction, as told by Dr Walker,⁸ is amusing, though somewhat ominous when read in the light of subsequent melancholy facts. "In the spring of that year, old Clanronald was in Ireland, upon a visit to his relation, Macdonnel of Antrim; he saw with surprise and approbation the practice of the country, and having a vessel of his own along with him, brought home a large cargo of potatoes. On his arrival, the tenants in the island were convened, and directed how to plant them, but they all refused. On this they were all committed to prison. After a little confinement,

they agreed, at last, to plant these unknown roots, of which they had a very unfavourable opinion. When they were raised in autumn, they were laid down at the chieftain's gate, by some of the tenants, who said, the Laird indeed might order them to plant these foolish roots, but they would not be forced to eat them. In a very little time, however, the inhabitants of South Uist came to know better, when every man of them would have gone to prison rather than not plant potatoes."

By the year 1760 potatoes appear to have become a common crop all over the country; and by 1770 they seem to have attained to that importance as a staple article of food for the common people which they have ever since maintained.⁹ The importance of the introduction of this valuable article of food, in respect both of the weal and the woe of the Highlands, cannot be over-estimated. As an addition to the former scanty means of existence it was invaluable; had it been used only as an addition the Highlanders might have been spared much suffering. Instead of this, however, it ere long came to be regarded as so all-important, to be cultivated to such a large extent, and to the exclusion of other valuable productions, and to be depended upon by the great majority of the Highlanders as almost their sole food, that one failure in the crop by disease or otherwise must inevitably have entailed famine and misery. For so large a share of their food did the common Highlanders look to potatoes, that, according to the *Old Statistical Account*, in many places they fed on little else for nine months in the year.

The first remarkable scarcity subsequent to 1745 appears to have been in the year 1770,¹ arising apparently from the unusual severity of the weather, causing the destruction of most of the crops, and many of the cattle. That, however, of 1782-83 seems to have been still more terrible, and universal over all the Highlands, according to the *Old Statistical Account*. It was only the interference of government and the charity of private individuals that prevented multitudes from dying of starvation. Neither of these famines, however, seem to have been

⁷ *Rural Cyclopaedia*, article POTATO.

⁸ *Hebrides and Highlands*, vol. i. p. 251.

⁹ Tennant's *Tour*, vol. ii. p. 306.

¹ Johnson's *Tour*, p. 196, and Pennant in several places.

caused by any failure in the potato crop from disease, but simply by the inclemency of seasons. But when to this latter danger there came subsequently to be added the liability of the staple article of food to fail from disease, the chances of frequently recurring famines came to be enormously increased. About 1838 potatoes constituted four-fifths of the food of the common Highlanders.² However, we are anticipating. It is sufficient to note here as a matter of great importance in connection with the later social history of the Highlands, the universal cultivation of the potato sometime after the middle of the eighteenth century. Even during the latter part of last century, potato-disease was by no means unknown, though it appears to have been neither so destructive nor so widespread as some of the forms of disease developed at a later period. New forms of disease attacked the root during the early part of the present century, working at times considerable havoc, but never apparently inducing anything approaching a famine. But about 1840, the potato disease *par excellence* seems to have made its first appearance, and after visiting various parts of the world, including the Highlands, it broke out generally in 1845, and in 1846 entailed upon the Highlands indescribable suffering and hardship. Of this, however, more shortly. One effect attributed frequently in the *Old Statistical Account* to the introduction and immoderate use of the potato is the appearance of diseases before unknown or very rare. One of the principal of these was dropsy, which, whether owing to the potato or not, became certainly more prevalent after it came into common use, if we may trust the testimony of the writers of the *Statistical Account*.

In looking back, then, by the aid of the authority just mentioned, along with others, on the progress made by the Highlands during the latter half of the eighteenth century, while there is much to sadden, still there is much that is cheering. The people generally appear in a state of ferment and discontent with themselves, and doing their best blindly to grope their way to a better position. While still there remain many traces of the old

thralldom, there are many indications that freedom and a desire after true progress were slowly spreading among the people. Many of the old grievous services were still retained; still were there many districts thirled to particular mills; still were leases rare and tenures uncertain, and rents frequently paid in kind; in many districts the houses were still unsightly and uncomfortable huts, the clothing scanty, and the food wretched and insufficient. In most Highland districts, we fear, the old Scotch plough, with its four or five men, and its six or ten cattle, was still the principal instrument of tillage; drainage was all but unknown; the land was overstocked in many places with people and cattle; the ground was scourged with incessant cropping, and much of the produce wasted in the gathering and in the preparing it for food. Education in many places was entirely neglected, schools few and far between, and teachers paid worse than ploughmen! The picture has certainly a black enough background, but it is not unrelieved by a few bright and hopeful streaks.

On many parts of the border-Highlands improvements had been introduced which placed them in every respect on a level with the lowlands. Many of the old services had been abolished, leases introduced, the old and inefficient agricultural instrument replaced by others made on the most approved system. Houses, food, and clothing were all improved; indeed, in the case of the last article, there is frequent complaint made that too much attention and money were expended on mere ornamentation. The old method of constant cropping had in not a few districts been abolished, and a proper system of rotation established; more attention was paid to proper manuring and ingathering, and instead of restricting the crops, as of old, to oats and barley, many other new cereals, and a variety of green crops and grasses had been introduced. Not only in the districts bordering on the Lowlands, but in many other parts of the Highlands, the breed of sheep, and cattle, and horses had been improved, and a much more profitable system of management introduced. By means of merciful emigration, the by far too redundant population of the Highlands had been considerably reduced, the position

² Fullarton & Baird's *Remarks on the Highlands and Islands*, p. 10. 1838.

of those who left the country vastly improved, and more room and more means of living afforded to those who remained. A more rational system of dividing the land prevailed in many places, and sheep-farming—for which alone, according to all unprejudiced testimony, the greater part of the surface of the Highlands is fitted—had been extensively introduced. The want of education was beginning to be felt, and in many districts means were being taken to spread its advantages, while the moral and religious character of the people, as a whole, stood considerably above the average of most other districts of Scotland. In short, the Highlanders, left to themselves, were advancing gradually towards that stage of improvement which the rest of the country had reached, and the natural laws which govern society had only not to be thwarted and impertinently interfered with, to enable the Highlanders ere long to be as far forward as the rest of their countrymen. From the beginning of this century down to the present time they have had much to struggle with, many trials to undergo, and much unnecessary interference to put up with, but their progress has been sure and steady, and even comparatively rapid. We must glance very briefly at the state of the Highlands during the present century; great detail is uncalled for, as much that has been said concerning the previous period applies with equal force to the present.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Progress of Highlands during present century—Depopulation and emigration—Questions between landlords and tenants—Hardships of the ousted tenants—Sutherland clearings—Compulsory emigration—Famines—Poorer tenants compelled to take service—Sir John M'Neill's Report—Changes complained of inevitable—Emigration the only remedy—Large and small farms—Experiments—Highlanders succeed when left to themselves—Substitution of deer for sheep—Recent state of Highlands—Means of improvement—Increased facilities for intercourse of great value—Population of chief Highland counties—Highland colonies—Attachment of Highlanders to their old home—Conclusion.

THE same causes have been at work and the same processes going on since 1800, as there were during the latter half of last century.

Taking stand at the date, about 1840, of the *New Statistical Account*, and looking back, the conclusion which, we think, any unprejudiced inquirer must come to is, that the Highlands as a whole had improved immensely. With the exception of some of the Western Islands, agriculture and sheep-farming at the above date were generally abreast of the most improved lowland system, and the social condition of the people was but little, if any, behind that of the inhabitants of any other part of the country. In most places the old Scotch plough was abolished, and the improved two-horse one introduced; manuring was properly attended to, and a system of rotation of crops introduced; runrig was all but abolished, and the land properly inclosed; in short, during the early half of the present century the most approved agricultural methods had been generally adopted, where agriculture was of any importance. Thirlage, multures, services, payment in kind, and other oppressions and obstructions to improvement, were fast dying out, and over a great part of the country the houses, food, clothing, and social condition of the people generally were vastly improved from what they were half a century before. Education, moreover, was spreading, and schools were multiplied, especially after the disruption of the Established Church in 1843, the Free Church laudably planting schools in many places where they had never been before. In short, one side of the picture is bright and cheering enough, although the other is calculated to fill a humane observer with sadness.

Depopulation and emigration went on even more vigorously than before. Nearly all the old lairds and those imbued with the ancient spirit of the chiefs had died out, and a young and new race had now the disposal of the Highland lands, a race who had little sympathy with the feelings and prejudices of the people, and who were, naturally, mainly anxious to increase as largely as possible their rent-roll. In the earlier part of the century at least, as in the latter half of the previous one, few of the proprietors wished, strictly speaking, to depopulate their estates, and compel the inhabitants to emigrate, but simply to clear the interior of the small farms into which many properties

were divided, convert the whole ground into sheep pasture, let it out in very large farms, and remove the ejected population to the coasts, there to carry on the manufacture of kelp, or engage in fishing. It was only when the value of kelp decreased, and the fishing proved unprofitable, that compulsory emigration was resorted to.

It is unnecessary to say more here on the question of depopulation and emigration, the question between Highland landlords and Highland tenants, the dispute as to whether large or small farms are to be preferred, and whether the Highlands are best suited for sheep and cattle or for men and agriculture. Most that has been written on the subject has been in advocacy of either the one side or the other; one party, looking at the question exclusively from the tenant's point of view, while the other writes solely in the interests of the landlords. The question has scarcely yet been dispassionately looked at, and perhaps cannot be for a generation or two yet, when the bitter feelings engendered on both sides shall have died out, when both landlords and tenants will have found out what is best for themselves and for the country at large, and when the Highlands will be as settled and prosperous as the Lothians and the Carse of Gowrie. There can be no doubt, however, that very frequently landlords and their agents acted with little or no consideration for the most cherished old feelings, prejudices, and even rights, of the tenants, whom they often treated with less clemency than they would have done sheep and cattle. It ought to have been remembered that the Highland farmers and cottars were in a condition quite different from those in the lowlands. Most of them rented farms which had been handed down to them from untold generations, and which they had come to regard as as much belonging to them as did the castle to the chief. They had no idea of lowland law and lowland notions of property, so that very often, when told to leave their farms and their houses, they could not realise the order, and could scarcely believe that it came from the laird, the descendant of the old chiefs, for whom their fathers fought and died. Hence the sad necessity often, of laying waste their farms, driving off their cattle, and burn-

ing their houses about their ears, before the legal officers could get the old tenants to quit the glens and hill-sides where their fathers had for centuries dwelt. It was not sheer pig-headed obstinacy or a wish to defy the law which induced them to act thus; only once, we think, in Sutherland, was there anything like a disturbance, when the people gathered together and proceeded to drive out the sheep which were gradually displacing themselves. The mere sight of a soldier dispersed the mob, and not a drop of blood was spilt. When forced to submit and leave their homes they did so quietly, having no spirit to utter even a word of remonstrance. They seemed like a people amazed, bewildered, taken by surprise, as much so often as a family would be did a father turn them out of his house to make room for strangers. In the great majority of instances, the people seem quietly to have done what they were told, and removed from their glens to the coast, while those who could afford it seem generally to have emigrated. Actual violence seems to have been resorted to in very few cases.

Still the hardships which had to be endured by many of the ousted tenants, and the unfeeling rigour with which many of them were treated is sad indeed to read of. Many of them had to sleep in eaves, or shelter themselves, parents and children, under the lee of a rock or a dyke, keeping as near as they could to the ruins of their burnt or fallen cottage, and living on what shell-fish they could gather on the shore, wild roots dug with their fingers, or on the scanty charity of their neighbours; for all who could had emigrated. Many of the proprietors, of course, did what they could to provide for the ousted tenants, believing that the driving of them out was a sad necessity. Houses, and a small piece of ground for each family, were provided by the shore, on some convenient spot, help was given to start the fishing, or employment in the manufacture of kelp, and as far as possible their new condition was made as bearable as possible. Indeed, we are inclined to believe, that but few of the landlords acted from mere wantonness, or were entirely dead to the interests of the old tenants; but that, their own interests naturally being of the greatest importance to them, and some

radical change being necessary in the management of lands in the Highlands, the lairds thoughtlessly acted as many of them did. It was the natural rebound from the old system when the importance and wealth of a chief were rated at the number of men on his estate; and although the consequent suffering is to be deplored, still, perhaps, it was scarcely to be avoided. It is easy to say that had the chiefs done this or the government done the other thing, much suffering might have been spared, and much benefit accrued to the Highlanders; but all the suffering in the world might be spared did people know exactly when and how to interfere. It would be curious, indeed, if in the case of the Highlands the faults were all on one side. We believe that the proprietors acted frequently with harshness and selfishness, and did not seek to realise the misery they were causing. They were bound, more strongly bound perhaps than the proprietors of any other district, to shew some consideration for the people on their estates, and not to act as if proprietors had the sole right to benefit by the land of a country, and that the people had no right whatever. Had they been more gentle, introduced the changes gradually and judiciously, and given the native Highlanders a chance to retrieve themselves, much permanent good might have been done, and much suffering and bitterness spared. But so long as the world is merely learning how to live, groping after what is best, so long as men act on blind unreasoning impulse, until all men learn to act according to the immutable laws of Nature, so long will scenes such as we have been referring to occur. The blame, however, should be laid rather to ignorance than to wanton intention.

Of all the Highland counties, perhaps Sutherland is better known than any other in connection with the commotions which agitated the Highlands during the early part of this century, and, according to all accounts, the depopulation is more marked there than anywhere else. The clearance of that county of the old tenants, their removal to the coast, and the conversion of the country into large sheep-farms commenced about 1810, under the Marquis of Stafford, who had married the heiress of the Sutherland estate. The clearing

was, of course, carried out by Mr Sellar, the factor, who, on account of some of the proceedings to which he was a party, was tried before a Court of Justiciary, held at Inverness in 1816, for culpable homicide and oppression. Many witnesses were examined on both sides, and, after a long trial, the jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty," in which the judge, Lord Pitmilley, completely concurred. This, we think, was the only verdict that could legally be given, not only in the case of the Sutherland clearings, but also in the case of most of the other estates where such measures were carried on. The tenants were all duly warned to remove a considerable number of weeks before the term, and as few of them had many chattels to take with them, this could easily have been done. Most of them generally obeyed the warning, although a few, generally the very poor and very old, refused to budge from the spot of their birth. The factor and his officers, acting quite according to law, compelled them, sometimes by force, to quit the houses, which were then either burnt or pulled to the ground. As a rule, these officers of the law seem to have done their duty as gently as law officers are accustomed to do; but however mildly such a duty had been performed, it could not but entail suffering to some extent, especially on such a people as many of the Highlanders were who knew not how to make a living beyond the bounds of their native glen. The pictures of suffering drawn, some of them we fear too true, are sometimes very harrowing, and any one who has been brought up among the hills, or has dwelt for a summer in a sweet Highland glen, can easily fancy with how sad a heart the Highlander must have taken his last long lingering look of the little cottage, however rude, where he passed his happiest years, nestled at the foot of a sunny brae, or guarded by some towering crag, and surrounded with the multitudinous beauties of weed and vale, heather and ferns, soft knell and rugged mountain. The same result as has followed in the Highlands has likewise taken place in other parts of the country, without the same outcry about depopulation, suffering, emigration, &c., simply because it has been brought about gradually. The process commenced in the

Highlands only about a hundred years since, was commenced in the lowlands and elsewhere centuries ago; the Highlanders have had improvements thrust upon them, while the lowlanders were allowed to develop themselves.

After the decline in the price of kelp (about 1820), when it ceased to be the interest of the proprietors to accumulate people on the shore, they did their best to induce them to emigrate, many proprietors helping to provide ships for those whom they had dispossessed of their lands and farms. Indeed, until well on in the present century, the Highlanders generally seem to have had no objections to emigrate, but, on the contrary, were eager to do so whenever they could, often going against the will of the lairds and of those who dreaded the utter depopulation of the country and a dearth of recruits for the army. But about 1840 and after, compulsion seems often to have been used to make the people go on board the ships provided for them by the lairds, who refused to give them shelter on any part of their property. But little compulsion, however, in the ordinary sense of the term, seems to have been necessary, as the Highlanders, besides having a hereditary tendency to obey their superiors, were dazed, bewildered, and dispirited by what seemed to them the cruel, heartless, and unjust proceedings of their lairds.

The earliest extensive clearing probably took place on the estate of Glengarry, the traditional cause of it being that the laird's lady had taken umbrage at the clan. "Summonses of ejection were served over the whole property, even on families most closely connected with the chief."³ From that time down to the present day, the clearing off of the inhabitants of many parts of the Highlands has been steadily going on. We have already spoken of the Sutherland clearings, which were continued down to a comparatively recent time. All the Highland counties to a greater or less

extent have been subjected to the same kind of thinning, and have contributed their share of emigrants to America, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere. It would serve no purpose to enter into details concerning the clearing of the several estates in the various Highland counties; much, as we have said, has been written on both sides, and if faith can be put in the host of pamphlets that have been issued during the present century on the side of the ejected Highlanders, some of the evictions were conducted with great cruelty;⁴ much greater cruelty and disregard for the people's feelings than we think there was any need for, however justifiable and necessary the evictions and clearings were.

We have already referred to the frequent occurrence of famines during the past and present centuries in the Highlands, arising from the failure of the crops, principally, latterly, through the failure of the potatoes. These frequent famines gave a stimulus to emigration, as, of course, the people were anxious to escape from their misery, and the proprietors were glad to get quit of the poor they would otherwise have had to support. Besides the failure of the crops, other causes operated, according to Mr Tregelles, in the pamphlet already referred to, to produce the frequent occurrence of distress in the Highlands; such as the relation of landlord and tenant, the defective character of the poor-law, the excessive division and subdivision of the land, the imprudence and ignorance of some of the peasantry, inertness, also consequent on chronic poverty, want of capital. Every few years, up even to the present time, a cry of distress comes from the Highlands. Besides the famines already referred to in 1837 and 1846, a still more severe and distressing one occurred in 1850, and seems, according to the many reports and pamphlets issued, to have continued for some years after. In the one of 1837, many Highland proprietors and private gentlemen, forming themselves into an association, did what they could to assist the Highlanders, mainly by way of emigration. Not only was it for the advantage of Highland proprietors, in respect of being able to let their

³ Those who wish further details may refer to the following pamphlets:—*The Glengarry Evictions*, by Donald Ross; *Hist. of the Hebrides*, by E. O. Tregelles; *Twelve Days in Skye*, by Lady M'Caskill; *Exterminations of the Scottish Peasantry*, and other works, by Mr Robertson of Dundonnachie; *Highland Clearances*, by the Rev. E. J. Findlater; *Sutherland as it was and is*; and the pamphlet in last note. On the other side, see Selkirk on Emigration; Sir J. McNeill's report and article in *Edin. Review* for Oct. 1857.

⁴ *The Depopulation System in the Highlands*, by an Eye-Witness. Pamphlet. 1849.

lands at a better rent, to do what they could to enable the people to emigrate, but by doing so, and thus diminishing the number of poor on their estates, they considerably decreased the large tax they had to pay under the recent Scotch Poor-law Act. "Formerly the poor widows and orphans and destitute persons were relieved by the parish minister from the poor's box, by voluntary subscriptions, which enabled the extremely needy to receive four or five shillings the quarter; and this small pittance was felt on all hands to be a liberal bounty. The landlord added his five or ten pound gift at the beginning of the year, and a laudatory announcement appeared in the newspaper. But the Act for the relief of the poor of Scotland now provides that a rate shall be levied on the tenant or occupier, and some of those who formerly paid £10 per annum, and were deemed worthy of much commendation, have now to pay £400 per annum without note or comment! Can we be surprised, then, that some of the landlords, with increased claims on their resources, and perhaps with diminished ability to meet such claims, should look round promptly and earnestly for a remedy? One of the most obvious and speedy remedies was emigration; hence the efforts to clear the ground of those who, with the lapse of time, might become heavy encumbrances. It need not be matter of surprise that the landlord should clear his ground of tenants who, for a series of years, had paid no rent; although perhaps a wiser and better course would have been to have sought for and found some good means of continued lucrative employment. . . . The lands are divided and subdivided until a family is found existing on a plot which is totally inadequate for their support; and here we see their imprudence and ignorance. Families are reared up in misery, struggling with impossibilities, producing at last that inertness and dimness of vision which result from a sick heart."⁵ Most of those who write, like Mr Tregelles, of the distress of the Highlands in 1850 and succeeding years, do so in the same strain. They declare there is no need for emigration, that the land and sea, if properly worked, are quite suffi-

cient to support all the inhabitants that were ever on it at any time, and that the people only need to be helped on, encouraged and taught, to make them as prosperous and the land as productive as the people and land of any other part of the kingdom. While this may be true of many parts, we fear it will not hold with regard to most of the Western Islands, where until recently, in most places, especially in Skye, the land was so subdivided and the population so excessive, that under the most productive system of agriculture the people could not be kept in food for more than half the year. Even in some of the best off of the islands, it was the custom for one or more members of a family to go to the south during summer and harvest, and earn as much as would pay the rent and eke out the scanty income. "The fact is, that the working classes of Skye, for many years anterior to 1846, derived a considerable part of their means from the wages of labour in the south. Even before the manufacture of kelp had been abandoned, the crofters of some parts at least of Skye appear to have paid their rents chiefly in money earned by labour in other parts of the kingdom. When that manufacture ceased, the local employment was reduced to a small amount, and the number who went elsewhere for wages increased. The decline of the herring-fishery, which for several years had yielded little or no profit in Skye, had a similar effect. The failure of the potato crop in 1846 still further reduced the local means of subsistence and of employing labour, and forced a still greater number to work for wages in different parts of the country. From the Pentland Firth to the Tweed, from the Lewis to the Isle of Man, the Skye-men sought the employment they could not find at home; and there are few families of cottars, or of crofters at rents not exceeding £10, from which at least one individual did not set out to earn by labour elsewhere the means of paying rent and buying meal for those who remained at home. Before 1846, only the younger members of the family left the district for that purpose; since that year, the crofter himself has often found it necessary to go. But young and old, crofters and cottars, to whatever distance they may have gone, return home for the winter, with

⁵ Tregelles' *Hints on the Hebrides*.

rare exceptions, and remain there nearly altogether idle, consuming the produce of the croft, and the proceeds of their own labour, till the return of summer and the failure of their supplies warn them that it is time to set out again. Those whose means are insufficient to maintain them till the winter is past, and who cannot find employment at that season at home, are of course in distress, and, having exhausted their own means, are driven to various shifts, and forced to seek charitable aid."

The above extract is from the Report by Sir John McNeill, on the distress in Highlands and Islands in 1850-51, caused by the failure of the crops. He went through most of the western island and western mainland parishes examining into the condition of the people, and the conclusion he came to was, that the population was excessive, that no matter how the land might be divided, it could not support the inhabitants without extraneous aid, and that the only remedy was the removal of the surplus population by means of emigration. Whether the population was excessive or not, it appears to us, that when the sudden, deep, and extensive distresses occurred in the Highlands, it was merciful to help those who had no means of making a living, and who were half starving, to remove to a land where there was plenty of well-paid work. Sir John believes that even although no pressure had been used by landlords, and no distresses had occurred, the changes which have been rapidly introduced into the Highlands, extending farms and diminishing population, would have happened all the same, but would have been brought about more gradually and with less inconvenience and suffering to the population. "The change which then (end of last century) affected only the parishes bordering on the Lowlands, has now extended to the remotest parts of the Highlands, and, whether for good or for evil, is steadily advancing. Every movement is in that direction, because the tendency must necessarily be to assimilate the more remote districts to the rest of the country, and to carry into them, along with the instruction, industry, and capital, the agricultural and commercial economy of the wealthier, more intelligent, and influential

majority of the nation. If it were desirable to resist this progress, it would probably be found impracticable. Every facility afforded to communication and intercourse must tend to hasten its march, and it is not to be conceived that any local organisation could resist, or even materially retard it. If nothing had occurred to disturb the ordinary course of events, this inevitable transition would probably have been effected without such an amount of suffering as to call for special intervention, though no such change is accomplished without suffering. The crofter would have yielded to the same power that has elsewhere converted the holdings of small tenants into farms for capitalists; but increased facilities of communication, and increased intercourse, might previously have done more to assimilate his language, habits, and modes of living and of thinking to those of men in that part of the country to which he is now a stranger, and in which he is a foreigner.

"There would thus have been opened up to him the same means of providing for his subsistence that were found by those of his class, who, during the last century, have ceased to cultivate land occupied by themselves. But the calamity that suddenly disabled him from producing his food by his own labour on his croft, has found him generally unprepared to provide by either means for his maintenance. All the various attempts that have yet been made in so many parishes to extricate the working classes from the difficulties against which they are unsuccessfully contending, have not only failed to accomplish that object, but have failed even to arrest the deterioration in their circumstances and condition that has been in progress for the last four years. In every parish, with one or two exceptions, men of all classes and denominations concur unanimously in declaring it to be impossible, by any application of the existing resources, or by any remunerative application of extraneous resources, to provide for the permanent subsistence of the whole of the present inhabitants; and state their conviction that the population cannot be made self-sustaining, unless a portion removes from the parish. . . . The working classes in many parishes are convinced that the emigration of a part of their number affords the only prospect of escape from a

position otherwise hopeless; and in many cases individuals have earnestly prayed for aid to emigrate. Petitions numerously signed by persons desirous to go to the North American colonies, and praying for assistance to enable them to do so, have been transmitted for presentation to Parliament. In some of the parishes where no desire for emigration had been publicly expressed, or was supposed to exist, that desire began to be announced as soon as the expectation of extraneous aid was abandoned. It has rarely happened that so many persons, between whom there was or could have been no previous concert or intercourse, and whose opinions on many important subjects are so much at variance, have concurred in considering any one measure indispensable to the welfare of the community; and there does not appear to be any good reason for supposing that this almost unanimous opinion is not well founded." ⁶

These are the opinions of one who thoroughly examined into the matter, and are corroborated by nearly all the articles on the Highland parishes in the *New Statistical Account*. That it was and is still needful to take some plan to prevent the ever-recurring distress of the Western Highlands, and especially Islands, no one can doubt; that emigration is to some extent necessary, especially from the islands, we believe, but that it is the only remedy, we are inclined to doubt. There is no doubt that many proprietors, whose tenants though in possession of farms of no great size were yet very comfortable, have cleared their estate, and let it out in two or three large farms solely for sheep. Let emigration by all means be brought into play where it is necessary, but it is surely not necessary in all cases to go from one extreme to another, and replace thousands of men, women, and children by half-a-dozen shepherds and their dogs. Many districts may be suitable only for large farms, but many others, we think, could be divided into farms of moderate size, large enough to keep a farmer and his family comfortably after paying a fair rent. This system, we believe, has been pursued with success in some Highland districts,

especially in that part of Inverness-shire occupied by the Grants.

In Sir John McNeill's report there are some interesting and curious statements which, we think, tend to show that when the Highlanders are allowed to have moderate-sized farms, and are left alone to make what they can of them, they can maintain themselves in tolerable comfort. In the island of Lewis, where the average rent of the farms was £2, 12s., the farmer was able to obtain from his farm only as much produce as kept himself and family for six months in the year; his living for the rest of the year, his rent and other necessary expenses, requiring to be obtained from other sources, such as fishing, labour in the south, &c. So long as things went well, the people generally managed to struggle through the year without any great hardship; but in 1846, and after, when the potato crops failed, but for the interference of the proprietor and others, many must have perished for want of food. In six years after 1846, the proprietor expended upwards of £100,000 in providing work and in charity, to enable the people to live. Various experiments were tried to provide work for the inhabitants, and more money expended than there was rent received, with apparently no good result whatever. In 1850, besides regular paupers, there were above 11,000 inhabitants receiving charitable relief. Yet, notwithstanding every encouragement from the proprietor, who offered to cancel all arrears, provide a ship, furnish them with all necessaries, few of the people cared to emigrate. In the same way in Harris, immense sums were expended to help the people to live, with as little success as in Lewis; the number of those seeking relief seemed only to increase. As this plan seemed to lead to no good results, an attempt was made to improve the condition of the people by increasing the size of their farms, which in the best seasons sufficed to keep them in provisions for only six months. The following is the account of the experiment given by Mr Macdonald, the resident factor:—"At Whitsunday 1848 forty crofters were removed from the island of Bornera, then occupied by eighty-one; and the lands thus vacated were divided among the forty-one who remained. Those

⁶ *Sir John McNeill's Report*, pp. xxxiv.-xxxv.

who were removed, with two or three exceptions, were placed in crofts upon lands previously occupied by tacksmen. Six of the number who, with one exception, had occupied crofts of about five acres in Bernera, were settled in the Borves on crofts of ten acres of arable, and hill-grazing for four cows, and their followers till two years old, with forty sheep and a horse,—about double the amount of stock which, with one exception, they had in Bernera. The exceptional ease referred to was that of a man who had a ten-acre croft in Bernera, with an amount of black cattle stock equal to that for which he got grazing in the Borves, but who had no sheep. They are all in arrear of rent, and, on an average, for upwards of two years. These six tenants were selected as the best in Bernera, in respect to their circumstances. I attribute their want of success to the depreciation in the price of black cattle, and to their not having sufficient capital to put upon their lands a full stock when they entered. Their stipulated rent in the Borves was, on an average, £12. Of the forty-one who remained, with enlarged crofts, in Bernera, the whole are now largely in arrear, and have increased their arrears since their holdings were enlarged."

The result was, in both cases, a failure, involving considerable pecuniary loss to the proprietor. An attempt "made at the same time to establish some unsuccessful agricultural crofters practised in fishing, as fishermen, on lands previously occupied by tacksmen, where each fisherman got a croft of about two acres of arable land, with grazing for one or two cows, and from four to six sheep, at a rent of from £1 to £2 sterling," was equally unsuccessful and unfortunate. Not one of the occupants of the holdings (though many, if not all, were provided with proper fishing appliances) was able to pay his rent, notwithstanding that it did not amount to one-third of what had been paid by the tacksmen for the same area.

Another experiment of the nature of a club farm, tried in North Uist in 1851-52, under the auspices of the Committee of the Highland Destitution Relief Fund of 1847, and described in the *Edinburgh Review* for

October 1857, had no better fate, the only result being the expenditure of £3000 "in making worse a piece of the worst possible land, in prolonging the delusions and sufferings of the local population, and in supplying one more proof of the difficulty or impossibility of accomplishing, and the great mischief of attempting, what so many paper authorities in Highland matters assume as alike easy and beneficial." From results obtained elsewhere, it is, however, clear that under favourable conditions of soil, climate, and individual exertion, it was perfectly possible for tenants to carry on, without extraneous interference, the small or moderate farm system, even on the old principle of runrig, with comfort to themselves and profit to the proprietors.¹

In spite of this, however, it must be confessed that Sir John McNeill's *Report*, and the other more recent Parliamentary Blue Books dealing with the condition of the Highlands, form but melancholy reading to the patriotic Scotchman, who must ever keenly regret the causes that have led to the state of matters disclosed in these publications. "The affair of the Forty-five," says the late Dr Carruthers of Inverness,² referring particularly to the Hebrides, though his account applies equally to the whole of the Highlands, "was the primary cause of the pecuniary burdens which long encumbered and ultimately overwhelmed the Macleod, and many other Highland properties. The system of agriculture then pursued in the Hebrides was of the most wretched description. The undrained land was perpetually subject to mildew or frost, and little winter food being provided for the herds of black cattle that crowded every hill and strath, whenever a severe season came the cattle died in scores. Even the straw that might have helped to maintain them was wasted and destroyed, in consequence of the people preparing their corn by means of fire instead of threshing and kiln-drying it. The higher hills contained

¹ See *Sir John McNeill's Report*, xxvi., xxvii., as to the prosperity of Applecross in Ross-shire.

² Introduction to *Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides* (1852).

tracts of fine Alpine pasturage, but they were generally inaccessible to the cattle, and only became of value when sheep husbandry was extensively introduced. Under such a system, high rents were ruinous—even moderate rents could hardly have been paid. Yet after the era of the Forty-five, when the last remains of feudal power and homage were lost, most of the chiefs and other proprietors adopted a higher scale of rents, and pressed the new system with prompt and inconsiderate rigour. The tacksmen, or large tenants, were deprived of their peculiar privilege of sub-letting part of their lands, as the proprietor found he could obtain a greater amount of rent, and secure more authority as a landlord, when the people held directly under himself. The tacksmen had thus to descend to the condition of ordinary farmers. They were mostly men of gentle blood—cadets of the chief's family. Some had held commissions in the army, and all were hospitable and profuse, their houses filled with servants, visitors, and dependents. The new management and high rents took them by surprise. They were indignant at the treatment they received, and selling off their stock, in disgust or despair, they emigrated to America. In the twenty years from 1772 to 1792 sixteen vessels with emigrants sailed from the western shores of Inverness-shire and Ross-shire, containing about 6400 persons who carried with them in specie at least £38,400. . . . The chiefs, it must be admitted, were, in some instances, sorely tried. The men of Kintail, for example, held a large tract of land in Glengarry as a summer *sheiling* or grazing for their cattle, for which they paid only £15 of annual rent. The ground was examined by a sagacious sheep-farmer from the dales in the south. He offered no less than £350 of rent—about half the value of the whole estate—and, having obtained possession, stocked it with Cheviot sheep, and died a richer man than his laird. It was difficult for a needy embarrassed proprietor to resist temptations like this. The patriarchal system was forgotten, the stranger was preferred, and many of the smaller tenants were dispossessed of their holdings that the farms might be enlarged

and brought under an improved and more profitable mode of culture. In the figurative language of the country, a hundred smokes had to pass through one chimney! An experiment of an opposite kind was made by one benevolent and active proprietor. This gentleman broke up one of his finest farms in Skye, in order that he might give occupation to a number of small tenants born on his estate. They obtained possession, but proved unable to cultivate their *crofts* successfully, and the only result was a loss of £400 per annum to the generous and unfortunate chief. . . . The error of the proprietors—where there *was* error (for in some instances the change was effected by mild and gradual means)—was in raising the rents too suddenly. Neither the tacksmen, nor the people generally, had been trained to steady industry. They had not been allowed time to shake off the half military, half nomadic habits in which they were brought up; and though the chief was entitled to make the most of his land, considerations of patriotism and humanity—old recollections and former ties—should have operated to prevent undue haste and severity. The *exodus* continued for many years. . . . The lairds ultimately became alarmed at the defection of their people. They held consultations, and solicited Government to stay the emigrant ships. So late as 1786 a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen took place in London at which the Earl of Breadalbane stated that five hundred persons had resolved to emigrate from the estate of Glengarry, and had subscribed money and commissioned ships for the purpose. The meeting took up the subject warmly, and agreed to co-operate with Government to frustrate the design. At the same time they represented the necessity of improving the fisheries, agriculture, and manufactures of the country, adding to their recommendation a subscription of £3000. The design was laudable and patriotic, but it proved a failure. Something was done towards encouraging the fisheries, but not on a scale sufficiently extensive, and no manufactures were introduced. Had trades or manufactures been planted in the islands before the southern districts engrossed

the field, a general and permanent amelioration might have been effected in the condition of the people. Though alien at first to their habits and predilections, they would gradually have assimilated to their lowland countrymen in industrial progress, and might have surmounted the disadvantages of soil and climate.

"The next chapter in Hebridean history shows a complete reversal of the former policy, yet with results much the same. We have, since the date of Johnson's visit, made a circuit of nearly eighty years, and have returned to the same point. The proprietors at length ceased to check emigration. Sheep-husbandry was rapidly extending, roads were made, a high-class of tenants was obtained, and the large farms were managed with admirable skill and perseverance. The people, on the other hand, when less required to stay became less disposed to emigrate. The more active and enterprising part of the population was gone. The epidemic had ceased, the wars were over, and so long as the herrings visited the lochs, or potatoes flourished on the soil, or the kelp manufacture gave a few weeks' profitable occupation in summer, contentment or listlessness prevailed. There was no stringent poor-law to force attention as to the population; small *crofts* or patches of laud were easily obtained and subdivided at will; and hence the little turf-huts multiplied on the hill-side and moors, the standard of civilisation sunk lower, and the population, despite all military and emigrant drains, was doubled in amount. Thus gradually, but inevitably as the people increased, thousands of families came to depend almost wholly on one article of food. That failed, and the sequel is well known. A destitution crisis commenced in 1846, unequalled for intensity, and which involved both chief and clan, landlord and tenant, in irretrievable embarrassment and ruin. A second period of transition, more painful than that witnessed by Johnson in 1773, was induced, and though the immediate distress was mitigated by the munificent generosity of the British nation, there seems to be only one remedy or palliative for the chronic malady—emigration."

However mournful it may be to leave one's

native country, emigration does indeed seem to be the only method of relief for a population so congested in districts where no expansion of means of subsistence seems possible through other occupations than farming and fishing, and the simple trades and arts depending on them. That such congestion exists over considerable areas,¹ though not everywhere, must be quite clear when it is remembered that in spite of all the depopulation of the Highlands that took place in the early period of the present century, the population of the ten Highland counties of Aherdeen, Argyll, Banff, Bute, Caithness, Forfar, Inverness, Perth, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland—where alone, too, the great deer forests and large sheep farms have during this period been formed—increased between 1831 and 1881 by as much as 23·3 per cent. In some districts the increase has been much greater. Lewis, which had in 1801 a population of 9168, and in 1831 of 14,541, contained in 1881 no fewer than 25,487 persons, and in spite of the large sums of money spent by Sir James Matheson in the reclamation of land and other improvements, the distress here has again become chronic and severe. In fact the evidence given before the recent Crofters Commission leads directly to the conclusion that both in Skye and the Long Island, while 57 acres a head was stated as the smallest amount of land on which it would be possible for the crofter and his family to subsist in comfort, there was only available for the purpose, on the basis of the present population, an average of 19·43 acres per head. In some of the western mainland parishes the average is greater, and some have over 100 acres a head, while others have only about 40, and Lochalsh only 24·16, but taking an average of 10 of them the acreage per head is 58·60, which is pretty conclusive that the assertion so often made, "that there is no need for emigration, as there is plenty of land in the Highlands and Islands for all the people they contain, were it only divided among them," cannot be maintained, not to mention the fact that "even if this were so,

¹ See *Report of the Crofters Commission*, p. 97 (1884).

it is clear that such a division would involve the exclusion of the whole wealthy and wage-paying class, a result which no one acquainted with the Highlands could contemplate without concern."

"It is," says Mr Macdonald, factor for Harris, as quoted in Sir John M'Neill's *Report*, "my conscientious belief and firm conviction, that if this property were all divided into small holdings amongst the present occupants of land, the result would be, that in a few years the rent recoverable would not be sufficient to pay the public burdens, if the potatoes continue to fail, and the price of black cattle does not materially improve." Unfortunately since that time the potato crop has never become again what it once was, and so far from the price of cattle improving, the country is in the midst of one of the worst periods of agricultural depression that has probably ever been known. The increase of population and consequent greater struggle for existence, combined with this decrease in the value of agricultural produce, and a long succession of bad seasons, have again produced the old results, and large areas have become the prey of chronic discontent and misery.

A series of lawless acts perpetrated in consequence by the crofters of the North and West between 1870 and 1880 had the effect of drawing fresh attention to the condition of the peasantry of the Highlands and Islands, often, certainly, bad enough, but as often, we fear, much misrepresented by the aid of professional agitators working on "dense and most curious prejudices, and many most erroneous conceptions, both of the past and of the present," which, "with a people living in remote districts, speaking a language which is still more remote from all the ideas and conceptions of modern life, clinging with affectionate remembrance to habits and usages which belong to primitive ages, recollecting only what was really beautiful, and forgetting or glorifying much that was miserable and even horrid," makes it a comparatively easy matter "to make them hate and to misrepresent every step which has brought them nearer to the conditions of modern society, and has

led them along a path in which their country has only followed later than others the progress of all the civilized countries of the world."¹

Public attention having thus been called to the point, a Royal Commission was, in March 1883, appointed to investigate the whole subject, and "to inquire into the condition of the *Crofters* and *Cottars* in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and all matters affecting the same or relating thereto." Between May and December the same year, the six commissioners nominated held sixty-one meetings at different stations within the eight counties in which the principal crofting areas lay, and after receiving the testimony of nearly 800 witnesses presented in 1884 a *Report* on the results of their investigation, with suggestions for improvements.

It is impossible, in the space here at command, to go fully into the conclusions at which the Commission arrived, or the evidence on which these results were based. The testimony of witnesses was of a wide and varied nature, but much of it had practically to be set aside for reasons stated in the *Report*.² The recommendations for improvement may best be given as briefly summarised by the Chairman, Lord Napier of Ettrick.³

"1. *Land*.—Recognition of the crofters' township.⁴ Provisions for its protection, improvement, and compulsory enlargement; for the voluntary formation of townships and small holdings with State aid; for the division of common, the consolidation of holdings, the prevention of subdivision and squatting. Proposals for the institution of improving leases, for compensation for improvements, for the commutation of labour, rents, and services; for the purchase of the fee-simple by the occupier, with the co-operation of Government; for the regulation of eviction and the recovery of rent; for the protection and encouragement of the separate crofter unconnected with a township.

"2. *Fisheries and Communications*.—Proposals for the formation of harbours, piers, and landing-places; for the acquisition and sale of sites by Government for the habitations of fishermen; for the supply of boats and fishing-gear; for the extension of postal and telegraphic communications; for the development of roads and steam-traffic; for the construction of a new railway, with a terminus on the western coast, by State agency or assistance; for the protection and improvement of the lobster and herring fisheries.

¹ The Duke of Argyll: in the *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xvi.

² See *Report*, p. 2.

³ See *Nineteenth Century*, vol. xvii.

⁴ The "township" is defined in the *Report* as "a farm or part of a farm occupied in common or in division by several tenants."

"3. *Education.*—Proposals for the encouragement of regular attendance in elementary schools for increased State aid in the case of exorbitant school rates; for the cancellation of excessive debts incurred for school-buildings in poor districts; for the increase of the educational staff and the employment of female agency; for the institution of secondary schools and the encouragement of higher education; for the adoption and cultivation of the Gaelic language as an instrument in teaching English; for the preservation of Gaelic music and poetry.

"4. *Justice.*—Suggestions for the more convenient administration of justice, for the improvement of the position of sheriff-substitute, for the enforcement of a knowledge of the Gaelic language among judicial officers, for the prevention of an excessive concentration of local offices in a single person, for the restriction of procurators-fiscal and sheriff-clerks to the proper duties of their respective employments.

"5. *Deer-Forests and Game.*—Provisions enforcing the erection of deer fences round crofters' land, granting to the crofter the right to kill deer on his holding on the basis of the Ground Game Act, prohibiting the afforestation of crofters' lands; alternative proposals for the restriction of future deer-forests to lands at a high altitude above the sea, or to lands not adapted to cultivation and small tenancy; suggestions for the creation of plantations and improvements in connection with future deer-forests, and for the protection of small tenants against the ravages of ground and flying game.

"6. *Emigration.*—Proposals for the institution of a Scottish agency for emigration, by whose intervention the transport, employment, and settlement of selected families might be conducted, either under engagements with private employers of labour in the several colonies, or with the colonial governments; proposals for the purchase of the stock belonging to the crofting emigrant by the proprietor, and for the consolidation of the vacated holding under a specified value with existing holdings of the same class."

It is impossible here to dwell on the details of these different headings,¹ especially as by the suggestion of such very considerable state aid and interference in matters that are in the case of other classes left to be managed by those concerned, a wider question is raised than the mere condition of the crofters. Though certain of the changes suggested

¹ A full discussion of the more recent aspects of the Highland question will be found in Malcolm's *Population, Crofts, Sheep-Walks, and Deer-Forests of the Highlands and Islands* (Edinh. 1883); Blackie's *Altavona* (1883), *The Highland Crofters*, in the "Nineteenth Century" for April 1883, *Scottish Highlanders and the Land Laws* (1885); The Duke of Argyll's *Crofts and Farms in the Hebrides* (Edinh. 1883), *On the Economic Condition of the Highlands of Scotland*, in the "Nineteenth Century" for February 1883, *A Corrected Picture of the Highlands*, in the "Nineteenth Century" for November 1884, and *Scotland as it was and is* (Edinh. 1887); Sellar's *Sutherland Evictions of 1844* (1883); Crofters' Commission Report (1884); Lord Napier's *The Highland Crofters*, in the "Nineteenth Century" for March 1885; Mackenzie's *History of the Highland Clearances* (Inverness, 1883), and *Analysis of the Crofter Royal Commission Report* (Inverness, 1884); *Report of Commission on Agriculture* (1881).

under Education and Justice seem somewhat needless, yet education itself must form an important factor in the solution of the Highland problem. The wider its influence, the clearer will become the idea that improvement must spring from individual effort. As to deer-forests (a comparatively fresh grievance), great complaint has been made that the recent increase in the area devoted to them—bringing up their acreage to over two millions, or more than 16 per cent. of the total area of the ten Highland counties already mentioned—is a wanton abuse of ownership, as it is a harsh and unjust proceeding to depopulate a whole district for the sake of sport, and to substitute for such a useful animal as the sheep an animal like the deer, which fulfils no useful purpose; but on the other hand the answer is made that in many cases it is no longer possible to carry on sheep-farming in these districts with profit, owing to the low price of wool and the excessive cost of wintering, and that if, as seems indeed to be the case,² "a very widespread and well-marked deterioration of mountain pastures is going on from the constant and severe depasturage of heavy stocks of sheep without any compensatory return of fertilising substances to the lands in question, then there is furnished by this fact a sound economical reason for resorting, for a time at least, to a different system of occupation of these lands, in order that they may recover their fertility;" and also that as regards population, more people are provided for, and more wealth brought into a district by a deer-forest than by a sheep-farm. The general question of rights of way and enjoyment of scenery is one that might be easily settled by the wisdom of proprietors and tenants alike, were they but to exercise with care and consideration any possible right of exclusion they may perhaps possess. To the subject of emigration we have already alluded.

The great majority of the early Highland emigrants preferred, as do also many of those of the present day, British North America to any other colony, and most districts of the

² See *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society* for 1882.

Dominion of Canada contain a large Highland population, proud of their origin, and in many instances still keeping up their original Gaelic. The latest addition to the number is the settlement established in Manitoba in 1883 by Lady Gordon-Catheart of Cluny, the proprietrix of North Uist. One of the earliest American Highland settlements was, however, in Georgia, where in 1738 a Captain Mackintosh settled along with a considerable number of followers from Inverness-shire, the township receiving the name of New Inverness. A favourite destination, also, of the earlier emigrants was North Carolina, to which, from about 1760 till the breaking out of the American War, many hundreds removed from Skye, and others of the Western Islands; and during the war these colonists almost to a man adhered to the home government, and formed themselves into the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, which did good service, as will be seen in the account of the Highland Regiments. At the conclusion of the war many removed to Canada, where land was allotted them by Government.¹

Some of the recommendations of the Commission have already been carried out by the appointment, under the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act, of June 1886, of three Commissioners to provide judicially for security of tenure under certain conditions, and to fix rent and size of holdings; and these have already investigated the condition of the crofters in Sutherlandshire, Skye, Tyree, Coll, and North and South Uist, and have made in many cases considerable reductions in the rent of the holdings, though these often do not amount to much more than might be expected from the present depression in Agriculture, and in some instances, such as on the Duke of Sutherland's estates, to a sum so comparatively small as to show that the stories of rack rents are not altogether to be taken as generally applicable. Other proposed changes of the law are at present under the consideration of Parliament.

On the subject of the late much-to-be-re-

¹ See Selkirk on *Emigration*, and for an account of their present condition Macrae's *American Sketches* (1869).

gretted and ill-advised resistance offered to the constituted authorities in carrying out the provisions of the law, in Skye and elsewhere when the civil power has had to be supported by a military force, it is not necessary here to speak; but such occurrences must certainly be ever regretted by all who have the true welfare of the Highlands and Highlanders thoroughly at heart.

CHAPTER XLV. GAELIC LITERATURE, LANGUAGE, AND MUSIC.

BY THE REV. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, LL.D., F.S.A.S.

Extent of Gaelic literature—Claims of Ireland—Circumstances adverse to preservation of Gaelic literature—"The Lament of Déirdre"—"The Children of Usnoth"—"The Book of Deer"—The Legend of Deer—The memoranda of grants—The "Albanic Duan"—"Muireadhach Albannach"—Gaelic character of 1408—Manuscripts of the 15th century—"The Dean of Lismore's Book"—Macgregor, Dean of Lismore—"Ursgeul"—"Bas Dhiarmaid"—Ossian's Eulogy on Fingal—Macpherson's Ossian—"Fingal"—Cuchullin's chariot—"Temora"—Smith's Sean Dana"—Ossianic collections—Fingal's address to Oscar—Ossian's address to the setting sun—John Knox's Liturgy—Kirk's Gaelic Psalter—Irish Bible—Shorter Catechism—Confession of Faith—Gaelic Bible—Translations from the English—Original prose writings—Campbell's Ancient Highland Tales—"Maol A Chliobain"—"The man in the tuft of wool"—Alexander Macdonald—Macintyre—Modern poetry—School-books—The Gaelic language—Gaelic music.

THE literature of the Highlands, although not extensive, is varied, and has excited not a little interest in the world of letters. The existing remains are of various ages, carrying us back, in the estimation of some writers, to the second century, while contributions are making to it still, and are likely to be made for several generations.

It has been often said that the literature of the Celts of Ireland was much more extensive than that of the Celts of Scotland—that the former were in fact a more literary people—that the ecclesiastics, and medical men, and historians (*seanachies*) of Scotland had less culture than those of the sister island, and that they must be held thus to have been a stage behind them in civilisation and progress. Judging by the remains which exist, there seems to be considerable ground for such

a conclusion. Scotland can produce nothing like the MS. collections in possession of Trinity College Dublin, or the Royal Irish Academy. There are numerous fragments of considerable value in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and in the hands of private parties throughout Scotland, but there is nothing to compare with the Book of Lecan, *Leabhar na h-uidhre*, and the other remains of the ancient literary culture of Ireland, which exist among the collections now brought together in Dublin; nor with such remains of what is called Irish scholarship as are to be found in Milan, Brussels, and other places on the continent of Europe.

At the same time there is room for questioning how far the claims of Ireland to the whole of that literature are good. Irish scholars are not backward in pressing the claims of their own country to everything of any interest that may be called Celtic. If we acquiesce in these claims, Scotland will be left without a shred of aught which she can call her own in the way of Celtic literature; and there is a class of Scottish scholars who, somewhat more generous than discriminating, have been disposed to acquiesce but too readily in those claims. We have our doubts as to Ireland having furnished Scotland with its Gaelic population, and we have still stronger doubts as to Ireland having been the source of all the Celtic literature which she claims. A certain class of writers are at once prepared to allow that the Bobbio MSS. and those other continental Gaelic MSS. of which Zeuss has made such admirable use in his *Grammatica Celtica*, are all Irish, and they are taken as illustrative alike of the zeal and culture of the early Irish Church. And yet there is no evidence of such being the case. The language certainly is not Irish, nor are the names of such of the writers as are usually associated with the writings. Columbanus, the founder of the Bobbio Institution, may have been an Irishman, but he may have been a Scotchman. He may have gone from Durrow, but he may have gone from Iona. The latter was no less famous than the former, and had a staff of men quite as remarkable. We have authentic information regarding its ancient history. It sent out Aidan to Northumberland, and numerous successors after him, and there is much

presumptive evidence that many of these early missionaries took their departure from Scotland, and carried with them their Scottish literature to the Continent of Europe. And the language of the writers is no evidence to the contrary. In so far as the Gaelic was written at this early period, the dialect used was common to Ireland and Scotland. To say that a work is Irish because written in what is called the Irish dialect is absurd. There was no such thing as an Irish dialect. The written language of the whole Gaelic race was long the same throughout, and it would have been impossible for any man to have said to which of the sections into which that race was divided any piece of writing belonged. This has long been evident to men who have made a study of the question, but recent relics of Scottish Gaelic which have come to light, and have been published, put the matter beyond a doubt. Mr Whitley Stokes, than whom there is no better authority, has said of a passage in the "Book of Deer" that the language of it is identical with that of the MSS. which form the basis of the learned grammar of Zeuss: and there can be no doubt that the "Book of Deer" is of Scottish authorship. It is difficult to convince Irish scholars of this, but it is no less true on that account. Indeed, what is called the Irish dialect has been employed for literary purposes in Scotland down to a recent period, the first book in the vernacular of the Scottish Highlands having been printed so lately as the middle of last century. And it is important to observe that this literary dialect, said to be Irish, is nearly as far apart from the ordinary Gaelic vernacular of Ireland as it is from that of Scotland.

But besides this possibility of having writings that are really Scottish counted as Irish from their being written in the same dialect, the Gaelic literature of Scotland has suffered from other causes. Among these were the changes in the ecclesiastical condition of the country which took place from time to time. First of all there was the change which took place under the government of Malcolm III. (Ceannmor) and his sons, which led to the downfall of the ancient Scottish Church, and the supplanting of it by the Roman Hierarchy. Any literature existing in the 12th century would have been of the older church, and

would have little interest for the institution which took its place. That there was such a literature is obvious from the "Book of Deer," and that it existed among all the institutions of a like kind in Scotland is a fair and reasonable inference from the existence and character of that book. Why this is the only fragment of such a literature remaining is a question of much interest, which may perhaps be solved by the fact that the clergy of the later church could have felt little interest in preserving the memorials of a period which they must have been glad to have seen passed away. Then the Scottish Reformation and the rise of the Protestant Church, however favourable to literature, would not have been favourable to the preservation of such literature. The old receptacles of such writings were broken up, and their contents probably destroyed or dispersed, as associated with what was now felt to be a superstitious worship. There is reason to believe that the Kilbride collection of MSS. now in the Advocates' Library, and obtained from the family of Maelachlan of Kilbride, was to some extent a portion of the old library of Iona, one of the last Abbots of which was a Ferquhard M'Lachlan.

Besides these influences, unfavourable to the preservation of the ancient literature of the Scottish Highlands, we have the fierce raid of Edward I. of England into the country, and the carrying away of all the national muments. Some of these were in all probability Gaelic. A Gaelic king and a Gaelic kingdom were then things not long past in Scotland; and seeing they are found elsewhere, is there not reason to believe that among them were lists of Scottish and Pictish kings, and other documents of historical importance, such as formed the basis of those Bardic addresses made by the royal bards to the kings on the occasion of their coronation? These might have been among the records afterwards intended to be returned to Scotland, and which perished in the miserable shipwreck of the vessel that bore them. These causes may account for the want of a more extensive ancient Celtic literature in Scotland, and for the more advantageous position occupied in this respect by Ireland. Ireland neither suf-

fered from the popular feeling evoked at the Reformation, nor from the spoliation of an Edward of England, as Scotland did. And hence the abundant remains still existing of a past literature there.

And yet Scotland does not altogether want an ancient Celtic literature, and the past few years have done much to bring it to light. It is not impossible that among our public libraries and private repositories relies may be still lying of high interest and historical value, and which more careful research may yet bring into view. The Dean of Lismore's book has only been given to the world within the last six years, and more recently still we have the "Book of Deer," a relic of the 11th or 12th century.

On taking a survey of this literature, it might be thought most natural to commence with the Ossianic remains, both on account of the prominence which they have received and the interest and controversy they have excited, and also because they are held by many to have a claim to the highest antiquity,—to be the offspring of an age not later than the 2d or 3d century. But it is usual to associate literature with writing, and as the Gaelic language has been a written one from a very early period, we think it best to keep up this association, and to take up the written remains of the language as nearly as may be in their chronological order. The first of these to which reference may be made is

THE LAMENT OF DEIRDRE.

This poem is found in a MS. given to the Highland Society by Lord Bannatyne, and now in the archives of the Advocates' Library. The date of the MS. is 1238, but there is every reason to believe that the poem is of much higher antiquity. The preserved copy bears to have been written at Glenmasan, a mountain valley in the parish of Dunoon, in Cowal. The MS. contains other fragments of tales in prose, but we shall refer only to the poetical story of Deirdre, or, as it is usually called in Gaelic, "Dàn Chloinn Uisneachain." The tale is a famous one in the Highlands, and the heroes of it, the sons of Usnoth, have given name to Dun Mhac Uisneachain, or Dun Mac Sniochain, said to be the Roman *Bera-*

gonium, in the parish of Ardehatten in Argyle-shire. We give the following version of the poem as it appears in the Report of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian (p. 298).

Do dech Deardir ar a haise ar crichibh Alban, agus ro chan an Laoidh —

Inmain tir in tir ud thoir,
Alba cona lingantaibh
Nocha tiefynn eisdi ille
Mana tisain le Naiso.
Inmain Dun Fidhgha is Dun Finn
Innain in Dun os a cinn
Inmain Inis Draignde
Is innain Dun Suibnei.
Caill cuan gar tigeadh Ainne mo nur
Fagair lim ab bitan
Is Naiso an oirear Alban.
Glend Laidh do chollain fan mboirmin caoimh
Iasg is sieng is saill bruich
Fa hi mo chuid an Glend laigh.
Glend masain ard a crimh geal a gasain
Do nimais colladh corrach
Os Inbhar mngach Masain.
Glend Eitichi ann do togblus mo ched tigh
Alaind a fidh iar neirghe
Buaille greno Ghlind citchi.
Mo chen Glend Urchaidh
Fa hedh in Glend direach dromchain
Uallecha feara aoisi ma Naise
An Glend Urchaidh.
Glend da ruadh
Mo chen gach fear da na dual
Is binn guth cuach
Ar craicb chruim
Ar in mbinn os Glendaruadh
Inmain Draighen is tren traigh
Innain Auichd in ghainimh glain
Nocha tiefynn eisde anoir
Mana tisuiun lein Inmain.

English Translation.

Deirdre looked back on the land of Alban, and sung this lay:—

Beloved is that eastern land,
Alba (Scotland), with its lakes.
Oh that I might not depart from it,
Unless I were to go with Naos!
Beloved is Dunfigha and Dunfin.
Beloved is the Dun above it.
Beloved is Inisdraiyen (Imstrynich?),
And beloved is Dun Sween.
The forest of the sea to which Ainne would come,
alas!
I leave for ever,
And Naos, on the seacoast of Alban.
Glen Lay (Glen Luy?), I would sleep by its gentle
murnur.
Fish and venison, and the fat of meat boiled,
Such would be my food in Glen Lay.
Glenmasan! High is its wild garlic, fair its
branches.
I would sleep wakefully
Over the shaggy Invermasan.
Glen Etive! in which I raised my first house,
Delightful were its groves on rising
When the sun struck on Glen Etive.
My delight was Glen Urchay;
It is the straight vale of many ridges.
Joyful were his fellows around Naos
In Glen Urchay.
Glendaruadh (Glendaruel?),
My delight in every man who belongs to it.
Sweet is the voice of the cuckoo
On the bending tree,
Sweet is it above Glendaruadh.
Beloved is Drayen of the sounding shore!
Beloved is Avich (Dalavich?) of the pure sand.
Oh that I might not leave the east
Unless it were to come along with me! Beloved—

There is some change in the translation as compared with that given in the Highland Society's Report, the meaning, however, being nearly identical in both. The tale to which this mournful lyric is attached,—the story of the children of Usnoth and their sad fate, bears that Conor was king of Ulster. Visiting on one occasion the house of Feilim, his *sean-achie*, Feilim's wife, was delivered of a daughter while the king was in the house. Cathbad the Druid, who was present, prophesied that many disasters should befall Ulster on account of the child then born. The king resolved to bring her up as his own future wife, and for this end enclosed her in a tower where she was excluded from all intercourse with men, except her tutor, her nurse, and an attendant called Lavaream. It happened that in the course of time, by means of this Lavaream, she came to see Naos, the son of Usnoth. She at once formed a warm affection for him; the affection

was reciprocated, and Naos and Deirdre, by which name the young woman was called, fled to Scotland, accompanied by Ainle and Ardan, the brothers of Naos. Here they were kindly received by the king, and had lands given them for their support. It is not unlikely that these lands were in the neighbourhood of Dun Mhae Uisneachain in Lorn. Here they lived long and happily. At length Conor desired their return, and sent a messenger to Scotland, promising them welcome and security in Ireland if they would but return. Deirdre strongly objected, fearing the treachery of Conor, but she was overruled by the urgency of her husband and his brothers. They left Scotland, Deirdre composing and singing the above mournful lay. In Ireland they were at first received with apparent kindness, but soon after the house in which they dwelt was surrounded by Conor and his men, and after deeds of matchless valour the three brothers were put

to death, in defiance of Conor's pledge. The broken hearted Deirdre cast herself on the grave of Naos and died, having first composed and sung a lament for his death. This is one of the most touching in the catalogue of Celtic tales; and it is interesting to observe the influence it exerted over the Celtic mind by its effect upon the topographical nomenclature of the country. There are several Dun Deirdres to be found still. One is prominent in the vale of the Novis, near Fortwilliam, and another occupies the summit of a magnificent rock overhanging Loch Ness, in Stratherriek. Naos, too, has given his name to rocks, and woods, and lakes ranging from Ayrshire to Inverness-shire, but the most signal of all is the great lake which fills the eastern portion of the Caledonian valley, Loch Ness. The old Statistical Account of Inverness states that the name of this lake was understood to be derived from some mythical person among the old Colts; and there can be little doubt that the person was Naos. The lake of Naos (*Naise* in the genitive), lies below, and overhanging it is the Tower of Deirdre. The propriety is natural, and the fact is evidence of the great antiquity of the tale.

There are other MSS. of high antiquity in existence said to be Scotch; but it is sufficient to refer for an account of these to the Appendix to the Report of the Highland Society on the Poems of Ossian, an account written by an admirable Celtic scholar, Dr Donald Smith, the brother of Dr John Smith of Campbelltown, so distinguished in the same field.

The next relic of Celtic literature to which we refer is

THE BOOK OF DEER.

This is a vellum MS. of eighty-six folios, about six inches long by three broad, discovered in the University Library of Cambridge, by Mr Bradshaw, the librarian of the University. It had belonged to a distinguished collector of books, Bishop Moore of Norwich, and afterwards of Ely, whose library was presented to the University more than a century ago. The chief portion of the book is in Latin, and is

said to be as old as the 9th century. This portion contains the Gospel of St John, and portions of the other three Gospels. The MS. also contains part of an Office for the visitation of the sick, and the Apostles' Creed. There is much interest in this portion of the book as indicative of the state of learning in the Celtic Church at the time. It shows that the ecclesiastics of that Church kept pace with the age in which they lived, that they knew their Bible, and could both write and read in Latin. The MS. belonged to a Culdee establishment, and is therefore a memorial of the ancient Celtic Church. It is a pity that we possess so few memorials of that Church, convinced as we are that, did we know the truth, many of the statements made regarding it by men of a different age, and belonging to a differently constituted ecclesiastical system, would be found to be unsupported by the evidence. It is strange that if the Culdee establishments were what many modern writers make them to have been, they should have had so many tokens of their popularity as this volume exhibits; and we know well that that Church did not fall before the assaults of a hostile population, but before those of a hostile king.

But the more interesting portion of the *Book of Deer*, in connection with our inquiry, will be found in the Gaelic entries on the margin and in the vacant spaces of the volume. These have all been given to the world in the recent publication of portions of the book by the Spalding Club, under the editorship of Dr John Stuart. Celtic scholars are deeply indebted to the Spalding Club for this admirable publication, and although many of them will differ from the editor in some of the views which he gives in his accompanying disquisitions, and even in some of the readings of the Gaelic, they cannot but feel indebted to him for the style in which he has furnished them with the original, for it is really so, in the plates which the volume contains. On these every man can comment for himself and form his own inferences. We have given us in this MS.

THE LEGEND OF DEER.

English Translation.

Columcille acusdrostán mac cosgreg adálta tangator áhí marroalseg dia doib gonice abbordobóir acusé-béde cruthnce robomormær búchan aragin acusessé rothídnaig dóib inguthráig sáin insaere gobraith ónormaer acusóthósé. tangator asáathle sen incathráig ele acusdoráten ricolumcille sí iárfallán dórath dé acusdorodloeg ariunormær i-béde gondas tabrad dó acusnítharat acusrogab mac dó galár iarnéré nagleréc acusrobomaréb act nádbec iarsén dochuíd innormaer dattáe nagleréc gondendás ernacde les inmac gondisád slánté dó acusdorát inedbairt doib nácloic intiprat gonice chlóic petti mic garmáit doronsat innernacde acustanic slante dó; Iarsén dorat collumcille dódroslán inchadráig sén acusrosbenac acusforacaib imbrether gebe tisaíd ris nabad bliunce buadac tangator deara drostán arseartháin fri collumcille rolaboír collumcille bedear áfnín ó húun ímácé.

Columcille and Drostan, son of Cosgreg, his pupil, came from I as God revealed to them to Aberdour, and Bede the Pict was Mormaor of Buchan before them, and it was he who gifted to them that town in freedom for ever from mormaor and toiseach. After that they came to another town, and it pleased Columcille, for it was full of the grace of God, and he asked it of the Mormaor, that is Bede, that he would give it to him, and he would not give it, and a son of his took a sickness after refusing the clerics, and he was dead but a little. After that the Mormaor went to entreat of the clerics that they would make prayer for the son that health might come to him, and he gave as an offering to them from Cloch an tiprat (the stone of the well) as far as Cloch Pit mac Garnad (the stone of Pitmacgarnad). They made the prayer, and health came to him. After that Collumcille gave that town to Drostan, and he blessed it, and left the word, Whosoever comes against it, let him not be long-lived or successful. Drostan's tears came (Deara) on separating from Collumcille. Collumcille said, Let Deer (Tear) be its name from hence forward.

Such is the legend of the foundation of the old monastery of Deer, as preserved in this book, and written probably in the twelfth century. It was in all probability handed down from the close of the sixth or from a later period, but it must not be forgotten that a period of six hundred years had elapsed between the events here recorded and the record itself as it appears. It is hard to say whether Columba ever made this expedition to Buchan, or whether Drostan, whose name is in all likelihood British, lived in the time of Columba. The Aberdeen Breviary makes him nephew of the saint, but there is no mention of him in this or any other connection by early ecclesiastical writers, and there is every reason to believe that he belonged to a later period. It was of some consequence at this time to connect any such establishment as that at Deer with the name of Columba. There is nothing improbable in its having been founded by Drostan.

It is interesting to observe several things which are brought to light by this legend of the twelfth century. It teaches us what the men of the period believed regarding the sixth. The ecclesiastics of Deer believed that their own institution had been founded so early as the sixth century, and clearly that they were the successors of the founders. If this be true, gospel light shone among the Picts of Buchan almost as soon as among the people of Iona. It has been maintained that previous to Columba's coming to Scotland the country had felt

powerfully the influence of Christianity,¹ and the legend of Deer would seem to corroborate the statement. From the palace of Brude the king, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, on to the dwelling of the Mormaor, or Governor of Buchan, Christianity occupied the country so early as the ago of Columba. But this is a legend, and must not be made more of than it is worth. Then this legend gives us some view of the evil policy of the sixth century, as the men of the twelfth viewed it. The chief governor of Buchan was Bede, the same name with that of the venerable Northumbrian historian of the eighth century. He is simply designated as Cruthnee (Cruithneach) or the Pict. Was this because there were other inhabitants in the country besides Picts at the time, or because they were Picts in contrast with the people of that day? The probability is, that these writers of the twelfth century designated Bede as a Pict, in contradistinction to themselves, who were probably of Seotic origin. Then the names in this document are of interest. Besides that of Bede, we have Drostan and Cosgreg, his father, and Garnaid. Bede, Drostan, Cosgreg, and Garnaid, are names not known in the Gaelic nomenclature of Scotland or Ireland. And there are names of places, Aberdohoir, known as Aberdour to this day, Buchan also in daily use, Cloch in tiprat not known now, and Pit mac garnaid also

¹ *Early Scottish Church*, p. 146.

become obsolete. Aberdohoir (Aberdwfr) is purely a British name; Buehan, derived from the British *Buech*, a cow, is also British; Pit mac garnaid, with the exception of the Mae, is not Gaelic, so that the only Gaelic name in the legend is Cloeh in tiprat, a merely descriptive term. This goes far to show what the character of the early topography of Scotland really is.

Then there is light thrown upon the civil arrangements of the Celtic state. We read nothing of chiefs and clans, but we have Mormaors (great officers), and Toiseachs (leaders), the next officer in point of rank, understood to be connected with the military arrangements of the country, the one being the head of the civil and the other of the military organisation. At this time there was a Celtic kingdom in Scotland, with a well established and well organised government, entirely different from what appears afterwards under the feudal system of the Anglo-Saxons, when the people became divided into clans, each under their separate chiefs, waging perpetual war with each other. Of all this the Book of Deer cannot and does not speak authoritatively, but it indicates the belief of the twelfth century with regard to the state of the sixth.

The farther Gaelic contents of the Book of Deer are notices of grants of land conferred by the friends of the institution. None of these are real charters, but the age of charters had come, and it was important that persons holding lands should have some formal title to them. Hence the notices of grants inscribed on the margin of this book, all without date, save that there is a copy of a Latin charter of David I., who began his reign in the year 1124.

The *memoranda* of grants to the monastery are in one case headed with the following blessing—*Acus bennact inchoinded arceormar acusarceotosech chomallfas acusdansil daneis*. "And the blessing of the one God on every governor and every leader who keeps this, and to their seed afterwards." The first grant recorded follows immediately after the legend given above. It narrates that Comgeall mac eda gave from Orti to Furene to Columba and to Drostan; that Moridach M'Moreunn gave Pit mac Garnait and Aehal

toche temni, the former being Mormaor and the latter Toiseach. Matain M'Caerill gave a Mormaor's share in Altin (not Altere, as in the Spalding Club's edition), and Culn (not Cullii) M'Batin gave the share of a Toiseach. Domnall M'Girie and Maelbrigte M'Cathail gave Pett in muilenn to Drostan. Cathal M'Moreunt gave Aehad naglereeh to Drostan. Domnall M'Ruadri and Maleolum M'Culeon gave Bidbin to God and to Drostan. Maleolum M'Cinatha (Maleolm the Second) gave a king's share in Bidbin and in Pett M'Gobroig, and two davachs above Rosabard. Maleolum M'Mailbrigte gave the Delere. Malsneete M'Luloig gave Pett Malduib to Drostan. Domnall M'Meie Dubhachin sacrificed every offering to Drostan. Cathal sacrificed in the same manner his Toiseach's share, and gave the food of a hundred every Christmas, and every Paseh to God and to Drostan. Kenneth Mae meie Dobareon and Cathal gave Alterin alla from Te (Tigh) na Camon as far as the birch tree between the two Alterins. Domnall and Cathal gave Etdanin to God and to Drostan. Caineach and Domnall and Cathal sacrificed all these offerings to God and to Drostan from beginning to end free, from Mormaors and from Toiseachs to the day of judgment.

It will be observed that some of the words in this translation are different from those given in the edition of the Spalding Club. Some of the readings in that edition, notwithstanding its general accuracy, are doubtful. In the case of *uethe na camone*, unless the *ue* is understood as standing for *from*, there is no starting point at all in the passage describing the grant. Besides, we read Altin allend, as the name of Altin or Alterin in another grant. This seems to have escaped the notice of the learned translator.

These grants are of interest for various reasons. We have first of all the names of the grantees and others, as the names common during the twelfth and previous centuries, for these grants go back to a period earlier than the reign of Malcolm the Second, when the first change began to take place in the old Celtic system of polity. We have such names as *Comgeall Mac Eda*, probably *Mac Aoidh*, or, as spelt now in English, Mackay; *Moridach M'Mor-*

cunn (*Morgan*), or, as now spelt, M'Morran; *Matain MCaerill*, Matthew M'Kerroll; *Culn M'Batin*, Colin M'Bean; *Domhnall M'Girig*, Donald M'Erig (Gregor or Erie?); *Malbrigte M'Cathail*, Gilbert M'Kail; *Cathal M'Morcunt*, Cathal M'Morran; *Domhnall M'Ruadri*, Donald M'Rory; *Malcolm M'Culeon*, Maleolm M'Colin; *Malcolm M'Cinnatha*, Malcolm M'Kenneth, now M'Kenzie. This was king Malcolm the Second, whose Celtic designation is of the same character with that of the other parties in the notice. *Malcolm M'Mailbrigte*, Maleolm M'Malbride; the nearest approach to the latter name in present use is Gilbert. *Malsneete M'Luloig*, *Malsnechta M'Lulaich*. The former of these names is obsolete, but M'Lullieh is known as a surname to this day. *Domnall M'Meie Dubhacain* (not *Dubbacain*), the latter name not known now. The name *Dobharcon* is the genitive of *Dobhareu*, an otter. The names of animals were frequently applied to men at the time among the Celts. The father of King Brude was *Mialchu*, a greyhound. *Loilgheach* (*Lulaeh*), a man's name, is in reality a mileh eow.

The next set of grants entered on the margin of this remarkable record are as follows:—*Donehad M'Mcie Bead mee Hidid* (probably the same with *Eda*, and therefore *Aoidh*), gave *Acehad Macheor* to Christ and to *Drostan* and to *Coluimeille*; *Maleehi* and *Comgell* and *Gilleoriosd M'Fingun* witnesses, and *Malcoluim M'Molini*. *Cormac M'Cenedig* gave as far as *Seali merlec*. *Comgell M'Caennaig*, the *Toiseach* of *Clan Canan*, gave to Christ and to *Drostan* and to *Coluimeille* as far as the *Gortlie mor*, at the part nearest to *Aldin Alenn*, from *Dubuci* to *Lurehara*, both hill and field free from *Toiseachs* for ever, and a blessing on those who observe, and a curse on those who oppose this.

The names here are different from those in the former entry, with few exceptions. They are *Duncan*, son of *Maebeth*, son of *Hugh* or *Ay*, *Malachi*, *Comgall*, *Gilechrist M'Kinnon*, and *Malcolm M'Millan*, *Comgall M'Caennaig* (*M'Coinnich* or *M'Kenzie*?) In this entry we have the place which is read *Altere* and *Alterin* by Mr *Whitley Stokes*. It is here entered as *Aldin Alenn*, as it is in a former grant entered as *Altin*. In no case is the

er written in full, so that *Alterin* is a guess. But there is no doubt that *Aldin Alenn* and *Alterin alla* are the same place. If it be *Alterin* the *Alla* may mean rough, stony, as opposed to a more level and smooth place of the same name. It will be observed that in this entry the name of a clan appears *Clande Canan* (*Clann Chanain*). There was such a clan in Argyleshire who were treasurers of the Argyle family, and derived their name from the Gaelic *Càin*, a Tax. It is not improbable that the name in Buchan might have been applied to a family of hereditary tax-gatherers.

The next series of grants entered on the margin of the "Book of Deer" are as follows:—*Colbain Mormaor* of Buchan, and *Eva*, daughter of *Gartnait*, his wife, and *Donnalie M'Sithig*, the *Toiseach* of *Clenni Morgainn*, sacrificed all the offerings to God and to *Drostan*, and to *Coluimeilli*, and to *Peter* the Apostle, from all the exactions made on a portion of four *davachs*, from the high monasteries of Scotland generally and the high churches. The witnesses are *Brocein* and *Cormac*, Abbot of *Turbruid*, and *Morgann M'Donnehaid*, and *Gilli Petair M'Donnehaid*, and *Malæchin*, and the two *M'Matni*, and the chief men of Buchan, all as witnesses in *Elain* (*Ellon*).

The names in this entry are *Colban*, the *mormaor*, a name obsolete now—although it would seem to appear in *M'Cubbin*—*Eva*, and *Gartnait*. The former seems to have been the Gaelic form of *Eve*, and the latter, the name of *Eva's* father, is gone out of use, unless it appear in *M'Carthy*—*Donnalie* (it is *Donnachae*, as transcribed in the edition of the *Spalding Club*), *M'Sithig* or *Donnalie M'Keich*, the surname well known still in the Highlands—*Brocein*, the little badger, *Cormac*, *Morgan*, *Gillepedair*, *Malæchin*, the servant of *Eachainn* or *Hector*, and *M'Matni* or *M'Mahon*, the English *Matheson*. There is another instance here of a clan, the clan *Morgan*.

The most of these names must be understood merely as *patronymie*, the son called, according to the Celtic custom, after the name of his father. There is no reason to think that these were clan names in the usual sense. King *Malcolm II.* is called *Malcolm M'Cinnatha*.

or Malcolm the son of Kenneth, but it would be sufficiently absurd to conclude that Malcolm was a Mackenzie. And yet there are two clans referred to in these remarkable records, the clan Canan and the clan Morgan. There is no reason to believe that either the Buchanans of Stirlingshire or of Argyleshire had any connection with the tribe of Canan mentioned here; but it is possible that the Mackays of the Reay country, whose ancient name was Clan Morgan, may have derived their origin from Buchan. It is interesting to observe that the Toiseachs are associated with these clans, *Comgell Mac Caennaig* being called the *Toiseach* of Clan Canan, and *Donnatic M'Sithig* the *Toiseach* of Clan Morgan, although neither of the men are designated by the clan name. It would seem that under the *Mormaors* the family system existed and was acknowledged, the *Mormaor* being the representative of the king, and the *Toiseach* the head of the sept, who led his followers to battle when called upon to do so. At the same time the clan system would seem to have been in an entirely different condition from that to which it attained after the introduction of the feudal system, when the chiefs for the first time got feudal titles to their lands.

Many other inferences might be made from these interesting records. It is enough, however, to say that they prove beyond a question the existence of a literary culture and a social organisation among the ancient Celts for which they do not always get credit; and if such a book existed at Deer, what reason is there to doubt that similar books were numerous dispersed over the other ecclesiastical institutions of the country?

A eolcha Alban uile,
A shluagh feuta foltbhuidhe,
Cia cend ghabhail, au eòl dhuibh,
Ro ghabhasdair Albanbruigh.

Albanus ro ghabh, lià a shlogh,
Mac sen oirdere Isicon,
Brathair is Briutus gan brath,
O raitear Alba eathrach.

Ro ionnarb a brathair bras,
Briotus tar muir n-Icht-n-amhnas,
Ro gabh Briutus Albain ain,
Go rinn fhiadhnach Fotudain.

Fota iar m-Briutus m-blaith, m-bil,
Ro ghabhasd Clanna Nemhidh,
Erglan iar teacht as a loing,
Do aithle thoghla thuir Couing.

There is one curious entry towards the close of the MS.—“*Forchubus caichduini imbia arrath in lebran colli. arutardda bendacht foranmain in truagan rodscribai 7,*” which is thus translated by Mr Whitley Stokes:—“Be it on the conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour: that he give a blessing on the soul of the wretchoek who wrote it.”

This is probably the true meaning of the Gaelic. But the original might be rendered in English by the following translation:—“Let it be on the conscience of each man in whom shall be for good fortune the booklet with colour, that he give a blessing on the soul of the poor one who wrote it.” *Rath* is good fortune, and *li* is colour, referring probably to the coloured portions of the writing, and *Truaghan* is the Gaelic synonym of the “miserus” or “miserimus” of the old Celtic church. Mr Whitley Stokes, as quoted by Dr Stuart, says (p. lx), “In point of language this is identical with the oldest Irish glosses in Zeuss’ *Grammatica Celtica*.”

THE ALBANIC DUAN.

This relic of Celtic literature might have been taken as chronologically preceding the Book of Deer, but while portions of the latter are looked upon as having been written previous to the ninth century, the former, so far as we know, is of the age of Malcolm III. It is said to have been sung by the Gaelic bard of the royal house at the coronation of Malcolm. It is transcribed here as it appears in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, where it is given as copied from the M^cFirbis MS. in the Royal Irish Academy:—

English Translation.

Ye learned of Alban altogether
Ye people shy, yellow-haired
Which was the first invasion, do ye know
That took the land of Alban?

Albanus took it, activo his men,
That famous son of Isacon,
The brother of Briutus without guile
From whom Alba of the ships is said.

Briutus banished his bold brother
Over the stormy sea of Icht.
Briutus took the beautiful Alban
To the tempestuous promontory of Fotudan.

Long after Briutus the noble, the good,
The race of Neimhidh took it,
Erglan, after coming out of his ship
After the destruction of the tower of Coning.

Cruithnigh ros gabhsad iarttain,
Tar ttiachtain a h-Erean-mhuigh,
.X.righ tri fichid righ ran,
Gabhhsad diobh an Cruithean-chlar.

Cathluau an ead righ diobh-soin,
Aisnedhfead daoibh go cumair,
Rob e an righ degheanach dhibh
An cur calma Cusaintin.

Clanna Eathach ina n-diaigh,
Gabhhsad Albain iar n-airdghliaidh,
Clanna Conairo an chaomhfhir,
Toghaidhe na treun Ghaoidhil.

Tri mce Erc mce Eachdach ait,
Triar fuair beannachtair Patraic,
Ghabhsad Albain, ard a n-gus,
Loarn, Fearghus, is Aonghus.

Dech m-bliadhna Loarn, ler bladh,
I flaitheas Oirir Alban,
'Tar es Loarn fhel go n-gus,
Seacht m-bliadhna fichoat Fearghus.

Domhangart mac d'Fheargus ard,
Aireamh cuig m-bliadhan m-biothgar,
A .XXXIII. gan troid,
Do Comghall mac Domhangoirt.

Da bhliadhan Conaing gan tair,
Tar es Comhgaill do Gobhran,
Ti bliadhna fo cuig gan roinn
Ba ri Conall mac Combghoil.

Cethre bliadhna fichat tall
Ba ri Aodhan na n-iol-rann,
Dech m-bliadhna fo seacht seol n-gle,
I flaitheas Eathach buidhe.

Connchadh Cearr raithe, rel bladh,
A .XVI. dia mac Fearchar,
Tar es Ferchair, feaghaidh rainn,
.XIII. bliadhna Domhnaill.

Tar es Domhnaill bric na m-bla,
Conall, Dunghall .X. m-bliadhna,
.XIII. bliadhna Domhnaill dnuinn
Tar es Dunghail is Chonail.

Maolduin mac Conaill na creach
A .XVII. do go dlightheach,
Fearchair fadd, feagha leat,
Do chaith bliadhain thar .XX.

Da bliadhain Eachdach na-n-cach,
Ro ba calma an ri rightheach,
Aoin bhliadhain ba flaithe iarttain,
Ainceallach maith mac Fearchair.

Seachd m-bliadhna Dnnghail dein,
Acus a ceither do Ailpen,
Tri bliadhna Mnireadhioch mhaith,
.XXX. do Aodh na ardfhlaithe.

A ceathair fichat, nir fhann,
Do bhliadhnaibh do chaith Domhnaill,
Da bhliadhain Conaill, cem n-gle,
Is a ceathair Chonall ele.

Naoi m-bliadhna Cusaintin chain,
A naoi Aongusa ar Albain,
Cethre bliadhna Aodha ain,
Is a tri deng Eoghanain.

Triocha bliadhain Cionaoith clruaidh,
A ceathair Domhnaill drochruaidh,
.XXX. bliadhain co na bhrigh,
Don churadh do Cusaintin.

The Cruithne took it after that
On coming out of Erin of the plain,
Seventy noble kings of them
Took the Cruithnean plain.

Cathluan was the first king of them,
I tell it you in order,
The last king of them was
The brave hero Constantino.

The children of Eochy after them
Seized Alban after a great fight,
The children of Conair, the gentle man,
The choice of the brave Gael.

Three sons of Erc the son of Eochy the joyous,
Three who got the blessing of Patrick,
Seized Alban ; great was their courage,
Lorn, Fergus, and Angus.

Ten years to Lorn, by which was renown,
In the sovereignty of Oirir Alban,
After Lorn the generous and strong
Seven and twenty years to Fergus.

Domangart, son of the great Fergus,
Had the number of five terrible years.
Twenty-four years without a fight
Were to Conghall son of Domangart.

Two years of success without contempt
After Comghall to Gobhran.
Three years with five without division
Was king Conall son of Comghall.

Four and twenty peaceful years
Was king Aodhan of many songs.
Ten years with seven, a true tale,
In sovereignty Eochy buy.

Connchadh Cearr a quarter, star of renown,
Sixteen years to his son Ferchar,
After Ferchar, see the poems,
Thirteen years to Donald.

After Donald breac of the shouts,
Was Conall, Dungal teu years,
Thirteen years Donald Donn
After Dungal and Conall.

Maolduin, son of Conall of spoils,
Seventeen years to him rightfully.
Ferchar fadd, see you it
Spent one year over twenty.

Two years was Eochy of steeds,
Bold was the king of palaces.
One year was king after that
Ainceallach the good, son of Ferchar.

Seven years was Dungal the impetuous,
And four to Ailpin.
Three years Murdoch the good,
Thirty to Aodh as high chief.

Eighty, not feeble
Years did Donald spend.
Two years Conall, a noble course,
And four another Conall.

Nine years Constantine the mild,
Nine Angus over Alban,
Four years the excellent Aodh,
And thirteen Eoghanan.

Thirty years Kenneth the hardy,
Four Donald of ruddy face,
Thirty years with effect
To the hero, to Constantine.

Da bhliadhain, ba daor a dath,
Da brathair do Aodh fhionnseothach,
Domhnall mac Cusaintin echain,
Ro chaith bliadhain fa cheathair.

Cusaintin ba calma a ghleac,
Ro chaith a se is da fhicheat,
Maolcoluim cethre bliadhna,
Iondolbh a h-ocht air-driagla.

Seacht m-bliadhna Dubhod der
Acus a ceathair Cuilen,
A .XXVII, os gach cloinn
Do Cionaoth mac Maolcholuim.

Seacht m-bliadhna Cusaintiu cluin
Acus a ceathair Macdhuibh
Triothead bliadhain, breacaid rainn
Ba ri Monaidh Maolcoluim.

Se bliadhna Donnchaid glain gaoith
.XVII. bliadhna mac Fionnlaoidh
Tar es Meebeathaidh go m-blaidh
.vii mis i fllathios Lughlaigh.

Maolcholuim anosa as ri,
Mac Donnchaidh dhata dhurcbhli,
A re noch a n-fidir neach,
Acht an t-eolach as eolach
A colcha.

Da righ for chaogad, cluine,
Go mac Donnchaidh drech ruire,
Do shiol Ere ardghlain anoir,
Gabhsad Albain, a colagh.

Two years, sad their complexion,
To his brother Aodh the youthfully fair,
Donald, son of Coustantine the mild,
Spent a year above four.

Constantine, bold was his conflict
Spent forty and six.
Malcolm four years.
Indulf eight in high sovereignty.

Seven years Dubhoda the impetuous,
And four Cuilen.
And twenty-seven over all the tribes
To Kenneth the son of Malcolm.

Seven years Constantine, listen,
And four to Maeduff,
Thirty years, the verses mark it,
Was king of Monaidh, Malcolm.

Six years was Duncan of pure wisdom,
Seventeen years the son of Finlay,
After him Macbeth with renown,
Seven months in sovereignty Lulach.

Malcolm is now the king,
Son of Duacan the yellow-coloured,
His time knoweth no one
But the knowing one who is knowing,
Ye learned.

Two kings over fifty, listen,
To the son of Dunean of coloured face,
Of the seed of Ere the noble, in the east,
Possessed Alban, ye learned.

Although this poem is given in Gaelic as it appears in the *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*,² the English translation differs in some places. At p. 60 *Tri bliadhna fo cuig*³ is translated by Mr Skene "three years five times," while in the same page *dech m-bliadhna fo seacht* is translated "ten years and seven." There is no apparent ground for such a distinction. So in p. 61 *ceathar ficheat*, eighty, is translated "four and twenty," which is at variance with the usus of the Gaelic language. The above translation seems the true one.

This poem is manifestly of great antiquity and of deep historical interest. Of the authorship little is known. It has been suggested that it is of Irish origin.⁴ This is possible, for judging by the synchronisms of Flann Mainistreach, the Irish seanachies were well informed on Scottish matters. But whether Irish or not, the whole poem refers to Scotland, and is entitled to a place among the Celtic remains of the country. It is our oldest and most authentic record of the Scottish kings, and in

this respect commended itself to the regard of Pinkerton, who was no friend of anything that was creditable to the Celts or helped to establish their claims.

MUIREADHACH ALBANNACH.

The name of Muireadhach Albannach is well known among the literary traditions of Celtic Scotland. In a curious genealogy by Lachlan Mac Mhuireadhaich or Vuirich, usually called Lachlan M'Pherson, given in the Report of the Highland Society of Scotland on Ossian,⁵ the said Lachlan traces his own genealogy back through eighteen generations to this Muireadhach or Murdoch of Scotland, and states that his ancestors were bards to M'Donald of Clanronald during the period. The original Murdoch was an ecclesiastic, and has probably given their name to the whole M'Pherson clan. There is a curious poetical dialogue given in the Dean of Lismore's Book between him and Cathal Cròdhearg, King of Connaught, who flourished in the close of the 12th century, upon their entering at the same time on a monastic life. The poem would seem to show Murdoch to have been a man of

² P. 57.

³ *Fo* here and elsewhere in the poem seems to represent *fa*, upon, rather than *ar*, as Mr Skene supposes.

⁴ *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, Int. p. xxxvii.

⁵ P. 275.

high birth, while his own compositions are evidence both of his religious earnestness and his poetical talent. Until the publication of the Dean of Lismore's book, it was not known that there were any remains of his composi-

tions in existence, but that collection contains several, all on religious subjects. The following is a specimen of his composition, and of the Gaelic poetry of the 12th or 13th century:—

Mithiech domh triall gu tigh Pharaiss,
 'N uair a' ghuin gun e soirbh.
 Cosnaim an tigh trenn gun choire,
 Gun sgeul aig neach 'eil oirnu.
 Dean do sriuth ri do shagairt
 'S coir enimhne ach gu dù umad olc.
 Na beir do thigh righ gun agh
 Sgeul a's prìomh ri agradh ort.
 Na dean folehainn a'd pheacadh,
 Ge grain ri innseadh a h-ole ;
 Leigeadh de'd chuid an cleith diomhar,
 Mur be angair a gabhail ort.
 Dean do shith ris an luchd-dreuchd,
 Ge dona, ge annhuinn le'd chor,
 Sguir ri'd lochd, do ghul dean domhain,
 Mu'n bi ole ri fhaighinn ort.
 Mairg a threigeadh tigh an Ardrigh,
 Aig ghràdh peacaidh, turagh an ni,
 An t-ole ni duino gu diomhair
 Iomadh an sin faehan mu'n ghnìomh.
 Aig so searmoin do shìol an Adhaimh,
 Mar shaoilim nach bheil so an bhrucg,
 Fulang a bhais seal gu seachainn
 An fear nach domh gu'n teid.
 Fhìr a cheannaich sìol an Adhaimh
 D'fhuil, a cholha, 'us da chridhe,
 Air a rcir gu'n deanadh sealga,
 Ger ge dian ri 'm pheacadh mi.

English Translation.

'Tis time for me to go to the house of Paradise
 While this wound is not easily borne,
 Let me win this house, famous, faultless,
 While others can tell nought else of us.
 Confess thyself now to thy priest,
 Remember clearly all thy sins ;
 Carry not to the house of the spotless King
 Aught that may thee expose to charge.
 Conceal not any of thy sins
 However hateful its evil to tell ;
 Confess what has been done in secret,
 Lest thou expose thyself to wrath ;
 Make thy peace now with the clergy
 That thou mayst be safe as to thy state ;
 Give up thy sin, deeply repent,
 Lest its guilt be found in thee.
 Woe to him forsook the great King's house
 For love of sin, sad is the deed ;
 The sin a man commits in secret
 Much is the debt his sin incurs.
 This is a sermon for Adam's race,
 I think I've nothing said that's false,
 Though men may death for a time avoid,
 'Tis true they can't at length escape.
 Thou who hast purchased Adam's race,
 Their blood, their body, and their heart,
 The things we cherish thou dost assail
 However I may sin pursue.⁶

It is not necessary to give farther specimens of Murdoch of Scotland's poetry here, as those existing are very similar to the above ; but several specimens will be found in the Dean of Lismore's Book, from which the above is taken. The original has been difficult to read, and in consequence to render accurately, but there is little doubt that the real meaning of the poem is given. If the Book of Deer be a specimen of the Gaelic at the close of the 12th century in the east of Scotland, the above is a specimen of the same language from the west, probably from the Hebrides.

GÆLIC CHARTER.

In 1408, Donald, Lord of the Isles, the hero of Harlaw, made a grant of lands in Islay to Brian Vicar Mackay, one of the old Mackays of the island. The charter conveying these lands still exists, and is written in the Gaelic language. As it is now published by the Record Commission, it is not necessary to give it here, but it is a document of much interest, written by Fergus M'Beth or Beaton, one of

the famous Beaton's who were physicians to the Lord of the Isles, and signed with the holograph of the great island chief himself. The lands conveyed are in the eastern part of the island, north of the Mull of Oa, and embrace such well-known places as Baile-Vicar, Cornabus, Tocamol, Cracobus, &c. The style of the charter is that of the usual feudal charters written in Latin, but the remarkable thing is to find a document of the kind written in Gaelic at a time when such a thing was almost unknown in the Saxon dialects of either Scotland or England.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

The Highlands seem to have had a large number of men of letters during the 15th century, and most of our existing manuscript materials seem to be of that age. These materials are of various kinds. They consist of short theological treatises, with traditional anecdotes of saints and others which seem to

⁶ From *Dean of Lismore's Book*, with a few verbal alterations, p. 157.

have been prevalent in the church at the time. One of the theological treatises now in the library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, has reference to the Sacrament of the Supper, and maintains the purely Protestant doctrine that the sacrament can only profit those who receive it in faith. There are anecdotes of priests, often called by the Gaelic name of *maighistir*, which would indicate that the priests of the period had wives, and that the doctrine of celibacy had not then entered the Scottish church.

Some of the manuscripts are genealogical, and as such are of much value to the Scottish historian. They show what the ideas of the *seanachies* of the thirteenth century were regarding the origin of the Highland clans. Some of these genealogical records have been published by the Iona Club, and are in this way accessible to the general reader. They are indicative of the care taken at the period to preserve memorials of family history, and were of value not only as conducing to the gratification of family pride, but to the preservation of family property, inasmuch as these were the only means in accordance with which succession to property could be determined. The consequence is, that they are not always very reliable, favour being apt to bias the recorder on one side, just as enmity and ill-will were apt to bias him on the other. It is remarkable how ready the *seanachy* of a hostile clan was to proclaim the line of the rival race illegitimate. This affects the value of these records, but they are valuable notwithstanding, and are to a considerable extent reliable, especially within the period where authentic information could be obtained by the writer.

A portion of these manuscripts deals with medical and metaphysical subjects, the two being often combined. We are hardly prepared to learn to how great an extent these subjects were studied at an early period in the Highlands. We are apt to think that the region was a barbarous one without either art or science. A sight of the sculptures which distinguished the 14th and 15th centuries is prone to remove this impression. We find a style of sculpture still remaining in ancient crosses and gravestones that is characteristic of the Highlands; elaborate ornaments of a

distinct character, rich and well executed tracery, figures well designed and finished. Such sculptures, following upon these of the prehistoric period found still within the ancient Pictish territory, exist chiefly throughout the West Highlands, and indicate that one art, at least, of native growth, distinguished the Gaelic Celts of the Middle Ages.

The medical manuscripts existing are chiefly the productions of the famous Macbeths or Beatons, the hereditary physicians of the Lords of the Isles for a long series of years. The charter of lands in Islay, already referred to, drawn out by Fergus Beaton, is of a date as early as 1408, and three hundred years after, men of the same race are found occupying the same position. Hereditary physicians might seem to offer but poor prospects to their patients, and that especially at a time when schools of medicine were almost if not altogether unknown in the country; but the fact is, that this was the only mode in which medical knowledge could be maintained at all. If such knowledge were not transmitted from father to son, the probability was that it would perish, just as was the case with the genealogical knowledge of the *seanachies*. This transmission, however, was provided for in the Celtic system, and while there was no doubt a considerable difference between individuals in the succession in point of mental endowments, they would all possess a certain measure of skill and acquirement as the result of family experience. These men were students of their science as it existed at the time. The Moors were then the chief writers on medicine. Averroes and Avicenna were men whose names were distinguished, and whose works, although little known now, extended to folios. Along with their real and substantial scientific acquirements, they dived deep into the secrets of Astrology, and our Celtic students, while ready disciples of them in the former study, followed them most faithfully and zealously in the latter likewise. There are numerous medical and astrological treatises still existing written in the Gaelic language, and taken chiefly from the works of Moorish and Arabian writers. How these works reached the Scottish Highlands it is hard to say, nor is it easier to understand how the ingredients of the medical prescriptions of these practitioners could be

obtained in a region so inaccessible at the time. The following specimen of the written Gaelic of medical manuscripts, is taken from Dr O'Donovan's grammar:—⁷

English Translation.

"Labhrum anois do leighes na h-éslainti so oir is eigin neithi imda d'fhagbhail d'a leighes; agus is é céad leighes is ferr do dhénamh dhi. 1. na lenna truaillighthi do glanad maillo caterfusia; óir a deir Avicenna 's an 4 Cān. co n-déin in folmhughadh na leanna loisgi d'inarbad. An 2.úí oilemhain bidh agus dighi d'ordughadh dóibh; an tres ní, an t-adhbhar do dhileaghadh; an 4.úí a n-innarbadh go h-implán; an 5.úí, fothraicthi do dhénam dóibh; an 6.úí, is eigin licteub comhshurtachta do thobhairt dóib. An 7.úí, is eigin neithi noch aentuighins rin do thobhairt dóib inuna roib an corp línta do droch-leannaibh."

"Let me now speak of the cure of this disease (scurvy), for many things must be got for its cure; the first cure which is best to be made is to clean the corrupt humours with caterfusia; for Avicenna says in the fourth Canon that evacuation causes an expulsion of the burnt humours. The second thing, to order the patients a proper regimen of meat and drink; the third thing, to digest the matter; the fourth thing, to expel them completely; the fifth thing, to prepare a bath for them; the sixth, it is necessary to give them strengthening licteub. The seventh, it is necessary to give them such things as agree with them, unless the body be full of bad humours."

This extract is taken from an Irish manuscript, but the language is identical with that in use in the writings of the Beaton. Celtic Scotland and Celtic Ireland followed the same system in medicine as in theology and poetry.

The metaphysical discussions, if they may be so called, are very curious, being characterised by the features which distinguished the science of metaphysics at the time. The most remarkable thing is that there are Gaelic terms to express the most abstract ideas in metaphysics; —terms which are now obsolete, and would not be understood by any ordinary Gaelic speaker. A perusal of these ancient writings shows how much the language has declined, and to what an extent it was cultivated at an early period. So with astrology, its terms are translated and the science is fully set forth. Tables are furnished of the position of the stars by means of which to foretell the character of future events. Whatever literature existed in Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries, extended its influence to the Scottish Highlands. The nation was by no means in such a state of barbarism as some writers would lead us to expect. They had legal forms, for we have a formal legal charter of lands written in Gaelic; they had medical men of skill and acquirement; they had writers on law and theology, and they had men skilled in architecture and sculpture.

THE DEAN OF LISMORE'S BOOK.

When the Highland Society of Scotland were engaged in preparing their report on the poems of Ossian, they thought it important to search with all possible diligence after such sources of ancient Gaelic poetry as might have

been open to Macpherson, and especially for such written remains as might still be found in the country. Among others they applied to the Highland Society of London, whose secretary at the time, Mr John Mackenzie, was an enthusiastic Highlander, and an excellent Gaelic scholar. The Society furnished several interesting manuscripts which they had succeeded in collecting, and among these an ancient paper book which has since been called the "Book of the Dean of Lismore." This book, which now lies in the library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, is a small quarto very much defaced, of about seven inches square, and one inch and a quarter in thickness. It is bound in a piece of coarse sheepskin, and seems to have been much tossed about. The manuscript is written in what may be called phonetic Gaelic, the words being spelled on the same principle as the Welsh and Manx, although the application of the principle is very different. "Athair," *father*, is "Ayr;" "Saor," *free*, is "Seyr;" "Fhuair," *found*, is "Hoar;" "Leodhas," *Lewis*, is "Looyss;" "iuchair," *a key*, is "ewthir;" "ghràdh," *love*, is "Zrau." This principle of phonetic spelling, with a partial admission of the Irish eclipsis and the Irish dot in aspiration, distinguishes the whole manuscript, and has made it very difficult to interpret. The letter used is the English letter of the 15th and 16th centuries, and the MS. was transcribed by the late Mr Ewen M'Lachlan of Aberdeen, an admirable Gaelic scholar. But no attempt was made to transfer its contents into modern Gaelic, or to interpret them, save in the case of a few fragments which

⁷*Irish Grammar*, p. 449

were transferred and interpreted by Dr Smith for the Highland Society. Recently, however, the whole manuscript, with few exceptions, has been transcribed, presented in a modern Gaelic dress, translated and annotated, by the writer; and a historical introduction and additional notes have been furnished by Dr W. F. Skene.

The volume is full of interest, as presenting a view of the native literature of the Highlands in the 15th and 16th centuries, while it contains productions of a much earlier age. The fragments which it contains are both Scottish and Irish, showing how familiar the bardic schools were with the productions of both countries. Much of the contents consists of fragments of what is usually called Ossianic poetry—compositions by Ossian, by Fergus fìdh his brother, by Conall Mac-Edirscoil, by Caoilte M'Ronan, and by poets of a later age, who imitated these ancient bards, such as Allan MacRorie, Gilliecallum Mac an Olla, and others. The collection bears on one of its pages the name "Jacobus M'Gregor decanus Lismorensis," *James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore*, and it has been conjectured from this fact and the resemblance of the writing in the signature to that of the body of the manuscript, that this was the compiler of the work. That the manuscript was the work of a M'Gregor is pretty evident. It contains a series of obits of important men, most of them chiefs and other men of note of the clan Gregor, and there are among the poetical pieces of a date later than the

Ossianic, numerous songs in praise of that clan. It seems, however, that M'Gregor had a brother called Dougal, who designates himself *daor-oglach*, or "apprentice," who had some share in making the compilation. These M'Gregors belonged to Fortingall in Perthshire, although James held office in the diocese of Argyll. He was vicar of the parish of Fortingall, and it is presumed usually resided there.

In giving specimens from M'Gregor's collection, it may be desirable to treat of the whole of what is called the Ossianic poetry. It is in this collection that we find the earliest written specimens of it, and although Macpherson's Ossian did not appear for two centuries later, it seems better to group the whole together in this portion of our notice. The word "ursgeul" was applied by the Highlanders to these poetical tales. This word has been translated "a new tale," as if the *ùr* here meant "new" in contradistinction to older tales. But the word *ùr* meant "noble" or "great," as well as "new," and the word as so used must be understood as meaning a "noble tale" in contradistinction to the *sgeulachd*, or other tale of less note. From what source M'Gregor derived his materials is not said, but the probability is that he was indebted both to manuscripts and to oral tradition for them. We shall here give a specimen of the Dean's collection as it appears in the original, with a version in regular Gaelic spelling, and an English translation. It is the poem usually called "*Bàs Dhiarmaid*," or *the Death of Diarmad*.

Modern Gaelic.

A HOUDIR SO ALLANE M'ROYREE.

Gleannschee in glenn so rame heive
 A binn feig agus lon
 Menik redeis iu nane
 Ar on trath so in dey agon
 A glen so fa wenn Zwlbin zwrm
 Is haald tulchi fa zran
 Ner wanew a roythi gi dark
 In dey helga o inn na vane
 Estith beg ma zalew leith
 A chuddyeht cheive so woym
 Er wenn Zulbin is er inn fail
 Is er M'ezoywn skayl troyg
 Gur lai finn fa troyg in sheiga
 Er V'ezwn is derk lei
 Zwl di wenn Zwlbin di helga
 Iu turkgi nach fadin erm zei
 Lai M'ezwonn narm ay
 Da bay gin dorehirre in tork
 Gillir royth ba zoill finn
 Is sche assne rin do locht

A Ì-ÙCHDAIR SO AILEAN M'RUAHDRAIDH.

Gleannsith an gleann so rì'm thaobh,
 'S am binn feidh agus loin,
 Is minig a rachas an Fheinn
 Air an t-srath so au deigh an con.
 An gleann so fa Bheinn Ghulbainn ghuirm,
 Is aillidh tulcha fo'n ghréin,
 Na sruthana a ruith gu dearg,
 An deigh shealg o Fhìonn na Feinn.
 Eisidibh beag mar dh'fhalbh laoch,
 A ehuideachd chaoimh so uam,
 Air Bheinn Ghulbainn 'us air Fìonn fial,
 'Us air M' O'Dhuinn, sgeul truagh :
 Gur le Fìonn fa truagh an t-sealg
 Air Mhae O'Dhuinn a's deirge lith,
 Dhol do Bheinn Ghulbainn do shealg
 An tuire nach faodainn airm dhith.
 Le Mac O'Dhuinn au airm aigh,
 Do'm b'e gu'n torchradh an torc,
 Geillear roimhe, bu dh'fhoill Fhinn,
 Is e esan a rinn do locht.

Er fa harlow a zail
 M'ozunn graw nin sgoll
 Ach so in skayll fa tursych mnaan
 Gavr less di layve an tork
 Zingywal di lach ni wane
 Da gurri ca assi gnok
 In schenn tork scehe hi garv
 Di vag ballerych na helve mok
 Soeyth finn is derk dreach
 Fa wenn zwlbin dress in telga
 Di fre dinnit less in tork
 Mor in tolga a rin a shelga
 Di clastich cozar ni wane
 Nor si narm teach fa a kann
 Ersi in a vest o swoyn
 Is glossis woyth er a glenn
 Curris ri faggin nin leich
 In shen tork scehe er freich borb
 Bi geyr no ganyth sleygh
 Bi transeisygh na gath bolga
 M'ozunn ni narm geyr
 Frager less in na vest olk
 Wa teive reyll trom navynnyth gay
 Currir sleygh in dayl in turk
 Brissir in cran less fa thre
 Si chran fa reir er in mwk
 In sleygh o wasi waryerka vlaye
 Rait less nochchar hay na corp
 Targir in tan lann o troyle
 Di chossin mor loye in narm
 Marviss M'ozunn fest
 Di hanyth feyn de less slane
 Tuttis sprocht er Inn ne wane
 Is soyis sea si gnok
 Makozunn nar dult dayve
 Olk less a hecht slane o tork
 Er weith zoyth faddi no host
 A durt gar wolga ri ray
 Tothiss a zermut o hocht
 Ga maid try sin tork so id taa
 Char zult ay a chonyth finn
 Olk leinn gin a heacht da hygh
 Toissi tork er a zrum
 M'ozunn nach tromme trygh
 Toiss na ye reiss
 A zermut gi meine a tore
 Fa lattis troych ya chinn
 A zil nin narm rim gort
 Ymheis bi hurrus goye
 Agus toissi zayve in tork
 Gunne i freich neive garve
 Boonn in leich bi zarg in drod
 Tnttis in sin er in roin
 M' O'Zwne nar eyvc fealle
 Na la di heive in turk
 Ach sen ayd zut gi dorve
 A la schai in swn fa crcay
 M' O'Zwne keawe in gleacht
 Invakane fullich ni wane
 Sin tullu so chayme fa art
 Saywic swlzorme essroye
 Far la herrit boye gi ayr
 In dey a horchirt la tork
 Fa hulchin a chnokso a taa
 Dermut M' O'Zwne oyill
 Huttom tra ead nin noor
 Bi gil a wrai no grane
 Bn derk a wail no blai k . . .
 Fa boe innis a alt
 Fadda rosk barglan fa lesga
 Gurme agus glassi na hwle
 Maissi is cassi gowl ni gleacht
 Binnis is grinnis na zloyr
 Gil no zoid varzerk vlaa
 Mayd agis evyecht sin leich

Fear fa tharladh an gaol,
 Mac O'Dhuinn gràdh nan sgoil,
 Ach so an sgeul fa tursach mnathan,
 Gabhar leis do laimh an torc.
 Dìongal do laoch na Feinn
 Do chuireadh e as a chnoc,
 An seann torc Sìthe bu ghairbhe,
 Do fhac ballardaich na h-alla-muic.
 Suidhidh Fionn is deirge dreach,
 Fa Bheinn Ghulbainn ghlais an t-scilg,
 Do frith dh' imich leis an torc,
 Mòr an t-ole a rinu a shealg.
 Ri clàisdeachd co-ghair na Feinn
 'N uair 's an arm a teachd fa 'ceann
 Eircas a hheisd o shuain,
 'Us gluaiseas uath' air a ghleann.
 Cuireas ri fàgail nan laoch,
 An seann torc 'us e air friodh borb,
 Bu gheire no gath nan sleagh,
 Bu treine a shaigh no gath bolga.
 Mac O'Dhuinn nan arm geyr,
 Frcagras leis a' bheisd ole,
 O' thaobh thriall trom, nimhneach, gath,
 Cuirear sleagh an dail an tuirc.
 Brisear a crann leis fa thri,
 Is i a crann fa rèir air a' mhuc,
 An t-sleagh o bhos bhar-dhearg, hhlàth,
 Raitleis noch char e' na corp.
 Tairngear an tan lann o' truail,
 Do choisinn mòr luaidh an arm,
 Marbhas Mac O'Dhuinn a' bheisd,
 Do thainig e féin as slàn.
 Tuiteas sprochd air Fionn na Feinu,
 'Us snidheas e 's a chnoc,
 Mac O' Dhuinn nach do dhiult daimh
 Ole leis a thighinn slàn o' torc.
 Air hhiith dha fada 'u a thosd,
 A dnbhairt, ged a h' ole ri ràdh,
 Tomhais, a Dhiarmaid o' shoe,
 Cia meud troidh 's an torc a ta.
 Char dhiult e athcluinge Fhinn,
 Ole leinn gun e theachd d'a thigh.
 Tomhaisidh an torc air a dhrum,
 Mac O'Dhuinn nach trom troidh.
 Tomhais 'n a aghaidh a ris,
 A Dhiarmaid gu mion an torc ;
 Fa leat is truagh dha chinn,
 A ghille nan arm roinn ghoint.
 Imicheas, bu thurus goimh,
 Agus tomhaisidh dhoibh an torc.
 Guinidh a fhriogh nimh, garhh
 Bonn an laoch bu garbh an trod.
 Tuiteas an sin air an raon,
 Mac O'Dhuinn nior aoibh feall ;
 'N a luidhe do thaobh an tuirc,
 Ach sin e dhuit gu doirbh.
 A ta se an sin fa chrenchd
 Mac O'Dhuinn caomh an gleachd ;
 Aon mhacan fulangach nam Fiann
 'S an tulach so chitheam fa fheart.
 Seabhag shilghorm Easruaidh,
 Fear le m beircadh huaidh gach àir,
 An deigh a thorchairt le torc
 Fa thulchain a chnuic so a ta.
 Diarmad Mac O'Dhuinn aibheil,
 A thuiteam troimh end ; mo nuar !
 Bu ghile a bhragh'd no grjan,
 Bu dheirge a bheul no hlàth caora.
 Fa huidhe innis a fhalt,
 Fada rosg harghlan fa liosg,
 Guirme agus glaise 'n a shùil,
 Maise 'ns cause ch' nan cleachd.
 Binneas 'ns grinneas 'n a ghloir,
 Gile 'n a dhoid bhar-dhearg bhlàth,
 Meud agus éifeachd 's an laoch

Scng is ser no kness bayn
 Coythtye is maaltair ban
 M' O'Zwne bi vor boye
 In turri char hog swle
 O chorreich wr er a zroy
 Immin deit cyde is each
 Fer in neygin ereach nar charra
 Gilli a bar gasga is seith
 Ach troyg mir a teich so glenn
 Glennschee.

English Translation.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS IS ALLAN M'RORIE.

Glenshee the vale that close beside me lies
 Where sweetest sounds are heard of deer and elk,
 And where the Feinn did oft pursue the chase
 Following their hounds along the lengthening vale.
 Below the great Ben Gulbin's grassy height,
 Of fairest knolls that lie beneath the sun
 The valley winds. It's streams did oft run red,
 After a hunt by Finn and by the Feinn.
 Listen now while I detail the loss
 Of one a hero in this gentle band ;
 'Tis of Ben Gulbin and of generous Finn
 And Mae O'Duine, in truth a piteous tale.
 A mournful hunt indeed it was for Finn
 When Mae O'Duine, he of the ruddiest hue,
 Up to Ben Gulbin went, resolved to hunt
 The boar, whom arms had never yet subdued.
 Though Mae O'Duine of brightest burnished arms,
 Did bravely slay the fierce, and furious boar,
 Yet Finn's deceit did him induco to yield,
 And this it was that did his grievous hurt.
 Who among men was so belov'd as he ?
 Brave Mac O'Duine, beloved of the schools ;
 Women all mourn this sad and piteous tale
 Of him who firmly grasped the murderous spear.
 Then bravely did the hero of the Feinn
 Rouse from his cover in the mountain side
 The great old boar, him so well known in Shee,
 The greatest in the wild boar's haunt e'er seen.
 Finn sat him down, the man of ruddiest hue,
 Beneath Ben Gulbin's soft and grassy side ;
 For swift the boar now coursed along the heath ;
 Great was the ill eame of that dreadful hunt.
 'Twas when he heard the Feinn's loud ringing shout,
 And saw approach the glittering of their arms,
 The monster wakened from his heavy sleep
 And stately mov'd before them down the vale.
 First, to distance them he makes attempt
 The great old boar, his bristles stiff on end,
 These bristles sharper than a pointed spear,
 Their point more piercing than the quiver's shaft.
 Then Mac O'Duine, with arms well pointed too,
 Answers the horrid beast with ready hand ;
 Away from his side then rushed the heavy spear,
 Hard following on the course the boar pursued.
 The javelin's shaft fell shivered into three,
 The shaft recoiling from the boar's tough hide.
 The spear hurl'd by his warm red-fingered hand,
 Ne'er penetrated the body of the boar.
 Then from its sheath he drew his thin-leav'd sword,
 Of all the arms most crowned with victory.
 Mao O'Duine did then the monster kill
 While he himself escaped without a wound.
 Then on Finn of the Feinn did sadness fall,
 And on the mountain side he sat him down ;
 It grieved his soul that generous Mac O'Duine
 Should have escaped unwounded by the boar.
 For long he sat, and never spake a word,
 Then thus he spake, although't be sad to tell ;
 " Measure, Diarmad, the boar down from the snout,
 And tell how many feet 's the brute in length ;"
 What Finn did ask he never yet refused ;
 Alas ! that ho should never see his home.

Seang 'us sacr 'n a chncas ban.
 Cothaich 'us mealltair bhan,
 Mae O'Dhuinn bu mhòr buaidiu,
 'S an t-suiridh cha thog sùil,
 O chuireadh hìr air a ghruaidh.
 Immirdiech fhaoghaid 'us each,
 Fear an èigin chreach nar char,
 Gille b'fhearra gaisge 'us siththeadh,
 Ach is truagh mar a theich 's a ghleann.
 Gleannsith.

Along the back he measures now the boar,
 Light-footed Mae O'Duine of active step.
 " Measure it the other way against the hair,
 And measure, Diarmad, carefully the boar.
 It was indeed for thee a mournful deed,
 Furth of the sharply-pointed, piercing arms,
 He went, the errand grievous was and sad,
 And measured for them once again the boar.
 The envenomed pointed bristle sharply pierced
 The soul of him the bravest in the field.
 Then fell and lay upon the grassy plain
 The noble Mae O'Duine, whose look spoke truth ;
 He fell and lay along beside the boar
 And then you have my mournful saddening tale.
 There does he lie now wounded to the death,
 Brave Mac O'Duine so skillful in the fight,
 The most enduring even among the Feinn,
 Up there where I see his grave.
 The blue-eyed hawk that dwelt at Essaroy
 The conqueror in every sore-fought field
 Slain by the poisoned bristle of the boar.
 Now does he lie full-stretched upon the hill,
 Brave, noble Diarmad Mae O'Duine
 Slain, it is shame ! victim of jealousy.
 Whiter his body than the sun's bright light,
 Redder his lips than blossoms tinged with red ;
 Long yellow locks did rest upon his head,
 His eye was clear beneath the covering brow,
 Its colour mingled was of blue and gray ;
 Waving and graceful were his locks behind,
 His speech was elegant and sweetly soft ;
 His hands the whitest, fingers tipped with red ;
 Elegance and power were in his form,
 His fair soft skin covering a faultless shape,
 No woman saw him but he won her love.
 Mac O'Duine crowned with his countless victories,
 Ne'er shall he raise his eye in courtship more ;
 Or warrior's wrath give colour to his cheek ;
 The following of the chase, the prancing steel,
 Will never move him, nor the search for-spoil.
 He who could bear him well in wary fight,
 Has now us sadly left in that wild vale.
 Glenshee.

This is, in every way, a fair specimen of the Dean's MS., and of the story of the death of Diarmad as it existed in Scotland in the year 1512. The story is entirely a Scottish one, Glenshee being a well-known locality in the county of Perth, and Ben Gulbin a well-known hill in Glenshee. This has been called an Ossianic poem, but, according to Dean M'Gregor, it was not composed by Ossian, but by a poet obviously of more recent times ;—Allan Mac-Rorie, who was probably a composer of the 15th century. The resemblance of Diarmad to Achilles will occur at once to the classical reader, and there is no reason to doubt that

there were largo classes in the Highlands in the middle ages well acquainted with classical literature.

Another specimen of the Dean's poems may

be given as one which the compiler attributes to Ossian. It is Ossian's eulogy on his father Finn, or Fingal, as he is called by M'Phorson:—

Modern Gaelic.

AUCTOR HUIJUS OISSIAN MAC FHINN.

Sé la gns an dé o nach fhaca mi Fionn,
 Cha-n fhaca ri'm ré se bu gheire leam;
 Mac nighinn O'Théige, rìgh nam buillean tròm,
 M'òide, 'us mo rath, mo chiall 'us mo chon.
 Fa filidh fa flath, fa rìgh air ghéire,
 Fionn flath, rìgh na Feinn, fa triath air gach tìr;
 Fa miall mòr mara, fa leobhar air leirg,
 Fa scabhadh glan gaoithe, fa saoi air gach ceaird.
 Fa h-oileanach ceart, fa marcaich nìor mhearbh,
 Fa h-ullsmh air ghnìomh, fa steich air gach seirm;
 Fa fìor, ceart, a bhreith, fa tamhaiche tuait.
 Fa ionnsaichte 'n a lìgh, fa brathach air buaidh;
 Fa h-e an teachdair ard, air chalm'us air cheòl,
 Fa diùltadh nan daimh o dh'fhàg graidh na gloir.
 A chneas mar an cailc, a ghruaidh mar an ròs,
 Bu ghlaù gorm a rosg, 'tholt mar an t-òr.
 Fa dùil daimh 'us daoine, fa aircach nan àgh,
 Fa h-ullamh air ghnìomh, fa mìn ri mnathaibh.
 Fa h-e an miall mòr, mac muirne gach magh,
 B'fhear loinneadh nan lann, an crann os gach fiodh.
 Fa saoi bhir an rìgh, a bhotal mòr glas,
 D'fhion dhoirt gheur dhoibh, tairbh nochchar threa
 . . . broinn bhàin
 . . . air an t-sluagh, fa bu chruaidh cheum,
 Fa chosnadh an gnìomh, fa Bhanbha nam beann
 Gun d'thug an flath trìochaid catha fa cheann,
 Air sgrateach dha, M'Cumhail nìor cheil,
 A deir fa ghò, nì clos gò 'n a bheul;
 Nì euraidh air neach, a fhuair fear o Fhionn,
 Cha robh ach rìgh gréine, rìgh riamh os a chionn.
 Nìor dh'fhàg beist an loch, 'no nathair an nìmh,
 An Eirinn nau naomh, nar mharbh an saor seimh.
 Nì h-innisinn a ghuìomh, a bhithinn gu de bhràth,
 Nìor innisinn nam, trian a bhuaidh 's a mhaith.
 Ach is olc a taim, an deigh Fhinn na Feinn,
 Do chaith leis an fhìlath, gach maith bha 'na dheigh.
 Gun anghnath aoin mhòir, gun eìnach glan gaoithe,
 Gun òr 'us mnathaibh rìgh, 's gun bhreith nan laoch.
 Is tuirseach a taim, an deigh chinn nan ceud,
 Is mì an crann air chrith, is no chiahb air n-eug
 Is mì a chno chith, is mì an t-each gun sréin,
 Achadan mì an uair, is mì sn tuath gun treith;
 Is mì Oisian MaeFhinn, air trian de'm ghnìomh,
 An fhsd 's bu bheò Fionn, do bu leam gach nì.
 Seachd sìos air a thigh, M'Cumhail gun fheadh,
 Seachd fhichead sgiath chlis, air gach sìos diubh sin;
 Caogad uidheam olaidh an timchioll mo rìgh,
 Caogad laoch gun iomagain anns gach uidheam dhiubh.
 Deich bleidh bà, 'n a thalla ri òl,
 Deich eascradh gorm, deich corn de'n òr.
 Ach bu mhaith an treabh, a bh'aig Fionn na Feinn,
 Gun doichìoll, gun drùth, gun gleois, gun gléidh.
 Gun tàrchuis ann, air aon fhear d'a Fhèinn,
 Aig dol air gach nì, do bhì càch d'a réir.
 Fionn flath an t-sluaigh, sothran air a luaidh,
 Rìgh nan uile àigh, roimh dhuine nìor diùlt.
 Nìor diùlt Fionn roimh neach, ge bu bheag a loinn,
 Char chuir as a theach, neach dha'r thainig ann.
 Maith an duine Fionn, maith an duine e,
 Noch char thiodhlaic neach, leth dhe'r thiodhlaic se.

Sé.

English Translation.

THE AUTHOR OF THIS IS OSSIAN, THE SON OF FINN.

'Twas yesterday week I last saw Fiun,
 Ne'er did I feel six days so long;
 Teige's daughter's son, a powerful king;
 My teacher, my luck, my mind, and my light,
 Both poet and chief, as brave as a king,
 Finn, chief of the Feine, lord of all lands,
 Leviathan at sea, as great on land,
 Hawk of the air, foremost in arts,
 Courteous, just, a rider bold,
 Of vigorous deeds, the first in song,
 A righteous judge, firm his rule,
 Polished his mein, who knew but victory.
 Who is like him in fight or song?
 Resists the foe in house or field,
 Marble his skin, the rose his cheek.
 Blue was his eye, his hair like gold,
 All men's trust, of noble mind.
 Of ready deeds, to women mild,
 A giant he, the field's delight,
 Best polished spears, no wood like their shafts.
 Rich was the king, his great green bottle
 Full of sharp wine, of substance rich.
 Excellent he, of noble form,
 His people's head, his step so firm,
 Who often warred, in beauteous Banva,
 There thirty battles he bravely fought.
 With miser's mind from none withheld,
 Anything false his lips ne'er spoke.
 He never grudged, no, never, Finn;
 The sun ne'er saw king who him excelled,
 The monsters in lakes, the serpent by laud,
 In Erin of saints, the hero slow.
 Ne'er could I tell, though always I lived,
 Ne'er could I tell the third of his praise.
 But sad am I now, after Finn of the Feinn;
 Away with the chief, my joy is all fled.
 No friends 'mong the great, no courtesy;
 No gold, no queen, no princes and chiefs;
 Sad am I now, our head ta'en away!
 I'm a shaking tree, my leaves all gone;
 An empty nut, a reinless horse.
 Sad, sad am I, a feeble kern,
 Ossian I, the son of Finn, strengthless indeed.
 When Finn did live all things were mine;
 Seven sides had the house of Cumhal's son,
 Seven score shields on every side;
 Fifty robes of wool around the king;
 Fifty warriors filled the robes.
 Ten bright cups for drink in his hall,
 Ten blue flagons, ten horns of gold.
 A noble house was that of Finn.
 No grudge nor lust, babbling nor sham;
 No man despised among the Feinn;
 The first himself, all else like him.
 Finn was our chief, easy's his praise;
 Noblest of kings, Finn ne'er refused
 To any man, howe'er unknown;
 Ne'er from his house sent those who came.
 Good man was Finn, good man was he;
 No gifts e'er given like his so free.
 'Twas yesterday week.

This is a specimen of a peculiar kind of music, and has a remarkable resemblance to ancient Celtic poetry. It was usually sung to some of the hymns of the early Latin Church.

There is another composition of the same kind in praise of Gaul, called usually "Rosg Ghuill," or the War-Song of Gaul.

It is unnecessary to give further specimens of these remains of the ancient heroic poetry of the Highlands here, nor is it necessary to quote any of the more modern compositions with which the Dean of Lismore's MS. abounds. It is enough to remark how great an amount of poetry was composed in the Highlands in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries. That was indeed an age of bards when poetical genius was amply rewarded by great and liberal chiefs. It is of interest further to observe how ample the answer furnished by the Lismore MS. is to the ill-natured remarks of Dr Johnson, who maintained that there was not a word of written Gaelic in the Highlands more than a hundred years old. We shall now dismiss the Dean's MS., but we shall exhaust the subject of Ossian's poems by a cursory view of the other and later collections of those poems, and especially the collection of Macpherson.

MACPHERSON'S OSSIAN.

It is quite unnecessary here to enter on the question of the authenticity of the poems of Ossian, as edited by Macpherson.⁸ The subject has been so largely treated in numerous publications, that we consider it better to give a short historical sketch of the publication, with such specimens as may serve to show the character of the work.

The first of Macpherson's publications appeared in the year 1760. It is entitled, "Fragments of Ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language." The first edition of this volume was immediately followed by a second, and the deepest interest was excited in the subject of Celtic literature among literary men. The work originally consisted of fifteen fragments, to which a sixteenth was added in the second edition. These are all in English, there not being one word of Gaelic in the

book. Not that there is any reason to doubt that the fragments are genuine, and that Macpherson spoke what was perfectly consistent with truth when he said, as he does at the beginning of his preface, "The public may depend on the following fragments as genuine remains of ancient Scottish poetry." Still it is to be regretted that the original Gaelic of these compositions was not given. It would have enabled the public, in the Highlands at least, to have judged for themselves on the question of their authenticity, and it would have afforded a guarantee for the accuracy of the translation. This, however, was not done, and there are none of the fragments contained in this little volume, the original of which can now be found anywhere.

In his preface to these "Fragments," Macpherson gives the first intimation of the existence of the poem of "Fingal." He says:—"It is believed that, by a careful inquiry, many more remains of ancient genius, no less valuable than those now given to the world, might be found in the same country where these have been collected. In particular, there is reason to hope that one work of considerable length, and which deserved to be styled an heroic poem, might be recovered and translated, if encouragement were given to such an undertaking. The subject is an invasion of Ireland by Swarthau, king of Lochlyn, which is the name of Denmark in the Erse language. Cuchulaid, the general or chief of the Irish tribes, upon intelligence of the invasion, assembles his forces; councils are held, and battles fought; but after several unsuccessful engagements the Irish are forced to submit. At length Fingal, king of Scotland, called in this poem 'The Desert of the Hills,' arrives with his ships to assist Cuchulaid. He expels the Danes from the country, and returns home victorious. This poem is held to be of greater antiquity than any of the rest that are preserved; and the author speaks of himself as present in the expedition of Fingal." In the "Fragments" the opening of this poem is given, but whether from tradition or MS. is not said. It proceeds:—"Cuchulaid sat by the wall, by the tree of the rustling leaf. His spear leaned against the mossy rock. His shield lay by him on the grass. Whilst he thought on

⁸ This question has been recently discussed by the Rev. Archibald Clerk of Kilmallie, in his elegant edition of the *Poems of Ossian*, published since the above was written, under the auspices of the Marquis of Bute. We refer our readers to Mr Clerk's treatise for a great deal of varied and interesting information on this subject.

the mighty Carbre, whom he slew in battle, the scout of the ocean came, Moran the son of Fithil." In 1762 there appeared a quarto volume, edited by Macpherson, containing the poem of "Fingal" and several other compositions. The poem commences, "Cuchullin sat by Tura's walls; by the tree of the rustling leaf. His spear leaned against the mossy rock. His shield lay by him on the grass. As he thought of mighty Carbar, a hero whom he slew in war, the scout of the ocean came, Moran the son of Fithil." It will be seen that there are several variations in the two versions, and as we proceed these will appear to be more numerous and more marked. It is somewhat remarkable that the Garvo of the earlier version should become Swaran in the second. The whole comparison is interesting, and sheds some light on the progress of the poems in the hand of the editor. It may be interesting, in juxtaposition with the above extracts, to give the Gaelic, as furnished at a later period, by the executors of Macpherson. It is as follows:—

"Shuidh Cuchullin aig balla Thura,
Fo dhùbhra craoibh dhuille na fuaim;
Dh'aom a shleagh ri carraig nan còs,
A sgiath mhòr r'a thaobh air an fheur.
Bha smaointean an fhir air Cairbre,
Laoch a thuit leis an garbh-chòmhrag,
'N uair a thàinig fear-coimhid a' chuain,
Luath mhac Fhithil nan ceum àrd."

The English in both the versions—that of 1760 and that of 1762—is a pretty accurate rendering of this. In some cases the Gaelic expletive is wanting, as in "garbh-chòmhrag," and the name Moran is, in the last line, substituted for the Gaelic description, "The swift son of Fithil, of bounding steps." These, however, are allowable liberties in such a case. The variations are, however, more considerable as the several versions proceed, but that of 1760 turns out to be a mere fragment of the first book of the great epic of 1762. The other fragments have also their representatives in the larger work. Some of them appear in the poem called "Carrickthura," and some of them in the epic of "Fingal," but in all these cases the later compositions are great expansions of the shorter poems given in the earlier work. A comparison of these versions is full of interest, and in the hands of fair and acute criticism, is capable, as already said, of shedding

much light on the whole question of Macpherson's Ossian. One thing is beyond question, that the names of Ossian's heroes were familiar to the Scottish Highlanders from the earliest period; that they knew more of their deeds, and spoke more of them than of those of Wallace and Bruce; that the country was teeming with poetical compositions bearing to have these deeds as their subjects; that the topography of the country was in every quarter enriched with names drawn from Fingal and his men; and that to say that the whole of this was the invention of Macpherson, is nothing but what the bitterest national prejudice could alone receive as truth.

There are many of the pieces in Macpherson's Ossian of marvellous power. The description of Cuchullin's chariot in the first book of Fingal is equal to any similar composition among the great classical epics. It proceeds:—

"Carbad! carbad garbh a' chòmhraig,
'Gluasad thar 'choinnard le bàs;
Carbad cuimir, luath, Chuchullin,
Sàr-mhac Sheuma nan cruaidh chàs.
Tha 'earr a' lùbadh sìos mar thonn,
No ceò mu thom nan carragh geur,
Solns chlocha-buadh mu'n cuairt,
Mar chuan mu eathar 's an oidliche.
Dh'ìubhar failensas an crann;
Suidhear ann air chnàmhaibh caoin;
'S e tuineas nan sleagh a th'ann,
Nan sgiath, nan lann, 's nan laoch.
Ri taobh deas a' mhòr-charbaid
Chithear an t-each meannnach, séidear,
Mac arid-mhuingeach, cliàbh-fharsuing, dorcha,
Ard-leumach, talmhaidh, na beinne;
'S farumach, fuaimear, a chos;
Tha sgaoileadh a dhosain shuas,
Mar cheathach air àros nan os;
Bu shoilleir a dhreach, 's bu luath
'Shiubhal, Sìthfada b'è 'ainm.
Ri taobh cile a charbaid thall
Tha each fìarasach nau srann,
Caol-mhuingeach, aigiunach, brògach,
Luath-chosach, srònach, nam beann.
Dubh-sròn-gheal a b'ainm air au steud-cach.
Làn mhille dh'iallaibh taua
'Ceangal a' charbaid gu h'àrd;
Cruaidh chabstar shoilleir nan srian
'Nan giallaibh fo chobhar bànn;
Tha clochan-boillsge le buaidh
'Cromadh sìos mu mhuing nan each,
Nan each tha mar chòr air sliabh,
A' giùlan an triath gu chliù.
Is fiadhaiche na fiadh an colg,
Co làidir ri iolair an neart;
Tha 'm fuaim mar an geamhradh borb
Air Gorm-mheall mùchta fo sneachd.
'Sa charbad chithoar an triath,
Sar mhac treun nan geur lann,
Cuchullin nan gorm-bhallach sgiath,
Mac Sheuma mu'n éireadh dan.
A ghruidh mar an t-ìubhair caoin,
A shuil nach b'fhaoin a' sgaoileadh àrd,
Fo mhala chruim, dhòrcha, chaoil;

A chiabh bhuidhe 'n a caoir m'a cheann,
 'Taomadh mu ghnùis àluinn a fhir,
 'S e 'tarring a shleagh o 'chùl.
 Teich-sa, shàr cheannard nan long,
 Teich o'n t-sonn 's e 'tighinn a nall,
 Mar ghàillinn o ghlcann uan sruth."

It is difficult to give an English rendering of the above passage that would convey the elegance and force of the original. The admirer of Gaelic poetry cannot but regret that the English reader cannot peruse the Gaelic version, assured, as he feels, that his doing so would raise considerably his estimate of the Gaelic muse. There is not, perhaps, in any language a richer piece of poetical description than the above. Macpherson's English version of it is as follows:—

"The car, the car of battle comes, like the flame of death; the rapid car of Cuchullin, the noble son of Semo. It bends behind like a wave near a rock; like the golden mist of the heath. Its sides are embossed with stones, and sparkle like the sea round the boat of night. Of polished yew is its beam, and its seat of the smoothest bone. The sides are replenished with spears; and the bottom is the footstool of heroes. Before the right side of the car is seen the snorting horse, the high-maned, broad-breasted, proud, high-leaping, strong steed of the hill. Loud and resounding is his hoof; the spreading of his mane above is like that stream of smoke on the heath. Bright are the sides of the steed, and his name is Sulin-sifadda. Before the left side of the car is seen the snorting horse; the thin-maned, high-headed, strong-hoofed, fleet, bounding son of the hill; his name is Dusronnal among the stormy sons of the sword. A thousand thongs bind the car on high. Hard polished bits shine in a wreath of foam. Thin thongs, bright-studded with gems, bend on the stately necks of the steeds—the steeds that, like wreaths of mist, fly over the streamy vales. The wildness of deer is in their course, the strength of the eagle descending on her prey. Their noise is like the blast of winter on the sides of the snow-headed Gormal.

"Within the car is seen the chief, the strong, stormy son of the sword; the hero's name is Cuchullin, son of Semo, king of shells. His red cheek is like my polished yew. The look of his blue rolling eye is wide beneath the dark

arch of his brow. His hair flies from his head like a flame, as, bending forward, he wields the spear. Fly, king of ocean, fly; he comes like a storm along the streamy vale."

The Gaelic scholar will at once observe that the above is a free but a fair translation of the original Gaelic, and the character of the translation is such as to give no idea of imposition. It is just such a translation as a man of poetic temperament and talent would give of the passage.

In 1763 Macpherson published a second quarto containing the poem of Temora in eight books, along with several other pieces. The first book of the former had appeared in the collection of 1762, the editor saying that it was merely the opening of the poem; but the great interest about the publication of 1763 is that here for the first time we are presented with the Gaelic original of one of the books of the poem. It is not true that Macpherson never offered to publish any portion of the original until he was obliged to do so by the pressure of public opinion, for in this case he published the Gaelic original of a part of the work altogether of his own accord. In a short introductory paragraph to the Gaelic, he says that he chooses the seventh book of Temora, "not from any other superior merit than the variety of its versification. To print any part of the former collection," he adds, "was unnecessary, as a copy of the originals lay for many months in the bookseller's hands for the inspection of the curious." Of this new publication, however, he sees it right to furnish a portion "for the satisfaction of those who doubt the authenticity of Ossian's poems." The editor adds that "though the erroneous orthography of the bards is departed from in many instances in the following specimen, yet several quiescent consonants are retained, to show the derivation of the words." He accounts for the uncouth appearance of the language by the use of the Roman letters, which are incapable of expressing the sounds of the Gaelic. What kind of orthography Macpherson would have selected he does not say. He could not be unacquainted with the phonetic orthography of the Dean of Lismore's book, and may, perhaps, have had it in view in the above remarks. But the orthography which he himself uses is neither the bardic nor

the phonetic, and is more uncouth than any orthography which the bards were in the habit of using. One thing is clear, that the Gaelic of the seventh book of *Temora* was never copied from any manuscript written by a bard. The book opens as follows:—

“ O linna doir-choille na *Leigo*
 Air uair, eri' ceo taobh-ghúrin nan tón ;
 Nuair dhunas dorsa na h'oieha
 Air iulluir shuil-greina nan speur.
 'Tomhail, mo Lara nan sruth
 Thaomas du'-nial, as dorieha eruaim ;
 Mar ghlas-seia', roi taoma nan nial
 Snamh seachad, ta Gellach ua h'oieha.
 Le so edi' taisin o-shean
 An dlh-ghleus, a measc na gaoith,
 'S iad leumach o osia gn osna
 Air du'-aghai' oieha nan sian.
 An taobh oitaig, gu palin nan seoid
 'Thomas iad eéach nan speur
 Gorm-thalla do thannais nach beo
 Gu am eri' fón marbh-rán nan teud.”

Translated by Maepherston thus:—

“ From the wood-skirted waters of *Lego* ascend at times grey-bosomed mists ; when the gates of the west are closed, on the sun's eagle eye. Wide over *Lara's* stream is poured the vapour dark and deep ; the moon like a dim shield, is swimming through its folds. With this, clothe the spirits of old their sudden gestures on the wind when they stride from blast to blast along the dusky night. Often, blended with the gale, to some warrior's grave, they roll the mist, a grey dwelling to his ghost until the songs arise.”

Any reader who understands the Gaelic must allow, without hesitation, that while this is a free it is a fair rendering of the original ; while he will be constrained to add that in point of force and elegance the Gaelic is superior to the English version. Many of the expletives in Gaelic are not rendered in English at all, and these add largely to the poetic force and beauty of the former. The orthography of the Gaelic will be seen to be most uncouth and unphilosophical. “*Linna*” for “*Linne*” has no principle to warrant it ; so with “*oieha*” for “*oidhehe*,” “*Gellach*” for “*gealach*,” “*eruaim*” for “*gruaim*,” “*taisín*” for “*taibh-sean*.” Then there are no accents to guide the reader except that the acute accent is used in such extraordinary words as “*tón*,” “*fón*,” which are written for “*tonn*,” “*fonn*.” Altogether it would appear that the writer of the Gaelic of this book of *Temora* was to a large extent unacquainted with Gaelic orthography, and was unable to write the Gaelic language accurately. The orthography is, indeed, a mere jumble. Still the fact is an interesting and significant one as connected with the whole

history of the Ossianic poetry that, at so early a period, Maepherston should have given, as a debt which he felt to be due to the public, a large specimen of the original of one of his poems. If there is any cause of regret connected with the matter, it is that he did not let the country know where he found these poems, and refer others to the sources whence he derived them himself. These have never been discovered by any body else, although numerous pieces of Ossianic poetry are well known in the Highlands to the present day.

There were various versions of Maepherston's collection, but the most interesting of all was the Gaelic original of the whole poems published in 1807. In this edition a Latin translation was furnished by Mr Robert McFarlane. The book is a very handsome one, and in every way creditable to its editors. Mr McLauchlan of Aberdeen revised the Gaelic, and no man was more competent for such a duty. The introduction to the edition of 1818 is understood to have been written by an excellent Gaelic scholar, the late Rev. Dr Ross of Lochbroom, and is an eloquent and powerful composition. Several translations of Ossian's poems have appeared, but the interest of the work is mainly associated with the name and labours of James Maepherston.

SMITH'S SEAN DANA.

In 1780 appeared a volume of Ossian's Poems, translated and edited by the Rev. John Smith of Kilbrandon, afterwards the Rev. Dr Smith of Campbeltown. The volume is entitled “*Gaelic Antiquities, &c.*,” containing, among other things, “*A Collection of Ancient Poems, translated from the Gaelic of Ullin, Ossian, &c.*” Dr Smith was an admirable Gaelic scholar, as was evidenced by his translation of a portion of the Scriptures into that language, and his metrical version of the Gaelic Psalms. The work before us is a work highly creditable to Dr. Smith's talents and industry, and although he complains of the reception which his efforts on behalf of Gaelic literature met with, it is still prized by Gaelic scholars.

In the year 1787 appeared the Gaelic version of the same poems in an octavo volume, entitled, “*Sean Dana le Oisian, Orran, Ulann,*”

&c." It is a pity that the two versions did not appear simultaneously, as there have not been wanting those who have charged Dr. Smith, as was done in the case of Macpherson, with composing himself much of the poetry which he gives as Ossian's. The same has been said of another collector of the name of Kennedy, who collected a large number of poems which now lie in MS. in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh; but it is a curious fact that some of the pieces which Kennedy is said to have acknowledged having composed, can be shown to be ancient.

Dr. Smith's collection begins with the poem called "Dan an Deirg," *the Song of Dargo, or the Red Man*. It is a famous song in the Highlands, as is indicated by the proverbial saying, "Gach dàn gu dàn an Deirg," *Every song yields to the song of Dargo*. It was sung to a simple, touching air, which is still known. This poem is given by Dr. Smith in two sections, entitled severally, "A' cheud chuid," and "An dara cuid." The song is given by the M'Callums (referred to below), but it is most perplexing that not one word of their version agrees with Dr. Smith's. Their version is manifestly of the ancient form and rhythm, with the usual summary at the head of it given by Gaelic reciters ere beginning one of their songs. None of this is found in Dr. Smith's version, which is cast very much in the mould of Macpherson's Gaelic Ossian. Mr. J. A. Campbell, in his *Popular Tales of the Highlands* (vol. iii., p. 51), gives a few lines of the lament of the wife of Dargo for her husband, but they do not correspond in one line with the version of Dr. Smith. The same may be said of Dr. Smith's "Diarmad," which is entirely different from all the existing versions of the same poem. The versions of the Dean of Lismore and of Gillies (mentioned below) are identical, and so are to a large extent other existing versions taken down from oral recitation, but Dr. Smith's differs largely from them in locality, matter, and rhythm. It removes the story of the death of this Fingalian hero from Glenshee to Sliabh Ghlaodhail, in Kintyre. At the same time, it is quite possible that different poems existed bearing the same name; and Dr. Smith's poems are compositions of decided excellence. They add much to the stores of

the Gaelic scholar, and the English translation is done with a skill little inferior to that of Macpherson himself

OTHER COLLECTIONS OF OSSIANIC POEMS.

The earliest collector and publisher of the poems of Ossian was Mr. Jerome Stone at Dunkeld, who furnished the *Scots Magazine* in 1756 with a translation in rhyme of "Bàs Fhraoich," or the Death of Fraoch. Stone did not give the Gaelic original of this or of any other of his collections, but they were found after his death, and a selection of them is printed in the Report of the Highland Society on Ossian. A Mr Hill, an English gentleman, made some collections in Argyleshire in 1780; and several pieces were published by a bookseller of the name of Gillies at Perth, who published an excellent volume of Gaelic poetry in 1786.

Gillies's pieces have the true ring of the ancient poetry of the Highlands, and are in many cases to be found floating still among the traditional poetry of the people. The Ossianic pieces are numerous. They are—*"Suiridh Oisein air Eamhair àluinn," the Courtship of Ossian and Eivralin*; *"Comhrag Fhinn agus Mhanuis," the Conflict of Fingal and Manus*; *"Marbhadh Chonlaoidh le Cuchullain," the Slaughter of Conloch by Cuchullain*; *"Aisling Mhailmhinc," Malvina's Dream*; *"Briathran Fhinn ri Oscar," Fingal's Address to Oscar*; *"Rosg Ghuill," the War-song of Gaul*; *"Dàn na h-Inghin," the Song of the Maiden, usually called "Fainesoluis*; *"Conn mac an Deirg," Conn, son of Dargo*; *"Duan Fhraoich," the Song of Fraoch*; *"Cath rìgh Sorcha," the Battle of the King of Sorcha*, *"Marbh-rann Oseair," the Death-song of Oscar*; *"Ceardach Mhic Luinn," the Smithy of the Son of Linn*; *"Duan a Mhuireartaich," the Song of Muireartach*; *"Caoidh Dhéirdir," Deirdre's Lament, in which the poem given already from the old MS. of 1268 appears as a part of it. It is most interesting in this case to compare the written with the traditional poem*; *"Bàs Dhiarmaid," the Death of Diarmad*; *"Dearg mac Deirg," the Song of Dargo*, *"Teanntachd mòr na Feinn," the great trial of the Fingalians*; *"Laoidh Laomuinn mhic an Uaimh-fhir," the Song of Laomuinn*;

'Fairagan," *Farragon*; "Na Brataichean," *the Banners*; "Bàs Oseair," *the Death of Oscar*; in all twenty-one fragments or whole pieces, some of them of considerable length, and almost all, if not all, taken down from oral recitation. This list is given in full, in order to show what pieces of professed Ossianic poetry could be found in the Highlands soon

after the publication of Macpherson's work by other and independent compilers. A comparison of those pieces with Macpherson's Ossian is interesting to the inquirer in this field. The following specimen of one of Gillies's alleged compositions of Ossian may be given here:—

English Translation.

BRIATHRAN FIIINN RI OSCAR.

A mhio mo mhic 's e thubhairt an rìgh,
Oseair, a rìgh nan òg fhìlath,
Chunnaic mi dealradh do lainne 's b'e m' uail
'Bhì 'g auharc do bhuaidh 's a chath.
Lean gu dìù ri cliù do shìnnisreachd
'S na d'ìbir a bhì mar iadsan.
'N nair bu bhèò Treunmhor nan rath,
Us Trathull athair uan treun laoch,
Chuir iad gach cath le buaidh,
'Us bhunnaich iad cliù gach tengbhaill.
'Us mairidh an iomradh 's an dàn
Air chuimhn' aig na baird an déigh so.
O! Oseair, claidh thus' an treun-armach,
'S thoir tearmunn do'n lag-lamhach, fheumach;
Bì mar bhunne-shruth reothairt gearmhraidh
Thoirt gichead do naimhridh na Feinn,
Ach mar fhann-ghaoth sheimh, thlàth, shamhraidh,
Bì dhoibhsan a shìreas do chabhar.
Mar sin bha Treunmhor nam buadh,
S bha Trathull nan ruag 'n a dheigh ann,
S bha Fionn 'na thlaic do 'n fhanu
G a dhion o ainneart luchd-eucoir.
'N a aobhar shìnninn mo lamh,
Le failte rachainn 'n a choinnìmh,
'Us gheibheadh e fàsgath 'us caird,
Fo sgàil dhrithlinneach mo loinne.

ADDRESS OF FINGAL TO OSCAR.

Son of my son, so said the king,
Oscar, prince of youthful heroes,
I have seen the glitter of thy blade, and 'twas my pride
To see thy triumph in the conflict.
Cleave thou fast to the fame of thine ancestors,
And do not neglect to be like them.
When Treunmor the fortunate lived,
And Trathull the father of warriors,
They fought each field triumphantly,
And won the fame in every fight.
And their names shall flourish in the song
Commemorated henceforth by the bards.
Oh! Oscar, crush thou the armed hero,
But spare the feeble and the needy;
Be as the rushing winter, spring-tide, stream,
Giving battle to the foes of the Fingalians,
But as the gentle, soothing, summer breeze
To such as seek for thy help.
Such was Treunmor of victories,
And Trathull of pursuits, thereafter,
And Fingal was a help to the weak,
To save him from the power of the oppressor.
In his cause I would stretch out my hand,
With a welcome I would go to meet him,
And he should find shelter and friendship
Beneath the glittering shade of my sword.

The above is a true relic of the ancient Ossianic poetry, full of power and full of life, and indicates the existence of a refinement among the ancient Celts for which the opponents of Macpherson would not give them credit. Gillies tells us that his collection was made from gentlemen in every part of the Highlands. It is perhaps the most interesting collection of Highland song which we possess.

In 1816 there appeared a collection of Gaelic poetry by Hugh and John M'Callum. It was printed at Montrose, and the original Gaelic version and an English translation were published simultaneously. The work is called "An Original Collection of the Poems of Ossian, Orann, Ulin, and other bards who flourished in the same age." There are twenty-six pieces altogether, and the editors give the sources whence they were all derived. These are such as Duncan Matheson in Snizort, Isle of Skye; Hector M'Phail in Torasay, Mull;

Donald M'Innes, teacher, Gribun, Mull; Dr. M'Donald of Killean, from whom "Teanntachd mòr na Feinn" was obtained—the Doctor maintaining, it appears, that his version was a better one than that given by Gillies; Archibald M'Callum in Killean; and others who furnish "Laoidh nan ceann," a poem found in the collection of the Dean of Lismore, as are several others of the M'Callums' collection.

This collection is a very admirable one, perfectly honest, and presents us with some compositions of high poetic merit. The addresses of Ossian to the sun, which Macpherson declines to give in Gaelic, substituting for one of them a series of asterisks, although he gives it in English, are here given in both languages; and the Gaelic versions are perhaps the finest compositions in the book. The address to the setting sun is here given as a specimen of the M'Callums' collection:—

OISSIAN DO 'N GHREIN AN AM LUIDH.

An d' fhàg tha gorm astar nan speur,
 A mhic gun bheud a's dr bhuidh ciabh?
 Tha dorsa na h-oidheche dhuit fèin,
 Agus pàilluin do chlos 's an Iar,
 'Thig na tonna mu'n cuairt gu mall
 'Choidhead an fhir a 's gloine gruaidh,
 A' togail fo cagal an ceann
 Ri 'd fhaicinn cho àillidh a'd shuain;
 'Theich iadsan gun tuar o'd thaobh.
 Gabh-sa codal ann ad uaimh
 A ghrian, 'us pill an tùs le h-aobhneas.
 Mar bhoillsge grein' 's a gheamhradh
 'S e ruith 'n a d'heann le raon Lena
 Is amhuil laithe nam Fiann.
 Mar ghrian cadar frasaibh a' tréiginn
 Dh' aom neoil chiar-dhubh nan speur,
 'Us bhuint iad an deò aobhinn o 'n t-sealgair,
 Tha lom gheugan na coill' a' caoidh,
 Is maoth lusrach an t-sleibh' a' seargadh;
 Ach pillidh fathasd a' ghrian
 Ri doire sgiamhach nan geug ìra,
 'Us nà gach crann 's a Chéitean gaire
 Ag amharc an àird ri mac an speura.

The collection of the MacCallums was a real addition to the stores of Gaelic poetry, and is most helpful in bringing to a satisfactory conclusion the whole question of the ancient Gaelic poetry of Scotland. Were there no other Gaelic compositions in existence save those pieces which this volume contains, they would be sufficient to prove the high character of the heroic poetry of the Scottish Gael for everything that constitutes true poetic power.

It would be wrong in such a sketch as this to overlook the interesting and ingenious contribution made to the discussion of the Ossianic question in the third and fourth volumes of Mr. J. Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*. The whole four volumes are full of interesting materials for the student of Gaelic literature and antiquities, but the third and fourth volumes are those in which a place is given to the ancient Ossianic poems. Mr. Campbell, the representative of a distinguished Highland family, and unlike many of the class to which he belongs, an excellent Gaelic scholar, made collections on his own account all over the Highlands. He had as his chief coadjutor in the work Mr. Hector M'Lean, teacher in Islay, and he could not have had a better—Mr M'Lean being possessed of scholarship, enthusiasm, and sound judgment. The result is a very remarkable collection of the oral literature of the Highlands, including selections from a large amount of poetry attributed to Ossian. This book is a truly honest book, giving the

English Translation.

OSSIAN'S ADDRESS TO THE SETTING SUN.

Hast thou left the blue course of the sky?
 Faultless son of golden locks?
 The gates of the night are for thee,
 And thy place of repose is in the west.
 The waves gather slowly around
 To see him of fairest countenance;
 Raising their heads in fear.
 As they witness thy beauty in repose,
 They fled pale from thy side.
 Take thou rest in thy cave,
 O sun, and return with rejoicing.
 As the sunbeam in the winter time
 Descending quick on the slope of Lena,
 So are the days of the Fingalians.
 As the sun becoming darkened among showers,
 The dark clouds of the sky descended
 And bore away the joyous light from the huntsman.
 The bare branches of the wood weep,
 And the soft herbage of the mountain withers.
 But the sun shall return again
 To the beautiful forest of the fresh-clothed branch,
 And each bough shall smile in the early summer,
 Looking up to the son of the sky.

compositions collected just as they were found among the native Highlanders. We shall take occasion again to refer to the Sgeulachds, or tales, and shall only refer at present to the Ossianic remains presented to us by Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Campbell's collections include most of the pieces that have been brought together in the same way, with such variations, of course, as must be looked for in the circumstances. He furnishes us with a version of the Lay of Diarmad (vol. iii., 50), having peculiar features of its own, but to a large extent identical with the versions of the Dean of Lismore and of Gillies. It is of much interest to compare this version, taken down within the last few years, with one taken down one hundred years ago, and another taken down three hundred and fifty years ago. The retentive power of human memory for generations is remarkably illustrated by the comparison. Mr Campbell also gives us "The Lay of Oscar," "The Praise of Gaul," "The Poem of Oscar," and several other minor compositions, some of which had never before been printed. These, with Mr. Campbell's own disquisitions, are full of interest; but for the details we must refer the reader to Mr. Campbell's volumes.

From all that has been written on the subject of these ancient Gaelic poems of Ossian, it is perfectly clear that Ossian himself is no creation of James Macpherson. His name has been familiar to the people both of the High-

lands and Ireland, for a thousand years and more. "Oisian an deigh na Feinn," *Ossian after the Fingalians*, has been a proverbial saying among them for numberless generations. Nor did Macpherson invent Ossian's poems. There were poems reputed to be Ossian's in the Highlands for centuries before he was born, and poems, too, which for poetic power and interest are unsurpassed; which speak home to the heart of every man who can sympathise with popular poetry marked by the richest felicities of diction; and which entitles them justly to all the commendation bestowed upon the poems edited by Macpherson.

MODERN GAELIC LITERATURE.

It will be seen that a large proportion of the existing Gaelic literature of the early period is poetical. Not that it is so altogether, by any means; and if any large amount of it had come down to us, there is no reason for believing that so large a share of it would be poetical. But the prose MS. writings of the ancient Gael have, with the few exceptions already referred to, perished; and have left us with such poetical compositions as adhered to the national memory.

As we enter upon the era of printing, we are disposed to look for a more extensive literature, and no doubt we find it. But with the era of printing came the use of another language, and the Gaelic ceased to be the vehicle for carrying abroad the thoughts of the learned. Religion still continued to make use of its services, but it ceased to be the handmaid of science and philosophy.

The first printed Gaelic book which we find is Bishop Carsewell's Gaelic translation of the Liturgy of John Knox. It is well known that Knox compiled a prayer-book for the use of the Scottish Reformed Church, and that it was thought desirable that this prayer-book should be translated into the Gaelic language for the use of the Highlanders. The translation was undertaken by Mr. John Carsewell, who was appointed superintendent of the ancient diocese of Argyle, which office he filled for many years. The book was printed at Edinburgh, in 1567. The language is what is in modern times called Irish, but might in Carsewell's time be called Scotch, for none other was

written in Scotland in so far as Gaelic was written at all. There are but three copies of this book known to exist — an entire copy in the library of the Duke of Argyle, and two imperfect copies, one in the library of the University of Edinburgh, and one in the British Museum. This book was printed before one line of Irish Gaelic was printed. Extracts from the volume will be found in the *Highland Society's Report upon Ossian*, and in McLauchlan's *Celtic Gleanings*. The former extract is made to show that the names of Fingal and the Fingalians were well known in the Highlands at the period of the Reformation. In 1631 a translation of Calvin's Catechism appeared, probably executed by Carsewell.

In 1659 appeared the first fifty of the Psalms of David in metre by the Synod of Argyle. It is called "An ceud chaogad do Shalmaibh Dhaibhidh a meadraehd Gaoidhilg," *the first Fifty of the Psalms of David in Gaelic Metre*. The language of the original here is what is called Irish, although it is, as is the Gaelic of Carsewell, the ordinary written Gaelic of the period. This translation forms the groundwork of all the editions of the Psalms that have been used since in the Scottish Church. The rest of the Psalms followed the first fifty in 1694, and the Psalter of the Argyle Synod became then complete. The introduction to the little volume of 1659 details the difficulties which the authors met in converting the Psalms into Gaelic metre, one of which, they say, was the necessity of adapting them to the structure of the English Psalm tunes. How Gaelic congregational singing was conducted in the Highlands previous to this little book appearing, it is hard to say. The introduction concludes with the words, "Anois, a Legthora, dense dithehall ann sann obair bhigse bhui-lughadh gu maith, agus guidh ar an Tigh-earna ó fein do bheannughadh an tshoisgeil ann sna tirthaibh gaoidhlaehsa, agus lasair shoilleir lán teasa do dheanamh don tsraid bhig do lasadh cheana ionta. Grasa maillo roit."

English Translation.

"And now, reader, strive to use this little work, and pray the Lord that He himself would bless the gospel in these Gaelic lands,

and that He would make a bright flame full of heat of this little spark which has been now lighted in it."

This little volume is now scarce, but full of interest to the Gaelic student.

Alongside of the Synod of Argyle, another indefatigable labourer in the same field was at work. This was Mr Robert Kirk, minister at Balquhidder. There seems to have been no Rob Roy in the district at the time, and Mr. Kirk appears to have had a quiet life in his Highland parish; more so, indeed, than other Scottish ministers of the time, for he seems to have been engaged in his translation during the heat of the persecution of the Covenanters, and it was published in 1684, four years before the Revolution. Kirk is said to have been so anxious to have precedence of the Synod of Argyle, that he invented a machine for awakening him in the morning by means of water made to fall upon his face at a certain hour. His Psalter preceded that of the Synod by a period of ten years.

Mr Kirk dedicates his volume, which is published with the sanction of the Privy Council, and with the approbation of "the Lords of the Clergy, and some reverend ministers who best understand the Irish language," to the Marquis of Athole, &c., of whom he says that his "Lordship has been of undoubted courage and loyalty for the king, and still amongst inflexible to the persuasions or threats of frozen neutralists or flaming incendiaries in Church or State." Kirk further states that the work was "done by such as attained not the tongue (which he calls Scottish-Irish) without indefatigable industry," manifestly pointing to himself as one who had so acquired it.

This little volume of the minister of Balquhidder is a most interesting contribution to our Gaelic literature. The language is what many writers call Irish, although there is no reason to believe that Mr Kirk ever was in Ireland, or conversed with speakers of Irish Gaelic. He knew and used the dialect which writers of the Gaelic language had used for centuries, and used at the time. No Irish writer could use a dialect more purely Irish than that found in Kirk's Gaelic preface. Kirk concludes his preface with the following lines:—

Imthigh a Dhuilleachain gu dàn,
Le Dan glan diagha duisg iad thall.
Cuir failte air Fonn fial na bFionn,
Ar garbh-chriocha, 's Indseadh gall.

English Translation.

Go, little leaflet, boldly,
With pure holy songs wake them yonder,
Salute the hospitable land of the Fingalians,
The rugged borders, and the Isles of the strangers.

"The land of the Fingalians" was the Highlands generally; "the rugged borders" was the west coast of Inverness-shire and Ross-shire; and "the Isles of the Strangers" were the Hebrides, so called from being long in possession of the Norsemen.

In 1690 Mr Kirk edited in Roman letters an edition of Bedel's Irish Bible, with O'Donnell's New Testament, for the use of the Highlanders. Kirk says in the title-page of the work, "Nocha ta anois eum maitheas coit-cheanu na nGaidheil Albanach athruighte go hair-each as an litir Eireandha chum na mion-litir shoileighidh Romhanta" which is now for the common good of the Highlanders changed carefully from the Irish letter to the small readable Roman letter. At the close of the book there is a vocabulary of Irish words with their Gaelic equivalents. Many of the equivalents are as difficult to understand as the original Irish.

In 1694 the completed Psalm-book of the Synod of Argyle appeared. It was very generally accepted, and although some editions of Kirk's Psalter appeared, the Synod's Psalter became the Psalter of the Church, and was the basis of all the metrical versions of the Gaelic Psalms that have appeared since.

The Shorter Catechism was published in Gaelic by the Synod of Argyle about the same time with their first fifty Psalms. Numerous editions have been printed since, and perhaps there is no better specimen of the Gaelic language in existence than what is to be found in the common versions of it. The earlier versions are in the dialect so often referred to, called Irish. The title of the book is "Foirceadul aithghearr cheasnuighe, an dus ar na ordughadh le coimhthional na Ndiaghaireadh ag Niamhanister an Sasgan, &c." That may be called Irish, but it was a Scottish book written by Scottish men.

In 1725 the Synod of Argyle, who cannot be too highly commended for their anxiety to

promote the spiritual good of their countrymen in the Highlands, published a translation of the Confession of Faith into Gaelic. It is a small duodecimo volume printed at Edinburgh. The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed follow the Confession. The book is well printed, and the language is still the so-called Irish. The title runs:—"Admhail an Chreidimh, air an do reitigh air ttus coimhthionol na nDiaghairtheadh aig Niamhoinister an Sasgan; &c. . . ar na chur a Ngaidheilg le Seanadh Earraghaidheal." *The Confession of Faith, &c., translated into Gaelic by the Synod of Argyle.*

It is interesting with respect to the dialect in which all the works referred to appear, to inquire whence the writers obtained it, if it be simply Irish. Carsowell's Prayer-book appeared before any work in Irish Gaelic was printed. The ministers of the Synod of Argyle were surely Scottish Highlanders and not Irishmen. Mr Kirk of Balquidder was a lowland Scot who acquired the Gaelic tongue. Now these men, so far as we know, were never in Ireland, and there were no Irish-Gaelic books from which they could acquire the tongue. There might be manuscripts, but it is not very probable that men would inspect manuscripts in order to enable them to write in a dialect that was foreign to the people whom they intended to benefit. Yet these all write in the same dialect, and with the identical same orthography. Surely this proves that the Scottish Gael were perfectly familiar with that dialect as the language of their literature, that its orthography among them was fixed, that the practice of writing it was common, as much so as among the Irish, and that the people readily understood it. It is well known that the reading of the Irish Bible was common in Highland churches down to the beginning of this century, and that the letter was, from the abbreviations used, called "A' chorra litir," and was familiar to the people. At the same time, the language was uniformly called Irish, as the people of the Highlands were called Irish, although there never was a greater misnomer. Such a designation was never employed by the people themselves, and was only used by those who wrote and spoke English. In the title of

the Confession of Faith published in Gaelic in 1725, it is said to be translated into the Irish language by the Synod of Argyle.

GAELIC BIBLE.

Religious works formed the staple of the literature issued from the Gaelic press from the period now spoken of to the present day. The great want for many years was the Bible. For a long time the clergy used the Irish edition reprinted for the use of the Highlands by Mr Kirk; but this was not satisfactory, from the difference of the dialect; many in consequence preferred translating from the English. This habit pervaded all classes, and it is not improbable that there are in the Highlands still persons who prefer translating the Scriptures for their own use to the common version. Certain traditional forms of translation were at one time in general use, and occasionally the translations given bordered on the ludicrous. A worthy man was once translating the phrase "And they were astonished," and he made it "Bha iad air an clachadh, 'They were stoned.' It was in every way desirable that a correct translation of the Gaelic Bible should be provided for the use of the Highlands, and this was finally undertaken by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The person employed to perform the work was the Rev. James Stewart of Killin, a man fully qualified for it, and although his translation retained too much of the Irish dialect of O'Donnell's Irish New Testament, it was welcomed as a highly creditable work, and as a great boon to the Highlands. Many minor changes have been made in the Gaelic New Testament of 1767, but it has been the basis of all subsequent editions which have sought merely to render certain portions of the work more idiomatic and pleasing to a Scottish ear. The publishing of this version of the New Testament proved a great benefit to the Highlands.

Soon after the publication of the New Testament, it was resolved that the Old Testament should be translated into Gaelic also. This work, like the former, was undertaken by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, assisted by a collection made throughout the congregations of the Church of Scotland

amounting to £1483. The principal translator employed was the Rev. Dr John Stewart of Luss, son of the translator of the New Testament, who translated three portions of the work, while a fourth portion, including the Prophets, was executed by the Rev. Dr Smith, of Campbellton, the accomplished editor of the Sean Dana. The whole work was completed and published in the year 1801. This work has been of incalculable service to the Highlands, and is one of the many benefits conferred upon that portion of the country by the excellent Society who undertook it. Objections have been taken to the many Irish idioms introduced into the language, and to the extent to which the Irish orthography was followed, but these are minor faults, and the work itself is entitled to all commendation.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ENGLISH.

Much of our modern Gaelic prose literature consists of translations from the English. In this the Gaelic differs from the Welsh, in which is to be found a large amount of original prose writing on various subjects. This has arisen from the demand for such a literature being less among the Highlanders, among whom the English language has made greater progress, so much so, that when a desire for extensive reading exists, it is generally attended with a sufficient knowledge of English. Translations of religious works, however, have been relished, and pretty ample provision has been made to meet the demand. The first book printed in modern Scottish Gaelic was a translation of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, executed by the Rev. Alex. M'Farlane, of Kilninver, and published in 1750. There is much of the Irish orthography and idiom retained in this work, but it is a near approach to the modern spoken language of the Highlands. Since then many of the works of well-known religious authors have been translated and published, among which may be mentioned works by Boston, Bunyan, Brookes, Colquhoun, and Doddridge. These are much prized and read throughout the Highlands. The translations are of various excellence; some of them accurate and elegant, while others are deficient in both these qualities. Dr Smith's version of

Alleine's *Alarm* is an admirable specimen of translation, and is altogether worthy of the fame of Dr Smith. The same may be said of Mr M'Farlane's translation of *The History of Joseph*, which is an excellent specimen of Gaelic writing. The *Monthly Visitor* tract has been translated by the writer for the last twelve years, and it has a large circulation.

ORIGINAL PROSE WRITINGS.

Of these Mr Reid, in his *Bibliotheca Scoto-Celtica*, gives but a scanty catalogue. He gives but a list of ten, most of them single sermons. There are several other such writings, however, which have been added since Reid's list was made up. Among these appears M'Kenzie's *Bliadhna Thearlaich*, "Charles's year," a vigorous well-written account of the rebellion of 1745-6. M'Kenzie was the compiler of a volume of Gaelic poetry in which the best specimens of the works of the bards are generally given, and although having ideas of his own on the subject of orthography, few men knew the Gaelic language better. We have also a volume on astronomy by the Rev. D. Connell; and a *History of Scotland* by the Rev. Angus Mackenzie, both of them creditable performances. It is doubtful how far these works have been patronised by the public, and how far they have been of pecuniary benefit to their authors, but they are deserving works, and if they have not proved a remunerative investment, it is from want of interest on the part of the readers more than from want of ability on the part of the writers. In addition to these have been several magazines, the contents of which have in some instances been collected into a volume and published separately. Of these are *An teachdair Gaidhealach*, "The Gaelic Messenger," edited by the late Rev. Dr M'Leod of Glasgow, and a Free Church magazine *An Fhianuis*, "The Witness," edited by the Rev. Dr Mackay, now of Harris. "The Gaelic Messenger," *An Teachdair Gaidhealach*, contained a large proportion of papers furnished by the editor, Dr M'Leod. These have been since that time collected into a volume by his son-in-law the Rev. Archibald Clerk of Kilmallie, and published under the title of *Caraid nan Gaidheal*, "The Friend of the Highlanders." This is an admirable volume, containing, as it does, our best

specimens of rae, idiomatic Gaelic, of which Dr M'Leod was a master. It is a most interesting addition to our Gaelic literature. Besides this, Dr M'Leod produced *Leabhar nan Cnoc*, "The Book of the Knowes," a school collection of prose and poetry, and several other lesser works. The *Leabhar nan Cnoc* is an admirable collection of fragments, well adapted for school use, and at the same time interesting to the general reader,

But the most remarkable addition that has recently been made to Gaelic prose literature is Mr J. F. Campbell's collection of "Sgeulachdan" or ancient Highland tales. It was long known that a large amount of this kind of literature existed in the Highlands; that it formed the treasure of the reciter, a character recognised and appreciated in every small community; and that it was the staple fireside amusement of many a winter evening. Specimens of this literature appeared occasionally in print, and one of great interest, and remarkably well given, called *Spiorad na h-aoise*, "The Spirit of Age," appears in *Leabhar nan Cnoc*, the collection already spoken of. Mr Campbell set himself to collect this literature from the traditions of the people, and he has embodied the result in four goodly volumes, which every lover of the language and literature of the Celt must prize. Many coadjutors aided Mr Campbell in his undertaking, and he was happy in finding, as has been already said, in Mr Hector M'Lean, teacher, Islay, a most efficient collector and transcriber of the tales. These tales were known among the Highlanders as "Sgeulachdan" Tales, or "Ursggulan" Noble Tales, the latter having reference usually to stories of the Fingalian heroes. They are chiefly "Folk lore" of the kinds which are now known to pervade the world amongst a certain class as their oral literature. The Tales themselves are of various degrees of merit, and are manifestly derived from various sources. Some of them took their origin in the fertile imagination

of the Celt, while others are obviously of classical origin, and are an adaptation of ancient Greek and Latin stories to the taste of the Celt of Scotland. Mr Campbell, in his disquisitions accompanying the tales, which are often as amusing and instructive as the tales themselves, traces numerous bonds of connection between them and similar legends common to almost all the European nations. He shows where they meet and where they diverge, and makes it very clear that most of them must have had a common origin. It has been maintained that many of these legends were brought to Scotland by returning Crusaders; that they were often the amusement of the camp among these soldiers of the ancient Church; and that, related among hearers of all nations, they became dispersed among those nations, and that thus Scotland came to obtain and to retain her share of them.

That Scotland felt largely the influence of the Crusades cannot be denied by any observant student of her history. Her whole political and social system was modified by them, while to them is largely due the place and power which the mediæval Church obtained under the government of David I. That Scottish literature should have felt their influence is more than likely, and it is possible, although it is hardly safe to go further, that some of these tales of the Scottish Highlands owe their existence to the wanderings of Scottish Crusaders. Be their origin, however, what it may, they afford a deeply interesting field of enquiry to the student of the popular literature of the country. In our own view, they are of great value, as presenting us with admirable specimens of idiomatic Gaelic. We transcribe one tale, making use of the ordinary orthography of the Gaelic, Mr Campbell having used forms of spelling which might serve to express the peculiarities of the dialect in which he found them couched.

MAOL A CHLIOBAIN.

Bha bantrach ann roimho so, 'us bha trì nigheanan aice, 'us thubhairt iad rithe, gu'n rachadh iad a dh'farraidh an fhortain. Dhca-aich i trì bonnach. Thubhairt i ris an té mhòr, "Cò aca is fhearr leat an leth bhag 'us mo bheannachd, no'n leth mhòr 's mo mhallachd?" "Is fhearr leam, ars' ise, an leth mhòr 'us do mhallachd." Thubhairt i ris an té mheadhonaich,

English Translation.

There was a widow once of a time, and she had three daughters, and they said to her that they were going to seek their fortunes. She prepared three bannocks. She said to the big daughter, "Whether do you like best the little half with my blessing, or the big half with my curse?" "I like best," said she, "the big half with your curse." She said to the

"Co aca's fhearr leat an leth bheag 'us mo bheannachd, no'n leth mhòr 'us mo mhallachd." "Is fhearr leam an leth mhòr 'us do mhallachd," ar's ise. Thubhairt i ris an té bhligh, Co aca's fhearr leat an leth mhòr 'us mo mhallachd, no'n leth bheag 'us mo bheannachd?" "Is fhearr leam an leth bheag 'us do bheannachd." Chord so r'a màthair, 'us thug i dhi an leth eile cuid-cachd.

Dh' fhalbh iad, ach cha robh toil aig an dithis 'bu shine an tó 'b'òige 'bhi leo, 'us cheangail iad i ri carragh cloiche. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh, 's 'n uair a dh'amhair iad as an déigh, co a chunnaic iad ach ise 'us a' chreig air a muin. Leig iad leatha car treis gus an d'ràinig iad cruach mhòine, 'us cheangail iad ris a chruach mhòine i. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh treis, 'us dh'amhair iad 'n an déigh, 'us co a chunnaic iad ach ise a' tighinn, 's a' chruach mhòine air a muin. Leig iad leatha car tacan gus an d'ràinig iad craobh, 'us cheangail iad ris a' chraobh i. Ghabh iad air an aghaidh treis, 'us 'n uair a dh'amhair iad 'n an déigh, co a chunnaic iad ach ise a' tighinn, 's a' chraobh air a muin. Chunnaic iad nach robh maith bhí rithe. Dh'fhuasgail iad i 'us leig iad leo i. Bha iad a' falbh gus an d'thàinig an oidhche orra. Chunnaic iad solus fada uatha, 'us ma b'fhada uatha, cha b'fhada bha iadsan 'g a ruigheachd. Chaidh iad a stigh. Ciod e bha so ach tigh fambair. Dh'iarr iad fùreach 's an oidhche. Fhuair iad sin 'us chuireadh a luidhe iad lo trì nigheanan an fhamhair.

Bha caran de chneapan òmbair mu mhùinealan nigheanan an fhamhair, agus sreangan gaosaid mu'm muinealan-san. Choidil iad air fad, ach cha do choidil Maol a' chliobain. Feadh na h-oidhche thàinig pathadh air an fhamhair. Ghlaodh e r'a ghille maol carrach uisge 'thoir d'a ionnsuidh. Thubhairt an gille maol carrach nach robh deur a stigh. "Marbh, ar's esan, té de na nigheanan coimheach, 'us thoir a'm ionnsuidh-se a fuil." "Ciamar a dh' aithnicheas mi eatorra?" ar's an gille maol carrach. "Tha caran de chneapan mu mhùinealan mo nigheanan-se, agus caran gaosaid mu mhùinealan chàich." Chuala Maol a' chliobain an fhamhair, 'us cho elis 's a b'urrainn i, chuir i na sreangan gaosaid a bha m'a muineal féin agus mu mhùinealan a peathraichean mu mhùinealan nigheanan an fhamhair, agus na cneapan a bha mu mhùinealan nigheanan an fhamhair in'a muineal féin agus mu mhùinealan a peathraichean, 'us luidh i sios gu samhach. Thàinig an gille maol carrach, 'us mharbh e té de nigheanan an fhamhair, 'us thug e an fhuil d'a ionnsuidh. Dh'iarr e tuilleadh a thoir d'a ionnsuidh. Mharbh e an ath thé. Dh'iarr e tuilleadh 'us mharbh e an treas té. Dhùisg Maol a' chliobain a' peathraichean, 'us thug i air a muin iad, 'us ghabh i air falbh. Mhothaich an fhamhair dith 'us lean e i.

Na spreadan teine a bha ise 'chur as na clachan le a sàiltean, bha iad a' bualadh an fhamhair 's an smigead; agus na spreadan teine a bha am fhamhair 'toirt as na clachan le barraibh a chos, bha iad a' bualadh Mhaol a' chliobain an cùl a' chinn. Is e so 'bu dual doibh gus an d'ràinig iad amhainn. Leam Maol a' chliobain an amhainn 'us cha b'urrainn am fhamhair an amhainn a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo trì nigheanan maola, ruagha." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Us c'ùine thig thu ris?" "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi."

Ghabh iad air an aghaidh gus an d'ràinig iad tigh tuathanaich. Bha aig an tuathanach trì mic. Dh'innis iad mar a thachair doibh. Ar's an tuatha ach ri Maol a' chliobain, "Bheir mi mo mhac a's sine do'd phìuthair a's sine, 'us faigh dhomh cir mhìn òir, 'us cir garbh aigid, a th'aig an fhamhair," "Cha chos e tuilleadh dhuit, 'ars' Maol a' chliobain. Dh'fhalbh i 'us ràinig i tigh an fhamhair. Fhuair i stigh gus fhios. Thug i leatha na cìrean 'us dhalbh i mach.

middle one, "Whether do you like best the big half with my curse, or the little half with my blessing?" "I like best," said she, "the big half with your curse." She said to the little one, "Whether do you like best the big half with my curse, or the little half with my blessing?" "I like best the little half with your blessing." This pleased her mother, and she gave her the other half likewise.

They left, but the two older ones did not wish to have the younger one with them, and they tied her to a stone. They held on, and when they looked behind them, whom did they see coming but her with the rock on her back. They let her alone for a while until they reached a stack of peats, and they tied her to the peat-stack. They held on for a while, when whom did they see coming but her with the stack of peats on her back. They let her alone for a while until they reached a tree, and they tied her to the tree. They held on, and whom did they see coming but her with the tree on her back. They saw that there was no use in meddling with her. They loosed her, and they let her come with them. They were travelling until night overtook them. They saw a light far from them, and if it was far from them they were not long reaching it. They went in. What was this but the house of a giant. They asked to remain overnight. They got that, and they were set to bed with the three daughters of the giant.

There were turus of amber beads around the necks of the giant's daughters, and strings of hair around their necks. They all slept, but Maol a' chliobain kept awake. During the night the giant got thirsty. He called to his bald rough-skinned lad to bring him water. The bald rough-skinned lad said that there was not a drop within. "Kill," said he, "one of the strange girls, and bring me her blood." "How will I know them?" said the bald rough-skinned lad. "There are turns of beads about the necks of my daughters, and turns of hair about the necks of the rest." Maol a' chliobain heard the giant, and as quickly as she could she put the strings of hair that were about her own neck and the necks of her sisters about the necks of the giant's daughters, and the beads that were about the necks of the giant's daughters about her own neck and the necks of her sisters, and laid herself quietly down. The bald rough-skinned lad came and killed one of the daughters of the giant, and brought him her blood. He bade him bring him more. He killed the second one. He bade him bring him more, and he killed the third. Maol a' chliobain awakened her sisters, and she took them on her back and went away. The giant observed her, and he followed her.

The sparks of fire which she was driving out of the stones with her heels were striking the giant in the chin, and the sparks of fire that the giant was taking out of the stones with the points of his feet, they were striking Maol a' chliobain in the back of her head. It was thus with them until they reached a river. Maol a' chliobain leaped the river, and the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a' chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "And when will you come again?" "I will come when my business brings me."

They went on till they reached a farmer's house. The farmer had three sons. They told what happened to them. Says the farmer to Maol a' chliobain, "I will give my eldest son to your eldest sister, and get for me the smooth golden comb and the rough silver comb that the giant has." "It won't cost you more," said Maol a' chliobain. She left and reached the giant's house. She got in without being seen. She took the combs and hastened out. The giant observed her, and

Mhoilaich am fannhar dlhth; 'us as a deigh a bha e gus an d'ràinig e an amhainn. Leum ise au amhainn 'us cha b'urraim am fannhar an amhainn a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh, thu mo thri nigheanan maola, ruagha." "Mharbh, ma 'a oil leat." "Gboid thu mo chlr mhlu òir, 'us mo chlr gharbb airgid." "Ghoid, ma 'a oil leat." "C' uine thig thu ris?" "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo gbuothuch ann mi."

Thug i na cìrean thu an tuathanaich, 'us phòs a piuthair mhòr-sa mac mòr au tuathanaich.

"Bheir mi mo mhac meadhonach do' d' phuthair nheadhonaich, 'us faigh dhomh claidheamh soluis an fhamhair." "Cha chosd e tuilleadb dhuit," ars' Maol a' chliobain. Ghabh i air falbh, 'us ràinig i tigh an fhamhair. Chaidh i snas ann an barr craoibhe 'bha os cionn tobair an fhamhair. Anns an oidhche thainig an gille maol carrach, 'us an claidheamh soluis leis, a dh'iarraidh uisge. An uair a chrom e a thogail an uisge, thainig Maol a' chliobain a nuas, 'us phut i sios 's a tobair e 'us bhàth i e, 'us thug i leatha an claidheamh soluis. Lean am fannhar i gus an d'ràinig i an amhainn. Leum i an amhainn, 'us cha b'urraim am fannhar a leantunn. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo thri nigheanan maola, ruadha." "Mharbh ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chlr mhlu òir, 's mo chlr gharbb airgid." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo ghille maol carrach." "Mharbh ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo eblaidheamh soluis." "Gboid, ma 's oil leat." "C' uine thig thu ris." "Thig, 'n uair bheir mo ghnouthuch ann mi." Ràinig i tigh an tuathanaich leis a' chladheamh sholuis, 'us phòs a piuthair mheadhonaich 'us mac meadhonaich an tuathanaich.

"Bheir mi dhuit féin mo mbac a's òige," ars' au tuathanaich, "'us tboir a'm ionnsuidh boc a th' aig an fhamhair." "Cha chosd e tuilleadb dhuit," ars' Maol a' chliobain. Dh'fhalbh i 'us ràinig i tigh an fhamhair, ach an uair a bha greim sìce air a bhoc, rug am fannhar, oirre. "Cìod e," ars' am fannhar, "a dheanadh tus' ormsa, nan deanaim uibhir a choire ort 's a rinn thus' ormsa." "Bheirinn ort gu'n sgàineadh tu thu fhéin le brochan bainne; chuirinn an sin ann am poc thu; chrochann thu ri druim an tìghe; chuirinn teiue fothat; 'us ghabhainn duit le cabar gus an tuiteadh thu 'n ad ehnal chrionaich air au ùrlar. Rinn au fannhar brochan bainne 'us thugar dlhth ri òl c. Chuir ise am brochan bainne m' a beul 'us m' a h-eudainn, 'us luidh i seachad mar gu'm bitheadh i marbh. Chuir am fannhar ann am poc i, 'us chroch e i ri druim an tìghe, 'us dh'fhalbh e fhéin 'us a dhaoine a dh'iarraidh fiodha do'n choille. Bha màtbair an fhamhair a stigh. Theircadh Maol a' chliobain 'n uair a dh'fhalbh am fannhar, "Is mise 'tha 's an t-sòlas, is mise 'tha 's a chaithir òir." "An leig thu mise ann?" ars' a' chailleach. "Cha leig, gu dearbh." Mu dheireadh, leig i nuas am poca; chuir i stigh a' chailleach, 'us cat, 'us laogh, 'us aitheach uachdair; thug i leatha am boc, 'us dh'fhalbh i. An uair a thainig am fannhar, thoisich e fhéin 'us a dhaoine air a' phoca leis na cabair. Bha a' chailleach a' glaothaicb, "'S mi fhéin a' th' ann." "Tha fios again gur tu fhéin a' th' ann," theireadh am fannhar, 'us e ag òiridh air a' phoca. Thainig an poc a nuas 'n a chual' chrionaich 'us cìod e 'bba ann ach a mhàthair. An nair a chunnac am fannhar mar a bhia, thug e as an deigh Mhaol a' chliobain. Lean e i gus an d'ràinig i an amhainn. Leum Maol a' chliobain an amhainn 'us cha b'urraim am fannhar a leum. "Tha thu thall, a Mhaol a' chliobain." "Tha, ma 'a oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo thri nigheanan maola, ruadha." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo chlr mhlu òir, 'us mo chlr gharbb airgid." "Ghoid, ma 's oil leat." "Mharbh tu mo ghille maol, carrach." "Mharbh, ma 's oil leat." "Ghoid

after her he went until they reached the river. She leaped the river, and the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again." "When my business brings me."

She brought the combs to the farmer, and the big sister married the big son of the farmer.

"I will give my middle son to your middle sister, and get for me the giant's sword of light." "It won't cost you more," says Maol a chliobain." She went away, and reached the giant's house. She went up in the top of a tree that was above the giant's well. In the night the bald, rough-skinned lad came for water, having the sword of light with him. When he bent over to raise the water, Maol a chliobain came down and pushed him into the well and drowned him, and took away the sword of light. The giant followed her till she reached the river. She leaped the river, and the giant could not follow her. "You are over, Maol a chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-haired daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my bald rough-skinned lad." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my sword of light." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again?" "When my business brings me." She reached the farmer's house with the sword of light, and her middle sister married the middle son of the farmer.

"I will give yourself my youngest son," said the farmer, "and bring me the buck that the giant has." "It won't cost you more," said Maol a chliobain. She went and she reached the giant's house, but as she got hold of the buck, the giant laid hands upon her. "What," said the giant, "would you do to me if I had done to you as much harm as you have done to me?" "I would make you burst yourself with milk porridge. I would then put you in a bag; I would hang you to the roof of the house; I would place fire under you; and I would beat you with sticks until you fell a bundle of dry sticks on the floor." The giant made milk porridge, and gave it her to drink. She spread the milk porridge over her mouth and her face, and lay down as if she had been dead. The giant put her in a bag which he hung to the roof of the house, and he and his men went to the wood to get sticks. The mother of the giant was in. When the giant went away, Maol a chliobain cried, "It is I that am in comfort; it is I that am in the golden seat." "Will you let me there?" said the hag. "No, indeed." At length she let down the bag; she put the hag inside, and a cat, and a calf, and a dish of cream; she took away the buck, and she left. When the giant came, he and his men fell upon the bag with the sticks. The hag was crying out, "It's myself that's here." "I know it is yourself that's there," the giant would say, striking the bag. The bag fell down a bundle of dry sticks, and what was there but his mother. When the giant saw how it was, he set off after Maol a chliobain. He followed her till she reached the river. Maol a chliobain leaped the river, but the giant could not leap the river. "You are over, Maol a chliobain." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my three bald red-skinned daughters." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my smooth golden comb and my rough silver comb." "Yes, if it vex you." "You killed my bald, rough-skinned lad." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my sword of light." "Yes, if it vex

thu mo ehlaidheamh soluis." "Ghoid, ma's oil leat." "Mharbh thu mo mhàthair." "Mharbh, ma's oil leat." "Ghoid thu mo bhoc." "Ghoid, ma's oil leat." "C'uine a thig thu ris?" "Thig 'n uair bheir mo ghnothuch ann mi." "Nam bitheadh tusa bhos 'us mise thall" ars' am famar, "Cìod e dheanadh tu airson mo leantuinn?" "Stopainn mi fhéin, agus dh'olainn gus an traoghainn, an anhainn." Stop am famar e fhéin, 'us dh'òl e gus an do sgàin e. Phòs Maol a' ehliobain Mac òg an tuathanaich.

The above is a fair specimen of these tales with which the story-tellers of the Highlands were wont to entertain their listeners, and pass agreeably a long winter evening. The versions of such tales are various, but the general line of the narrative is always the same. Sources of these tales may still be picked up in the West Highlands, although Mr Campbell has sifted them most carefully and skilfully, and given to the public those which are undoubtedly best. The following is a specimen

you." "You killed my mother." "Yes, if it vex you." "You stole my huck." "Yes, if it vex you." "When will you come again?" "When my business brings me." "If you were over here and I over there, what would you do to follow me?" "I would stop myself up, and I would drink until I dried the river." The giant stopped himself up, and drunk until he burst. Maol a chliobain married the young son of the farmer.

referring to the famous Tom na h-ùbhraich, in the neighbourhood of Inverness. It was taken down by the writer from the recital of an Ardnamurchan man in Edinburgh, and has never been printed before. The resemblance of a portion of it to what is told of Thomas the Rhymer and the Eildon Hills, is too close to escape observation. These tales are valuable as preserving admirable specimens of the idioms of the Gaelic language.

NA FIANTAICHEAN.

FEAR A' GREADAIN CLÒIMHE.

Bha fear air astar naireigin mu thuath, a réir eoslais, mu Shiorrainaeid Iubhirinis. Bha e a' coiseachd là, 'us chunnaic e fear a' buntain sgrath leis an làr-ehaibe. Thàinig o far an robh an duine. Thubhairt e ris, "Oh, nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin." Thubhairt an duine ris, "Oh, nam faieadh tu m'athair, is e a's sine na mise." "D'athair" ars' an duine, "am bheil d'athair heò 's an t-saoghal fhathasd?" "Oh, tha" ars' esau. "C'aite am bheil d'athair" ars' esan, "am b'urrainn mi 'fhaieinn?" "Uh, is urrainn" ars' esan, "tha e a' tarruing dhathigh nan sgrath." Dh'innis e an rathad a ghabhadh e aeh am faieadh e 'athair. Thàinig e far an robh e. Thubhairt e ris, "Nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin." "Uh," ars' esan, "nam faieadh tu m'athair, is e a's sine na mise." "Oh, am bheil d'athair 's an t-saoghal fhathasd?" "Uh, tha," ars' esan. "C'aite am bheil e" ars' esan, "an urrainn mi 'fhaieinn?" "Uh, is urrainn," ars' esan, "tha e a' tilgeadh nan sgrath air an tigh." Ràinig e am fear a bha 'tilgeadh nan sgrath. "Oh, nach sean sibhse, 'dhuine, ris an obair sin," ars' esan. "Uh, nam faieadh tu m'athair," ars' esan, "tha e mòran na 's sine na mise." "Am bheil d'athair agam r'a 'fhaieinn?" "Uh, tha," ars' esan, "raeh timelioll, 'us ehi thu e a' cur nan sgrath." Thàinig e 'us chunnaic o am fear a bha 'cur nan sgrath. "Oh, a 'dhuine" ars' esan, "is mòr an aois a dh'fheumas sibse a bhì." "Oh," ars' esan, "nam faieadh tu m'athair." "An urrainn mi d'athair 'fhaieinn?" ars' esan, "C'aite am bheil e?" "Mata" ars' an duine, is òlach tapaidh coltach thu, tha mi 'ereidsinn gu'm faod mi m'athair a shealltuinn duit. "Tha e," ars' esan, "stigh ann an gearan clòimhe an ceann eile an tìghe." Chaidh e stigh leis 'g a 'fhaieinn. Bha na h-uile gin diùbhsan ro mhòr, nach 'eil an leithid a nis r'a 'fhaotainn. "Tha duine heag an so," ars' esan, 'athair, "air am bheil coslas òlach tapaidh, Albaunach, 'us toil aige 'ur faieinn." Bhruidhinn e ris, 'us thubhairt e, "Co as a thàinig thu? Thoir dhomh do làmh, 'Albannaeh." Thug a mhae làmh air seann choiltair croinn a bha 'na luidhe làimh riu. Shnaim e codach uime. "Thoir dha sin," ars' esan ris an Albannaeh, "us na toir dha do làmh." Rug

English Translation.

THE FINGALIANS.

THE MAN IN THE TUFT OF WOOL.

There was a man once on a journey in the north, according to all appearance in the sheriffdom of Inverness. He was travelling one day, and he saw a man casting divots with the flaughter-spade. He came to where the man was. He said to him, "Oh, you are very old to be employed in such work." The man said to him, "Oh, if you saw my father, he is much older than I am." "Your father," said the man, "is your father alive in the world still?" "Oh, yes," said he. "Where is your father?" said he; "could I see him?" "Oh, yes," said he, "he is leading home the divots." He told him what way he should take in order to see his father. He came where he was. He said to him "You are old to be engaged in such work." "Oh," said he, "if you saw my father, he is older than I." "Oh, is your father still in the world?" "Oh, yes," said he. "Where is your father?" said he; "can I see him?" "Oh, yes," said he, "he is reaching the divots at the house." He came to the man who was reaching the divots. "Oh, you are old," said he, "to be employed in such work." "Oh, if you saw my father," said he, "he is much older than I." "Is your father to be seen?" said he. "Oh, yes, go round the house and you will see him laying the divots on the roof." He came and he saw the man who was laying the divots on the roof. "Oh, man," said he, "you must be a great age." "Oh, if you saw my father." "Oh, can I see your father; where is he?" "Well," said the man, "you look like a clever fellow; I daresay I may show you my father." "He is," said he, "inside in a tuft of wool in the further end of the house." He went in with him to show him to him. Every one of these men was very big, so much so that their like is not to be found now. "There is a little man here," said he to his father, "who looks like a clever fellow, a Scotchman, and he is wishful to see you." He spoke to him, and said, "Where did you come from? Give me your hand, Scotchman." His son laid hold of the old coulter of a plough that lay there. He knotted a cloth around it. "Give him that," said he to the Scotchman, "and don't give him your hand." The old man laid hold of the coulter, while the man held

au seann duine air a' choltair, 'us a' cheann cile aig an duine eile 'na làimh. An àite an coltair a bhì leathann, riun e cruinn e, 'us dh'fhàg e làrach nan cuig meur ann, mar gu'm bitheadh uibe taois aam. "Nach crnadalach an làmh a th'agad, 'Albannaich," ars' esan, "Nam bitheadh do chridhe cho crudalae, tapaidh, dh'iarraimne rud ort nach d'iarri mi' air fear roimhe." "Cìod e sin, a dhuine?" ars' esan, "ma tha ni ann a's nraimn mise 'dheanamh, ni mi e." "Bheirinne dhuit" ars' esan, "fìdeag a tha an so, agus fìosraichidh tu far am bheil Tòrn na h-ùbhraich, laimh ri Inbhirnis, agus an uair a theid thu ann, chì thu creag bheag, ghlas, air an dara taobh dheth. An uair a' theid thu a dh'ionnsuidh na creige, chì thu mu mheudaich doruis, 'us air cumadh doruis bhige air a' chreig. Buail sròn do chois air trì uairean, 'us air an uair mu dheireadh fosgaidh e. Dh'fhalbh e, 'ns ràinig e 'ns fhuair e an dorus. Thubhairt an seann duine ris, "An uair a dh'fosgailas tu an dorus, seirmidh tu an fhìdeag, bheir thu trì seirmean oirre 'us air an t-seirm mu dheireadh," ars' esan, "eiridh leat na bhìtheas stigh, 'us ma bhìtheas tu cho tapaidh 'us gun dean thu sin, is fheaird thu fhéin e 'us do mhae, 'us d' ogha, 'us d'iar-ogha. Thug e a' cheud sheirm air an fhìdeag. Sheall e 'ns stad e. Shìn na coin a bha 'n an luidhe làthair ris na daoineibh an cosan, 'ns charaich na daoine uile. Thug e an ath sheirm oirre. Dh'éirich na daoine air an nìlribh 'us dh'éirich na coin 'n an snidhe. Thionndaidh am fear ris an dorus, 'ns ghabh e eagal. Tharruing e an dorus 'n a dhéigh. Ghlaodh iadsan uile gu léir, "Is miosa 'dh'fhàg na fhuair, is miosa 'dh'fhàg na fhuair." Dh'fhalbh e 'n a ruith. Thàinig e gu lochan nisge, a bha an sin, 'ns thilg e an fhìdeag anns an lochan. Dhealaich mise riu.

These specimens give a good idea of the popular prose literature of the Highlands. Whence it was derived it is difficult to say. It may have originated with the people themselves, but many portions of it bear the marks of having been derived even, as has been said, from an Eastern source, while the last tale which has been transcribed above gives the Highland version of an old Scottish tradition.

POETRY.

Gaelic poetry is voluminous. Exclusive of the Ossianic poetry which has been referred to already, there is a long catalogue of modern poetical works of various merit. Fragments exist of poems written early in the 17th century, such as those prefixed to the edition of Calvin's Catechism, printed in 1631. One of these, *Faosid Eoin Steuart Tighearn na Hap-pen*, "The Confession of John Stewart, laird of Appin," savours more of the Church of Rome than of the Protestant faith. To this century belongs also the poetry of John Macdonell, usually called Eoin Lom, and said to have been poet-laureate to Charles II. for Scotland. Other pieces exist of the same period, but little would

the other end in his hand. Instead of the coultter being broad, he made it round, and left the mark of his five fingers in it as if it were a lump of leaven. "You have a brave hand, Scotchman," said he. "If your heart were as brave and clever, I would ask something of you that I never asked of another." "What is that, man?" said he; "if there is anything that I can do, I shall do it." "I would give you," said he, "a whistle that I have here, and you will find out where Tomnahurich is near Inverness, and when you find it you will see a little grey rock on one side of it. When you go to the rock you will see about the size of a door, and the shape of a little door in the rock. Strike the point of your foot three times, and at the third time it will open." He went away, and he reached and found the door. "When you open the door," the old man said, "you will sound the whistle; you will sound it thrice. At the third sounding all that are within will rise along with you; and if you be clever enough to do that, you, and your son, and your grandson, and your great-grandson, will be the better of it." He gave the first sound on the whistle. He looked, and he stopped. The dogs that lay near the men stretched their legs, and all the men moved. He gave the second sound. The men rose on their elbows, and the dogs sat up. The man turned to the door and became frightened. He drew the door after him. They all cried out, "Left us worse than he found us; left us worse than he found us." He went away running. He came to a little fresh water loch that was there, and he threw the whistle into the loch. I left them.

seem to have been handed down to us of the poetry of this century.

We have fragments belonging to the early part of the 18th century in the introduction to "Lhuyd's *Archæologia*." These are of much interest to the Gaelic student. In 1751 appeared the first edition of *Songs* by Alexander Macdonald, usually called Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair. These songs are admirable specimens of Gaelic versification, giving the highest idea of the author's poetical powers. Many editions of them have appeared, and they are very popular in the Highlands. Macintyre's poems appeared in 1768. Macdonald and he stand at the very top of the list of Gaelic poets. They are both distinguished by the power and the smoothness of their composition. Macdonald's highest gifts are represented in his *Biorluinn Chloinn Raonuill*, "Clan Ranald's Galley," and Macintyre's in his *Beinn Dobhrain*, "Ben Douran."

Later than Macintyre, Ronald M'Donald, commonly called Raonnill Dubh, or Black Ranald, published an excellent collection of Gaelic songs. This Ranald was son to Alexander already referred to, and was a school-master in the island of Eigg. His collection

is largely made up of his father's compositions, but there are songs of his own and of several other composers included. Many of the songs of this period are Jacobite, and indicate intense disloyalty to the Hanoverian royal family.

Gillies's Collection in 1786 is an admirable one, containing many of the genuine Ossianic fragments. This collection is of real value to the Gaelic scholar, although it is now difficult to be had.

In addition to these, and at a later period, we have Turner's Collection and Stewart's Collection, both of them containing many excellent compositions. We have, later still, M'Kenzie's Beauties of Gaelic Poetry, and we have, besides these, separate volumes of various sizes; by the admirable religious bard, Dugald Buchanan; by Rob Donn, the Reay bard; William Ross, the Gairloch bard; and many others, who would form a long catalogue. As might be supposed, the pieces included in these collections are of various merit, but there is much really good poetry worthy of the country which has cultivated the poetic art from the earliest period of its history, and a country which, while it gave to Gaelic poetry such a name as Ossian, gave to the poetry of England the names of Thomas Campbell and Lord Macaulay.

GRAMMARS.

There are no early treatises on the structure and composition of the Gaelic language, such as the ancient MS. writings which still exist on Irish Grammar. Still, so early as the middle of last century, the subject had excited notice, and demands began to exist for a grammatical treatise on the Gaelic language. The first attempt to meet this demand was made by the Rev. William Shaw, at one time minister of Ardlach, in Nairnshire, and afterwards a resident in England; the author of a Gaelic dictionary, and an associate of Johnson's in opposing M'Pherson and his Ossian, as it was called by adversaries. Shaw's Grammar is made of no account by Dr Stewart, in the reference which he makes to it in his excellent grammar; but the work is interesting as the first attempt made to reduce Gaelic grammar to shape at all, and as showing several indications of a fair, if not a profound

scholarship. That the volume, however, is to be held in any way as a correct analysis of the Gaelic language, is out of the question. Mr Shaw presents his readers, at the end of his volume, with specimens of Gaelic writing, which he intends to settle the orthography of the language. Anything more imperfect than the orthography of these specimens can hardly be conceived—at least it is of a kind that makes the language in many of the words unintelligible to any ordinary reader. Mr Shaw's Grammar reached a second edition, showing the interest that was taken in the subject at the time.

An abler scholar, in the person of the Rev. Dr Stewart, of Moulin, Dingwall, and the Canongate, Edinburgh, successively, took up the subject of Gaelic grammar after Mr Shaw. Mr Stewart was an eminent minister of the Scottish Church. Few ministers stood higher than he did as a preacher, and few laboured more assiduously in their pastoral work; still he found time for literary studies, and to none did he direct more of his care than to that of his native Gaelic. A native of Perthshire himself, he made himself acquainted with all the dialects of the tongue, and gives an admirable analysis of the language as it appears in the Gaelic Bible. Few works of the kind are more truly philosophical. The modesty which is ever characteristic of genius distinguishes every portion of it, while the work is of a kind that does not admit of much emendation. If it be defective in any part, it is in the part that treats of syntax. There the rules laid down comprehend but few of those principles which govern the structure of the language, and it is necessary to have recourse to other sources for information regarding many of the most important of these.

A third grammar was published about thirty years ago by Mr James Munro, at the time parish schoolmaster of Kilmonivaig. This volume is highly creditable to Mr Munro's scholarship, and in many respects supplied a want that was felt by learners of the language. The numerous exercises with which the work abounds are of very great value, and must aid the student much in its acquisition.

A double grammar, in both Gaelic and English, by the Rev. Mr Forbes, latterly

minister of Sleat, presents a very fair view of the structure of the Gaelic language, while grammars appear attached to several of the existing dictionaries. There is a grammar prefixed to the dictionary of the Highland Society, another to that of Mr Armstrong, and a third to that of Mr M'Alpine. All these are creditable performances, and worthy of perusal. In fact, if the grammar of the Gaelic language be not understood, it is not for want of grammatical treatises. There are seven or eight of them in existence.

Mr Shaw, in the introduction to his grammar, says:—"It was not the mercenary consideration of interest, nor, perhaps, the expectation of fame among my countrymen, in whose esteem its beauties are too much faded, but a taste for the beauties of the original speech of a now learned nation, that induced me either to begin, or encouraged me to persevere in reducing to grammatical principles a language spoken only by imitation; while, perhaps, I might be more profitably employed in tasting the various productions of men, ornaments of human nature, afforded in a language now teeming with books. I beheld with astonishment the learned in Scotland, since the revival of letters, neglect the Gaelic as if it was not worthy of any pen to give a rational account of a speech used upwards of 2000 years by the inhabitants of more than one kingdom. I saw with regret, a language once famous in the western world, ready to perish, without any memorial; a language by the use of which Galgacus having assembled his chiefs, rendered the Grampian hills impassable to legions that had conquered the world, and by means of which Fingal inspired his warriors with the desire of immortal fame."

That the Gaelic language is worthy of being studied, the researches of modern philologists have amply proved. For comparative philology it is of the highest value, being manifestly one of the great links in the chain of Aryan languages. Its close relation to the classical languages gives it a place almost peculiar to itself. In like manner its study throws light on national history. Old words appear in charters and similar documents which a knowledge of Gaelic can alone interpret, while for the study of Scottish topography the

knowledge of it is essential. From the Tweed to the Pentland Frith words appear in every part of the country which can only be analysed by the Gaelic scholar. In this view the study of the language is important, and good grammars are of essential value for its prosecution.

DICTIONARIES.

At an early period vocabularies of Gaelic words began to be compiled for the benefit of readers of the language. The first of these appears attached to Mr Kirk's edition of Bedell's Irish Bible, to which reference has been made already. The list of words is not very extensive, and, as has been said, the equivalents of the words given are in many cases as difficult to understand as the words themselves. Mr Kirk's object in his vocabulary is to explain Irish words in Bedell's Bible to Scottish readers.

In 1707 Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica* appeared. It contains a grammar of the Ibero-Scottish Gaelic, and a vocabulary which is in a large measure a vocabulary of the Gaelic of Scotland. All that this learned writer did was done in a manner worthy of a scholar. His vocabulary, although defective, is accurate so far as it goes, and presents us with a very interesting and instructive view of the state of the language in his day. Lhuyd's volume is one which should be carefully studied by every Celtic scholar.

In 1738 the Rev. David Malcolm, minister at Duddingstone, published an essay on the antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland, with the view of showing the affinity betwixt "the languages of the ancient Britons and the Americans of the Isthmus of Darien." In this essay there is a list of Gaelic words beginning with the letter A, extending to sixteen pages, and a list of English words with their Gaelic equivalents, extending to eight pages. Mr Malcolm brought the project of compiling a Gaelic dictionary before the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, and he seems to have had many conferences with Highland ministers friendly to his object. The Assembly appointed a committee on the subject, and they reported most favourably of Mr Malcolm's design. Still the work never seems to have gone farther; and beyond the

lists referred to, we have no fruits of Mr Malcolm's labours. Mr Malcolm calls the language Irish, as was uniformly done by English writers at the time, and spells the words after the Irish manner.

Three years after the publication of Mr Malcolm's essay in the year 1741, the first attempt at a complete vocabulary of the Gaelic language appeared. The compiler was Alexander M'Donald, at the time schoolmaster of Ardnamurchan, known throughout the Highlands as Mac Mhaighistir Alasdair, and a bard of high reputation. The compilation was made at the suggestion of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, in whose service M'Donald was at the time. The Society submitted the matter to the Presbytery of Mull, and the Presbytery committed the matter to M'Donald as the most likely man within their bounds to execute the work in a satisfactory manner. M'Donald's book is dedicated to the Society, and he professes a zeal for Protestantism, although he turned over to the Church of Rome himself on the landing of Charles Edward in the Highlands in 1745. The vocabulary is arranged under the heads of subjects, and not according to the letters of the alphabet. It begins with words referring to God, and so on through every subject that might suggest itself. It is upon the whole well executed, seeing that the author was the pioneer of Gaelic lexicographers; but the publishers found themselves obliged to insert a caveat in an advertisement at the close of the volume, in which they say that "all or most of the verbs in this vocabulary from page 143 to page 162 are expressed in the Gaelic by single words, though our author generally expresses them by a needless circumlocution." M'Donald's orthography is a near approach to that of modern Gaelic writing.

In 1780 the Rev. Mr Shaw, the author of the Gaelic grammar already referred to, published a dictionary of the Gaelic language in two volumes, the one volume being Gaelic-English, and the other English-Gaelic. This work did not assume a high place among scholars.

Following upon Shaw's work was that of Robert M'Farlane in 1795. This vocabulary is of little value to the student.

Robert M'Farlane's volume was followed in 1815 by that of Peter M'Farlane, a well known translator of religious works. The collection of words is pretty full, and the work upon the whole is a creditable one.

Notwithstanding all these efforts at providing a dictionary of the Gaelic language, it was felt by scholars that the want had not been really supplied. In those circumstances Mr R. A. Armstrong, parish schoolmaster of Kenmore, devoted his time and talents to the production of a work that might be satisfactory. The Gaelic language was not Mr Armstrong's mother tongue, and he had the great labour to undergo of acquiring it. Indefatigable energy, with the genius of a true scholar, helped him over all his difficulties, and, after years of toil, he produced a work of the highest merit, and one whose authority is second to none as an exposition of the Scoto-Celtic tongue.

Mr Armstrong's dictionary was succeeded by that of the Highland Society of Scotland, which was published in two quarto volumes in 1828. A portion of the labour of this great work was borne by Mr Ewen MacLachlan of Aberdeen, the most eminent Celtic scholar of his day. Mr MacLachlan brought the most ample accomplishments to the carrying out of the undertaking; a remarkable acquaintance with the classical languages, which he could write with facility, a very extensive knowledge of the Celtic tongues, and a mind of remarkable acuteness to discern distinctions and analogies in comparative philology. But he died ere the work was far advanced, and other scholars had to carry it through. The chief of these was the Rev. Dr M'Leod of Dundonald, aided by the Rev. Dr Irvine of Little Dunkeld, and the Rev. Alexander M'Donald of Crieff; and the whole was completed and edited under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr Mackay, afterwards of Dunoon, to whose skill and care much of the value of the work is due.

In 1831 an octavo dictionary by the Rev. Dr Macleod of Glasgow, and the Rev. D. Dewar, afterwards Principal Dewar of Aberdeen, appeared. It is drawn largely from the dictionary of the Highland Society, and is an exceedingly good and useful book.

There is a still later dictionary by Mr Neil M'Alpine, schoolmaster in Islay. It is an

excellent vocabulary of the Islay dialect, with some features peculiar to itself, especially directions as to the pronouncing of the words, which, from the peculiar orthography of the Gaelic, the learner requires.

It will be seen from the above list that there is no lack of Gaelic dictionaries any more than of Gaelic grammars, and that some of the dictionaries are highly meritorious. And yet there is room for improvement still if competent hands could be found. The student of Scottish topography meets with innumerable words which he feels assured are of the Scotch-Celtic stock. He applies to his dictionaries, and he almost uniformly finds that the words which puzzle him are absent. There seems to have been an entire ignoring of this source for words on the part of all the Gaelic lexicographers, and from the number of obsolete words found in it, but which an acquaintance with ancient MS. literature helps to explain, a large supply, and a supply of the deepest interest, might be found. Irish dictionaries afford considerable aid in searching this field, but Gaelic dictionaries furnish very little. At the same time it must be remembered that topography is itself a recent study, and that men's minds have only latterly been more closely directed to these words.

We have thus given a general view of the literature of the Scottish Gael. It is not extensive, but it is full of interest. That the language was at one time subjected to cultivation cannot be doubted by any man acquainted with the literary history of the Celtic race. The MSS. which exist are enough to demonstrate the fact, of which no rational doubt can exist, that an immense number of such MSS. have perished. An old Gaelic MS. was once seen in the Hebrides cut down by a tailor to form measuring tapes for the persons of his customers. These MSS. treated of various subjects. Philology, theology, and science found a place among Celtic scholars, while poetry was largely cultivated. The order of bards ensured this, an order peculiar to the Celts. Johnson's estimate of the extent of ancient Celtic culture was an entirely mistaken one, and shows how far prejudice may operate towards the perversion of truth, even in the case of great and good men.

GAELIC LANGUAGE.

Of the Gaelic language in which this literature exists, this is not the place to say much. To know it, it is necessary to study its grammars and dictionaries, and written works. With regard to the class of languages to which it belongs, many and various opinions were long held; but it has been settled latterly without room for dispute that it belongs to the Indo-European, or, as it is now called, the Aryan class. That it has relations to the Semitic languages cannot be denied, but these are no closer than those of many others of the same class. Its relation to both the Greek and the Latin, especially to the latter, is very close, many of the radical words in both languages being almost identical. Natural objects, for instance, and objects immediately under observation, have terms wonderfully similar to represent them. *Mons*, a mountain, appears in the Gaelic *Monadh*; *Amnis*, a river, appears in *Amhainn*; *Oceanus*, the ocean, in *Cuan*; *Muir*, the sea, in *Mure*, *Caballus*, a horse, in *Capull*; *Equus*, a horse, in *Each*; *Canis*, a dog, in *Cu*; *Sol*, the sun, in *Solus*, light; *Salus*, safety, in *Slainte*; *Rex*, a king, in *Rìgh*; *Vir*, a man, in *Fear*; *Tectum*, a roof, in *Tigh*; *Monile*, a necklace, in *Muineal*. This list might be largely extended, and serves to bring out to what an extent original terms in Gaelic and Latin correspond. The same is true of the Greek, but not to the same extent.

At the same time there is a class of words in Gaelic which are derived directly from the Latin. These are such words as have been introduced into the service of the church. Christianity having come into Scotland from the European Continent, it was natural to suppose that with its terms familiar to ecclesiastics should find their way along with the religion. This would have occurred to a larger extent after the Roman hierarchy and worship had been received among the Scots. Such words as *Peacadh*, sin; *Sgriobtuir*, the scriptures; *Faosaid*, confession; *aoibhinn*, mass or offering; *Caisg*, Easter; *Inid*, initium or shrove-tide; *Calainn*, new year's day; *Nollaig*, Christmas; *Domhnach*, God or Dominus; *Discart*, a hermitage; *Eaglais*, a church; *Sagart*, a priest; *Pearsa* or *Pearsoin*, a parson;

Reilig, a burying place, from *reliquiæ*; *Ifrionn*, hell; are all manifestly from the Latin, and a little care might add to this list. It is manifest that words which did not exist in the language must be borrowed from some source, and whence so naturally as from the language which was, in fact, the sacred tongue in the early church.

But besides being a borrower, the Gaelic has been largely a contributor to other languages. What is usually called Scotch is perhaps the greatest debtor to the Gaelic tongue, retaining, as it does, numerous Gaelic words usually thought to be distinctive of itself. A list of these is not uninteresting, and the following is given as a contribution to the object:—Braw, from the Gaelic *Breagh*, pretty; Burn, from *Burn*, water; Airt, from *Airde*, a point of the compass; Bangh, from *Baath*, empty; Kebbuck, from *Càbaig*, a cheese; Dour, from *Dùr*, hard; Fey, from *Fé*, a rod for measuring the dead; Teem, from *Taom*, to empty; Sieker, from *Sliecker*, sure, retained in Manx; Leister, from *Lister*, a fishing spear, Manx; Chiel, from *Gille*, a lad; Skail, from *Sgaoil*, to disperse; Ingle, from *Aingeal*, fire; Arles, from *Earlas*, earnest; Sain, from *Sean*, to consecrate. This list, like the former, might be much increased, and shows how relies of the Gaelic language may be traced in the spoken tongue of the Scottish Lowlands after the language itself has retired. Just in like manner, but arising from a much closer relation, do relies of the Celtic languages appear in the Greek and Latin. The fact seems to be that a Celtic race and tongue did at one time occupy the whole of Southern Europe, spreading themselves from the Hellespont along the shores of the Adriatic, and the western curves of the Mediterranean, bounded on the north by the Danube and the Rhine, and extending to the western shores of Ireland. Of this ample evidence is to be found in the topography of the whole region; and the testimony of that topography is fully borne out by that of the whole class of languages still occupying the region, with the exception of the anomalous language of Biscay, and the Teutonic speech carried by the sword into Britain and other northern sections of it.

More resemblance of words does not establish

identity of class among languages, such a similarity being often found to exist, when in other respects the difference is radical. It requires similarity of idiom and grammatical structure to establish the existence of such an identity. This similarity exists to a remarkable extent between the Gaelic and the Latin. There is not space here for entering into details, but a few examples may be given. There is no indefinite article in either language, the simple form of the noun including in it the article, thus, a man is *feur*, Latin *vir*, the former having in the genitive *fuir*, the latter *viri*. The definite article *am, an, a'*, in Gaelic has no representative in Latin; thus *an duine* represents *homo*. The inflection in a large class of Gaelic nouns is by attenuation, while the nominative plural and genitive singular of such nouns are alike. So with the Latin, *monachus*, gen. *monachi*, nom. plur. *monachi*; Gaelic, *manaich*, gen. *manaich*, nom. plur. *manaich*. The structure of the verb is remarkably similar in both languages. This appears specially in the gerund, which in Gaelic is the only form used to represent the infinitive and the present participle. The use of the subjunctive mood largely is characteristic of the Gaelic as of the Latin. The prepositions which are so variously and extensively used in Gaelic, present another analogy to the Latin. But the analogies in grammatical structure are so numerous that they can only be accounted for by tracing the languages to the same source. Another series of resemblances is to be found in the peculiar idioms which characterise both tongues. Thus, possession is in both represented by the peculiar use of the verb *to be*. *Est mihi liber*, there is to me a book, is represented in Gaelic by *tha leabhar agam*, which means, like the Latin, a book is to me.

But there is one peculiarity which distinguishes the Gaelic and the whole class of Celtic tongues from all others. Many of the changes included in inflection and regimen occur in the initial consonant of the word. This change is usually held to be distinctive of gender, but its effect is wider than that, as it occurs in cases where no distinction of gender is expressed. This change, usually called aspiration, implies a softening of the initial conso-

nants of words. Thus *b* becomes *v*, *m* becomes *v*, *p* becomes *f*, *g* becomes *y*, *d* becomes *y*, *c* becomes *ch*, more or less guttural, *s* and *t* become *h*, and so on. These changes are marked in orthography by the insertion of the letter *h*. This is a remarkable peculiarity converting such a word as *mòr* into *vòr*, spelled *mhòr*; *bàs* into *vàs*, spelled *bhàs*; *duine* into *yuine*, spelled *dhuine*. This peculiarity partly accounts for the number of letters *h* introduced into Gaelic spelling, loading the words apparently unnecessarily with consonants, but really serving a very important purpose.

It is not desirable, however, in a work like this to prosecute this dissertation farther. Suffice it to say, that philologists have come to class the Gaelic with the other Celtic tongues among the great family of Aryan languages, having affinities, some closer, some more distant, with almost all the languages of Europe. It is of much interest to scholars in respect both of the time and the place which it has filled, and fills still, and it is gratifying to all Scottish Celts to know that it has become more than ever a subject of study among literary men.

THE MUSIC OF THE HIGHLANDS.

Among the Celts, poetry and music walked hand in hand. There need be no controversy in this case as to which is the more ancient art, they seem to have been coeval. Hence the bards were musicians. Their compositions were all set to music, and many of them composed the airs to which their verses were adapted. The airs to which the ancient Ossianic lays were sung still exist, and several of them may be found noted in Captain Fraser's excellent collection of Highland music. They are well known in some parts of the Highlands, and those who are prepared to deny with Johnson the existence of any remains of the ancient Celtic bard, must be prepared to maintain at the same time that these ancient airs to which the verses were sung were, like themselves, the offspring of modern imposition. But this is too absurd to obtain credence. In fact these airs were essential to the recitation of the bards. Deprive them of the music with which their lines were associated, and you deprived them of the chief aid to their memory;

but give them their music, and they could recite almost without end.

The same is true of the poetry of the modern bards. Song-singing in the Highlands was usually social. Few songs on any subject were composed without a chorus, and the intention was that the chorus should be taken up by all the company present. A verse was sung in the interval by the individual singer, but the object of the chorus was to be sung by all. It is necessary to keep this in view in judging of the spirit and effect of Gaelic song. Sung as songs usually are, the object of the bard is lost sight of, and much of the action of the music is entirely overlooked. But what was intended chiefly to be said was, that the compositions of the modern bards were all intended to be linked with music, sung for the most part socially. We do not at this moment know one single piece of Gaelic poetry which was intended merely for recitation, unless it be found among a certain class of modern compositions which are becoming numerous, and which are English in everything but the language.

The music to which these compositions were sung was peculiar; one can recognise a Gaelic air at once, among a thousand. Quaint and pathetic, irregular and moving on with the most singular intervals, the movement is still self-contained and impressive,—to the Celt eminently so. It is beyond a question that what is called Scottish music has been derived from the Gaelic race. Its characteristics are purely Celtic. So far as the poetry of Burns is concerned, his songs were composed in many cases to airs borrowed from the Highlands, and nothing could fit in better than the poetry and the music. But Scottish Lowland music, so much and so deservedly admired, is a legacy from the Celtic muse throughout. There is nothing in it which it holds in common with any Saxon race in existence. Compare it with the common melodies in use among the English, and the two are proved totally distinct. The airs to which "Seots wha hae," "Auld Langsyne," "Roy's Wife," "O' a' the airts," and "Ye Banks and Braes," are sung, are airs to which nothing similar can be found in England. They are Scottish, and only Scottish, and can be recognised as such at once

But airs of a precisely similar character can be found among all the Celtic races. In Ireland, melodies almost identical with those of Scotland are found. In fact, the Irish claim such tunes as "The Legacy," "The Highland Laddie," and others. So with the Isle of Man. The national air of the Island, "Mollacharane," has all the distinctive characteristics of a Scottish tune. The melodies of Wales have a similar type. Such a tune as "The Men of Harlech" might at any time be mistaken for a Scottish melody. And if we cross to Brittany and hear a party of Bretons of a night singing a national air along the street, as they often do, the type of the air will be found to be largely Scottish. These facts go far to prove the paternity of what is called Scottish music, and show to conviction that this music, so sweet, so touching, is the ancient inheritance of the Celt.

The ancient Scottish scale consists of six notes, as shown in the annexed exemplification, No. 1. The lowest note A, was afterwards added, to admit of the minor key in wind instruments. The notes in the diatonic scale, No. 2, were added about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and when music arrived at its present state of perfection, the notes in the chromatic scale, No. 3, were farther added. Although



many of the Scottish airs have had the notes last mentioned introduced into them, to please modern taste they can be played without them,

and without altering the character of the melody. Any person who understands the ancient scale can at once detect the later additions.

"The Gaelic music consists of different kinds or species. 1. Martial music, the Golltraidheacht of the Irish, and the Brosnachadh Catha of the Gael, consisting of a spirit-stirring measure short and rapid. 2. The Geantraidheacht, or plaintive or sorrowful, a kind of music to which the Highlanders are very partial. The Coronach, or Lament, sung at funerals, is the most noted of this sort. 3. The Suantraidheacht, or composing, calculated to calm the mind, and to lull the person to sleep. 4. Songs of peace, sung at the conclusion of a war. 5. Songs of victory sung by the bards before the king on gaining a victory. 6. Love songs. These last form a considerable part of the national music, the sensibility and tenderness of which excite the passion of love, and stimulated by its influence, the Gael indulge a spirit of the most romantic attachment and adventure, which the peasantry of perhaps no other country exhibit."

The last paragraph is quoted from Mr Logan's eloquent and patriotic work on the *Scottish Gael*,¹ and represents the state of Gaelic music when more flourishing and more cultivated than it is to-day.

The following quotation is from the same source, and is also distinguished by the accuracy of its description.

"The ancient Gael were fond of singing whether in a sad or cheerful frame of mind. Bacon justly remarks, 'that music feedeth that disposition which it findeth:' it was a sure sign of brewing mischief, when a Caledonian warrior was heard to 'hum his surly hymn.' This race, in all their labours, used appropriate songs, and accompanied their harps with their voices. At harvest the reapers kept time by singing; at sea the boatmen did the same; and while the women were graddaning, performing the *luadhadh*, or waulking of cloth, or at any rural labour, they enlivened their work by certain airs called lunnegs. When milking, they sung a certain plaintive melody, to which the animals listened with calm attention. The

¹ Logan on the *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii. 252-3.

attachment which the natives of Celtic origin have to their music, is strengthened by its intimate connection with the national songs. The influence of both on the Scots character is confessedly great—the pictures of heroism, love, and happiness, exhibited in their songs, are indelibly impressed on the memory, and elevate the mind of the humblest peasant. The songs, united with their appropriate music, affect the sons of Scotia, particularly when far distant from their native glens and majestic mountains, with indescribable feelings, and excite a spirit of the most romantic adventure. In this respect, the Swiss, who inhabit a country of like character, and who resemble the Highlanders in many particulars, experience similar emotions. On hearing the national *Ranz de vaches*, their bowels yearn to revisit the ever dear scenes of their youth. So powerfully is the *amor patriæ* awakened by this celebrated air, that it was found necessary to prohibit its being played, under pain of death, among the troops, who would burst into tears on hearing it, desert their colours, and even die.

“No songs could be more happily constructed for singing during labour than those of the Highlanders, every person being able to join in them, sufficient intervals being allowed for breathing time. In a certain part of the song, the leader stops to take breath, when all the others strike in and complete the air with a chorus of words and syllables, generally without signification, but admirably adapted to give effect to the time.” The description proceeds to give a picture of a social meeting in the Highlands where this style of singing is practised, and refers to the effect with which such a composition as “*Fhir à bhàta*,” or the *Boatman*, may be thus sung.

Poetical compositions associated with music are of various kinds. First of all is the *Laoidh*, or lay, originally signifying a stately solemn composition, by one of the great bards of antiquity. Thus we have “*Laoidh Dhiarmaid*,” The lay of Diarmad; “*Laoidh Oseair*,” The lay of Osear; “*Laoidh nan Ceann*,” The lay of the heads; and many others. The word is now made use of to describe a religious hymn; a fact which proves the dignity with which this composition was invested in the popular

sentiment. Then there was the “*Marbhrann*,” or elegy. Few men of any mark but had their elegy composed by some bard of note. Chiefs and chieftains were sung of after their deaths in words and music the most mournful which the Celt, with so deep a vein of pathos in his soul, could devise. There is an elegy on one of the lairds of Macleod by a famous poetess “*Mairi nighean Alasdair Ruaidh*,” or Mary M’Leod, which is exquisitely touching. Many similar compositions exist. In modern times these elegies are mainly confined to the religious field, and ministers and other men of mark in that field are often sung of and sung sweetly by such bards as still remain. Then there are compositions called “*Iorrans*” usually confined to sea songs; “*Luinneags*,” or ordinary lyrics, and such like. These are all “wedded” to music, which is the reason for noticing them here, and the music must be known in order to have the full relish of the poetry.

There are several collections of Highland music which are well worthy of being better known to the musical world than they are. The oldest is that by the Rev. Peter Macdonald of Kilmore, who was a famous musician in his day. More recently Captain Simon Fraser, of Inverness, published an admirable collection; and collections of pipe music have been made by Macdonald, Mackay, and, more recently, Ross, the two latter pipers to her Majesty, all of which are reported of as good.

The secular music of the Highlands, as existing now, may be divided into that usually called by the Highlanders “*An Ceol mòr*,” the great music, and in English pibrochs. This music is entirely composed for the Highland bagpipe, and does not suit any other instrument well. It is composed of a slow movement, with which it begins, the movement proceeding more rapidly through several variations, until it attains a speed and an energy which gives room for the exercise of the most delicate and accurate fingering. Some of these pieces are of great antiquity, such as “*Mackintosh’s Lament*” and “*Cogadh na Sith*,” Peace or War, and are altogether remarkable compositions. Mendelssohn, on his visit to the Highlands, was impressed by them, and introduced a portion of a pibroch into one of his finest compositions. Few musicians take

the trouble of examining into the structure of these pieces, and they are condemned often with little real discrimination. Next to these we have the military music of the Highlands, also for the most part composed for the pipe, and now in general employed by the pipers of Highland regiments. This kind of music is eminently characteristic, having features altogether distinctive of itself, and is much relished by Scotsmen from all parts of the country. Recently a large amount of music of this class has been adapted to the bagpipe which is utterly unfit for it, and the effect is the opposite of favourable to the good name either of the instrument or the music. This practice is in a large measure confined to regimental pipe music. Such tunes as "I'm wearying awa', Jean," or "Miss Forbes' Farewell to Banff," have no earthly power of adaptation to the notes of the bagpipe, and the performance of such music on that instrument is a violation of good taste and all musical propriety. One cannot help being struck with the peculiar good taste that pervades all the compositions of the M'Crummies, the famous pipers of the Macleods, and how wonderfully the music and the instrument are adapted to each other throughout. This cannot be said of all pibroch music, and the violation of the principle in military music is frequently most offensive to an accurate ear. This has, no doubt, led to the unpopularity of the bagpipe and its music among a large class of the English-speaking community, who speak of its discordant notes, a reflection to which it is not in the least liable in the case of compositions adapted to its scale.

Next to these two kinds follows the song-music of the Gael, to which reference has been made already. It abounds in all parts of the Highlands, and is partly secular, partly sacred. There are beautiful, simple, touching airs, to which the common songs of the country are sung, and there are airs of a similar class, but distinct, which are used with the religious hymns of Buchanan, Matheson, Grant, and other writers of hymns, of whom there are many. The dance music of the Highlands is also distinct from that of any other country, and broadly marked by its own peculiar features. There is the strathspey confined to

Scotland, a moderately rapid movement well known to every Scotchman; there is the jig in 8th time, common to Scotland with Ireland; and there is the reel, pretty much of the same class with the Strathspey, but marked by greater rapidity of motion.

There is one thing which strikes the hearer in this music, that there is a vein of pathos runs through the whole of it. The Celtic mind is largely tinged with pathos. If a musical symbol might be employed to represent them, the mind of the Saxon may be said to be cast in the mould of the major mode, and the mind of the Celt in the minor. The majority of the ordinary airs in the Highlands are in the minor mode, and in the most rapid kinds of music, the jig and the reel, an acute ear will detect the vein of pathos running through the whole.

In sacred music there is not much that is distinctive of the Celt. In forming their metrical version of the Gaelic Psalms, the Synod of Argyll say that one of the greatest difficulties they had to contend with was in adapting their poetry to the forms of the English psalm tunes. There were no psalm tunes which belonged to the Highlands, and it was necessary after the Reformation to borrow such as had been introduced among other Protestants, whether at home or abroad. More lately a peculiar form of psalm tune has developed itself in the North Highlands, which is deserving of notice. It is not a class of new tunes that has appeared, but a peculiar method of singing the old ones. The tunes in use are only six, all taken from the old Psalter of Scotland. They are—French, Dundee, Elgin, York, Martyrs, and Old London. The principal notes of the original tunes are retained, but they are attended with such a number of variations, that the tune in its new dress can hardly be at all recognised. These tunes may not be musically accurate, and artists may make light of them, but sung by a large body of people, they are eminently impressivo and admirably adapted to purposes of worship. Sung on a Communion Sabbath by a crowd of worshippers in the open air, on the green sward of a Highland valley, old Dundee is incomparable, and exercises over the Highland mind a powerful influence.

And truly, effect cannot be left out of view as an element in judging of the character of any music. The pity is that this music is fast going out of use even in the Highlands. It has always been confined to the counties of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, and part of Inverness. Some say that this music took its complexion from the old chants of the mediæval Church. One thing is true of this and all Gaelic psalmody, that the practice of chanting the line is rigidly adhered to, although from the more advanced state of general education in the Highlands the necessity that once existed for it is now passed away.

Connected with the Gaelic music, the *musical instruments* of the Celts remain to be noticed; but we shall confine our observations to the harp and to the bagpipe, the latter of which has long since superseded the former in the Highlands. The harp is the most noted instrument of antiquity, and was in use among many nations. It was, in particular, the favourite instrument of the Celts. The Irish were great proficient in harp music, and they are said to have made great improvements on the instrument itself. So honourable was the occupation of a harper among the Irish, that none but freemen were permitted to play on the harp, and it was reckoned a disgrace for a gentleman not to have a harp, and be able to play on it. The royal household always included a harper, who bore a distinguished rank. Even kings did not disdain to relieve the cares of royalty by touching the strings of the harp; and we are told by Major that James I., who died in 1437, excelled the best harpers among the Irish and the Scotch Highlanders. But harpers were not confined to the houses of kings, for every chief had his harper as well as his bard.

“The precise period when the harp was superseded by the bagpipe, it is not easy to ascertain. Roderick Morrison, usually called Ruairaidh Dall, or *Blind Roderick*, was one of the last native harpers; he was harper to the Laird of M'Leod. On the death of his master, Morrison led an itinerant life, and in 1650 he paid a visit to Robertson of Lude, on which occasion he composed a *Port* or air, called *Snuipèir Thighearna Leoid* or *The Laird of Lude's Supper*, which, with other pieces, is

still preserved. M'Intosh, the compiler of the Gaelic Proverbs, relates the following anecdote of Mr Robertson, who, it appears, was a harp-player himself of some eminence: — ‘One night my father, James M'Intosh, said to Lude that he would be happy to hear him play on the harp, which at that time began to give place to the violin. After supper Lude and he retired to another room, in which there was a couple of harps, one of which belonged to Queen Mary. James, says Lude, here are two harps; the largest one is the loudest, but the small one is the sweetest, which do you wish to hear played? James answered the small one, which Ludo took up and played upon till daylight.’

The last harper, as is commonly supposed, was Murdoch M'Donald, harper to M'Lean of Coll. He received instructions in playing from Rory Dall in Skye, and afterwards in Ireland; and from accounts of payments made to him by M'Lean, still extant, Murdoch seems to have continued in his family till the year 1734, when he appears to have gone to Quinish, in Mull, where he died.”

The history of the *bagpipe* is curious and interesting, but such history does not fall within the scope of this work. Although a very ancient instrument, it does not appear to have been known to the Celtic nations. It was in use among the Trojans, Greeks, and Romans, but how, or in what manner it came to be introduced into the Highlands is a question which cannot be solved. Two suppositions have been started on this point, either that it was brought in by the Romans or by the northern nations. The latter conjecture appears to be the most probable, for we cannot possibly imagine that if the bagpipe had been introduced so early as the Roman epoch, no notice should have been taken of that instrument by the more early annalists and poets. But if the bagpipe was an imported instrument, how does it happen that the great Highland pipe is peculiar to the Highlands, and is perhaps the only national instrument in Europe? If it was introduced by the Romans, or by the people of Scandinavia, how has it happened that no traces of that instrument in its present shape are to be found anywhere except in the Highlands? There is, indeed, some plausi-

bility in these interrogatories, but they are easily answered, by supposing, what is very probable, that the great bagpipe in its present form is the work of modern improvement, and that originally the instrument was much the same as is still seen in Belgium and Italy.

The effects of this national instrument in arousing the feelings of those who have from infancy been accustomed to its wild and warlike tunes are truly astonishing. In halls of joy and in scenes of mourning it has prevailed; it has animated Scotland's warriors in battle, and welcomed them back after their toils to the homes of their love and the hills of their nativity. Its strains were the first sounded on the cars of infancy, and they are the last to be forgotten in the wanderings of age. Even Highlanders will allow that it is not the quietest of instruments, but when far from their mountain homes, what sounds, however melodious, could thrill round their heart like one burst of their own wild native pipe? The feelings which other instruments awaken are general and undefined, because they talk alike to Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, and Highlanders, for they are common to all; but the bagpipe is sacred to Scotland, and speaks a language which Scotsmen only feel. It talks to them of home and all the past, and brings before them, on the burning shores of India, the wild hills and oft-frequented streams of Caledonia, the friends that are thinking of them, and the sweethearts and wives that are weeping for them there; and need it be told here to how many fields of danger and victory its proud strains have led! There is not a battle that is honourable to Britain in which its war-blast has not sounded. When every other instrument has been hushed by the confusion and carnage of the scene, it has been borne into the thick of battle, and, far in the advance, its bleeding but devoted bearer, sinking on the earth, has sounded at once encouragement to his countrymen and his own coronach.

CATALOGUE

OF

GAELIC AND IRISH MANUSCRIPTS.

As connected with the literary history of the Gaelic Celts, the following lists of Gaelic and Irish manuscripts will, it is thought, be considered interesting.

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GAELIC MSS. IN THE POSSESSION OF THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY OF SCOTLAND.

1. A folio MS., beautifully written on parchment or vellum, from the collection of the late Major Mac-lauchlan of Kilbride. This is the oldest MS. in the possession of the Highland Society of Scotland. It is marked Vo. A. No. I. The following remark is written on the margin of the fourth leaf of the MS.:—"Oidche bealtne ann a coinhtech mo Pupu Muircuisa agus as oic lium nach marunn diof in limesi dem dub Misi Fithil acc furnuidh na scoile." Thus Englished by the late Dr Donald Smith:—"The night of the first of May in Coenobium of my Pope Murchus, and I regret that there is not left of my ink enough to fill up this line. I am Fithil, an attendant on the school." This MS., which, from its orthography, is supposed to be as old as the eighth or ninth century, "consists (says Dr Smith) of a poem, moral and religious, some short historical anecdotes, a critical exposition of the Tain, an Irish tale, which was composed in the time of Diarmad, son of Cearval, who reigned over Ireland from the year 544 to 565; and the Tain itself, which claims respect, as exceeding in point of antiquity, every production of any other vernacular tongue in Europe."¹

On the first page of the vellum, which was originally left blank, there are genealogies of the families of Argyll and Mac Leod in the Gaelic handwriting of the sixteenth century. The genealogy of the Argyll family ends with Archibald, who succeeded to the earldom in 1542, and died in 1588.² This is supposed to be the oldest Gaelic MS. extant. Dr Smith conjectures that it may have come into the possession of the Mac-lauchlans of Kilbride in the sixteenth century, as a Ferquhard, son of Ferquhard Mac-lauchlan, was bishop of the Isles, and had Iona or I Colum Kille in commendam from 1530 to 1544.—See *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*.

To the *Tain* is prefixed the following critical exposition, giving a brief account of it in the technical terms of the Scots literature of the remote age in which it was written. "Ceathardha connagur in each calathuin is cuindea don tsairsisi na Tana. Loc di cedumus ligo Fergus mhic Roich ait in rou hathnachd four nach Nai. Tempus umorro Diarmuta mhic Ceruait in rigno Ibeirnia. Pearsa umorro Fergus mhic Roich air is e rou tirchan do na hecsib ar chenu. A tuacad scriuit dia ndeachai Seachan Toirpda cona III. ri ecces . . . do saighe Cuairo rig Condacht." That is—the four things which are requisite to be known in every regular composition are to be noticed in this work of the Tain. The *place* of its origin is the stone of Fergus, son of Roich, where he was buried on the plain of Nai. The *time* of it, besides, is that in which Diarmad, son of Cervail, reigned over Ireland. The *author*, too, is Fergus,

¹ Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland on the Poems of Ossian, App. No. xix., p. 290.

² It is, therefore, probable that these genealogies were written about the middle of the sixteenth century. A fac simile of the writing is to be found in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on the authenticity of Ossian, Plate II.

son of Roich; for he it was that prompted it forth-
with to the bards. The cause of writing it was a visit
which Shenachan Torbda, with three chief bards,
made to Guaire, king of Connaught.³

O'Flaherty thus concisely and accurately describes
the subject and character of the *Tain*:—"Fergusius
Rogius solo pariter ac solio Ultoniæ exterminatus, in
Connaetiam ad Ollilum et Mandam ibidem regnantes
profrigit; quibus patrocinantibus, memorabile exarsit
bellum septennale inter Connaeticos et Ultonios multis
poeticis figmentis, ut ea ferebat ætas, adornatum.
Hujus belli circiter medium, octennio ante caput
ære Christianæ Mauda regina Connaetiæ, Fergusio
Rogio ductore, immensam bonum prædam conspicuis
argentum et iusectantium virtutibus memorabilem, e
Cualgno in agro Louthiano re portavit."⁴

From the expression, "Ut ea ferebat ætas," Dr
Smith thinks that O'Flaherty considered the tale of
the *Tain* as a composition of the age to which it re-
lates; and that of course he must not have seen the
Critical Exposition prefixed to the copy here described.
From the silence of the Irish antiquaries respecting
this Exposition, it is supposed that it must have been
either unknown to, or overlooked by them, and conse-
quently that it was written in Scotland.

The Exposition states, that Sheannachan, with the
three bards and those in their retinue, when about to
depart from the court of Guaire, being called upon to
relate the history of the *Tain bho*, or cattle spoil of
Cualgne, acknowledged their ignorance of it, and
that having ineffectually made the round of Ireland
and Scotland in quest of it, Eimin and Muireheartach,
two of their number, repaired to the grave of Fergus,
son of Roich, who, being invoked, appeared at the
end of three days in terrific grandeur, and related the
whole of the *Tain*, as given in the twelve Reimsgéala
or Portions of which it consists. In the historical
anecdotes allusion is made to Ossian, the son of Fingal,
who is represented as showing, when young, an
inclination to indulge in solitude his natural propen-
sity for meditation and song. *A fac simile* of the
characters of this MS. is given in the Highland
Society's Report upon Ossian, Plate I., fig. 1, 2, and
in Plate II.

2. Another parchment MS. in quarto, equally
beautiful as the former, from the same collection.
It consists of an Almanack bound up with a paper
list of all the holidays, festivals, and most remark-
able saints' days in verse throughout the year—A
Treatise on Anatomy, abridged from Galen—Observations
on the Secretions, &c.—The Schola Salernitana,
in Leonine verse, drawn up about the year 1100, for
the use of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the son of
William the Conqueror, by the famous medical school
of Salerno. The Latin text is accompanied with a
Gaelic explanation, which is considered equally faith-
ful and elegant, of which the following is a speci-
men:—

Caput I.—Anglorum regi scripsit schola tota Salerni

1. As fat scol Salerni go hualldhe do serlon na fearsadh so do
clum rig sag san do cholmhed a shlainnte.

Si vis incolumem, si vis te reddere sanum;

Curas tolle graves, Israel crede prophanum.

Madh all bhídh fallann, agus madh síll bhídh stan; Cúl na
himsníthia tromha dhíit, agus creit gurub dtomhain dult fearg do
dhenamh.

The words *Leabhar Giollacholaim Meigbeathadh* are
written on the last page of this MS., which being in
the same form and hand, with the same words on a
paper MS. bound up with a number of others written
upon vellum in the Advocates' Library, and before
which is written *Liber Malcolmni Bethune*, it has been

conjectured that both works originally belonged to
Malcolm Bethune, a member of a family distinguished
for learning, which supplied the Western Isles for
many ages with physicians.⁵

3. A small quarto paper MS. from the same collec-
tion, written at Dunstaffnage by Ewen Macphail,
12th October 1603. It consists of a tale in prose con-
cerning a King of Lochlin and the Heroes of Fingal:
An Address to Gaul, the son of Morni, beginning—

Goll mear m'leant—
Ceap na Crodhachta—

An Elegy on one of the earls of Argyle, beginning—

A Mhle Callin a chosg loehd;

and a poem in praise of a young lady.

4. A small octavo paper MS. from the same collec-
tion, written by Eamonn or Edmond Mac Lachlan,
1654-5. This consists of a miscellaneous collection of
sonnets, odes, and poetical epistles, partly Scots, and
partly Irish. There is an *Ogham* or alphabet of secret
writing near the end of it.

5. A quarto paper MS. from same collection. It
wants ninety pages at the beginning, and part of the
end. What remains consists of some ancient and
moderately tales and poems. The names of the authors
are not given, but an older MS. (that of the Dean of
Lismore) ascribes one of the poems to Conal, son of
Edirskool. This MS. was written at Aird-Chonail
upon Loehowe, in the years 1690 and 1691, by Ewan
Mac Lean for Colin Campbell. "Caillain Cairnpbel
leis iu leis in leabharan. I. Caillin mac Dhouchai
mhic Dhughil mhic Chaillain oig." Coliu Campbell
is the owner of this book, namely Colin, son of Dun-
can, son of Dougal, son of Colin the younger. The
above Gaelic inscription appears on the 79th leaf of
the MS.

6. A quarto paper MS., which belonged to the Rev.
James MacGregor, Dean of Lismore, the metropolitan
church of the see of Argyle, dated, page 27, 1512,
written by Duncan the son of Dougal, son of Ewen
the Grizzled. This MS. consists of a large collection
of Gaelic poetry, upwards of 11,000 verses. It is
said to have been written "out of the books of the
History of the Kings." Part of the MS., however,
which closes an obituary, commencing in 1077, of the
kings of Scotland, and other eminent persons of Scot-
land, particularly of the shires of Argyle and Perth,
was not written till 1527. The poetical pieces are
from the times of the most ancient bards down to the
beginning of the sixteenth century. The more ancient
pieces are poems of Conal, son of Edirskool, Ossian,
son of Fingal, Fearghas Fili (Fergus the bard), and
Caoilt, son of Ronan, the friends and contemporaries
of Ossian. This collection also contains the works of
Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchay, who fell in the
battle of Flodden, and Lady Isabel Campbell, daughter
of the Earl of Argyle, and wife of Gilbert, Earl of
Cassilis." "The writer of this MS. (says Dr Smith)
rejected the ancient character for the current hand-
writing of the time, and adopted a new mode of
spelling conformable to the Latin and English sounds
of his own age and country, but retained the aspirate
mark (') . . . The Welsh had long before made a
similar change in their ancient orthography. Mr
Edward Lhuys recommended it, with some variation,
in a letter to the Scots and Irish, prefixed to his
Dictionary of their language in the *Archæologia*
Britannica. The bishop of Sodor and Man observed
it in the devotional exercises, admonition, and cate-
chism, which he published for the use of his diocese.
It was continued in the Manx translation of the
Scriptures, and it has lately been adopted by Dr

³ Report of the Committee of the Highland Society on Ossian.
App No. xix., p. 291.

⁴ Ogyg., p. 275.

⁵ Appendix, *ut supra*, No. xix.

⁶ Report of the Highland Society on Ossian p. 92.

Reilly, titular Primate of Ireland, in his TAGASK KREESTRY, or *Christian Doctrine*. But yet it must be acknowledged to be much inferior to the ancient mode of orthography, which has not only the advantage of being grounded on a knowledge of the principles of grammar, and philosophy of language, but of being also more plain and easy. This volume of the Dean's is curious, as distinguishing the genuine poetry of Ossian from the imitations made of it by later bards, and as ascertaining the degree of accuracy with which ancient poems have been transmitted by tradition for the last three hundred years, during a century of which the order of bards has been extinct, and ancient manners and customs have suffered a great and rapid change in the Highlands."⁷ A *fac simile* of the writing is given in the Report of the Committee of the Highland Society, plate III. No. 5. Since the above was written, the whole of this manuscript, with a few unimportant exceptions, has been transcribed, translated, and annotated by the Rev. Dr M'Lauchlan, Edinburgh, and an introductory chapter was furnished by W. F. Skene, Esq., LL.D. The work has been published by Messrs Edmonston & Douglas, of Edinburgh, and is a valuable addition to our Gaelic literature.

7. A quarto paper MS. written in a very beautiful regular hand, without date or the name of the writer. It is supposed to be at least two hundred years old, and consists of a number of ancient tales and short poems. These appear to be transcribed from a much older MS., as there is a vocabulary of ancient words in the middle of the MS. Some of the poetry is ascribed to Cuchullin.

8. Another quarto paper MS. the beginning and end of which have been lost. It consists partly of prose, partly of poetry. With the exception of two loose leaves, which appear much older, the whole appears to have been written in the 17th century. The poetry, though ancient, is not Fingalian. The name, Tadh Og CC., before one of the poems near the end, is the only one to be seen upon it.

9. A quarto parchment MS. consisting of 42 leaves, written by different hands, with illuminated capitals. It appears at one time to have consisted of four different MSS. bound together and covered with skin, to preserve them. This MS. is very ancient and beautiful, though much soiled. In this collection is a life of St Columba, supposed, from the character, (being similar to No. 27,) to be of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

10. A quarto parchment medical MS. beautifully written. No date or name, but the MS. appears to be very ancient.

11. A quarto paper MS., partly prose, partly verse, written in a very coarse and indifferent hand. No date or name.

12. A small quarto MS. coarse. Bears date 1647, without name.

13. A small long octavo paper MS. the beginning and end lost, and without any date. It is supposed to have been written by the Macvurichs of the fifteenth century. Two of the poems are ascribed to Tadh Mae Daire Bruaidheadh, others to Brian O'Donalan.

14. A large folio parchment MS. in two columns, containing a tale upon Cuchullin and Coual, two of Ossian's heroes. Without date or name and very ancient.

15. A large quarto parchment of 7½ leaves, supposed by Mr Astle, author of the work on the origin and progress of writing, to be of the ninth or tenth century. Its title is *Emanuel*, a name commonly given by the old Gaelic writers to many of their miscellaneous writings. Engraved specimens of this MS. are to be

seen in the first edition of Mr Astle's work above-mentioned, 18th plate, Nos. 1 and 2, and in his second edition, plate 22. Some of the capitals in the MS. are painted red. It is written in a strong beautiful hand, in the same character as the rest. This MS. is only the fragment of a large work on ancient history, written on the authority of Greek and Roman writers, and interspersed with notices of the arts, armour, dress, superstitions, manners, and usages, of the Scots of the author's own time. In this MS. there is a chapter titled, "*Slogha Chesuir an Inis Bhreatain*," or *Cæsar's expedition to the island of Britain*, in which *Lechlin*, a country celebrated in the ancient poems and tales of the *Gæil*, is mentioned as separated from Gaul by "the clear current of the Rhine." Dr Donald Smith had a complete copy of this work.

16. A small octavo parchment MS. consisting of a tale in prose, imperfect. Supposed to be nearly as old as the last mentioned MS.

17. A small octavo paper MS. stitched, imperfect; written by the Macvurichs. It begins with a poem upon *Darthula*, different from *Macpherson's*, and contains poems written by *Cathal* and *Nial Mor Macvurich*, (whose names appear at the beginning of some of the poems,) composed in the reign of *King James the Fifth*, *Mary*, and *King Charles the First*. It also contains some Ossianic poems, such as *Cnoc an Air*, &c. i. e. *The Hill of Slaughter*, supposed to be part of *Macpherson's Fingal*. It is the story of a woman who came walking alone to the *Fingalians* for protection from *Taile*, who was in pursuit of her. *Taile* fought them, and was killed by *Oscar*. There was another copy of this poem in *Clanranald's little book*—not the *Red book*, as erroneously supposed by *Laing*. The Highland Society are also in possession of several copies taken from oral tradition. The second Ossianic poem in this MS. begins thus:

Sè la gus an dè
O nach fhaca mi fein Fionn.

It is now six days yesterday
Since I have not seen Fingal.

18. An octavo paper MS. consisting chiefly of poetry, but very much defaced. Supposed to have been written by the last of the *Macvurichs*, but without date. The names of *Tadh Og* and *Lauchlan Mac Taidg* occur upon it. It is supposed to have been copied from a more ancient MS. as the poetry is good.

19. A very small octavo MS. written by some of the *Macvurichs*. Part of it is a copy of *Clanranald's book*, and contains the genealogy of the *Lords of the Isles* and others of that great clan. The second part consists of a genealogy of the *kings of Ireland* (ancestors of the *Macdonalds*) from *Scota* and *Gathelic*. The last date upon it is 1616.

20. A paper MS. consisting of a genealogy of the *kings of Ireland*, of a few leaves only, and without date.

21. A paper MS. consisting of detached leaves of different sizes, and containing, 1. The conclusion of a Gaelic chronicle of the *kings of Scotland* down to *King Robert III.*; 2. A *Fingalian tale*, in which the heroes are *Fingal*, *Goll Mac Morni*, *Oscar*, *Ossian*, and *Conan*; 3. A poem by *Macdonald of Benbecula*, dated 1722, upon the unwritten part of a letter sent to *Donald Macvurich of Stalgary*; 4. A poem by *Donald Mackenzie*; 5. Another by *Tadh Og CC.*, copied from some other MS.; 6. A poem by *Donald Macvurich* upon *Ronald Macdonald of Clanranald*. Besides several hymns by *Tadh*, and other poems by the *Macvurichs* and others.

22. A paper MS. consisting of religious tracts and genealogy, without name or date.

23. A paper MS. containing instruction for children in Gaelic and English. Modern, and without date.

⁷ Appendix to the Highland Society's Report, p. 300-1.

24. Fragments of a paper MS., with the name of Cathelis Macvurich upon some of the leaves, and Niall Macvurich upon some others. *Conn Mac an Deirg*, a well known ancient poem, is written in the Roman character by the last Niall Macvurich, the last Highland bard, and is the only one among all the Gaelic MSS. in that character.

With the exception of the first five numbers, all the before mentioned MSS. were presented by the Highland Society of London to the Highland Society of Scotland in Jsnary, 1803, on the application of the committee appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the poems of Ossian. All these MSS. (with the single exception of the Dean of Lismore's volume,) are written in the very ancient form of character which was common of old to Britain and Ireland, and supposed to have been adopted by the Saxons at the time of their conversion to Christianity. This form of writing has been discontinued for nearly eighty years in Scotland, as the last specimen which the Highland Society of Scotland received of it consists of a volume of songs, supposed to have been written between the years 1752 and 1768, as it contains a song written by Duncan Macintyre, titled, *An Tailleir Mac Neachdain*, which he composed the former year, the first edition of Macintyre's songs having been published during the latter year.⁸

25. Besides these, the Society possesses a collection of MS. Gaelic poems made by Mr Duncan Kennedy, formerly schoolmaster at Craignish in Argyleshire, in three thin folio volumes. Two of them are written out fair from the various poems he had collected about sixty years ago. This collection consists of the following poems, viz., Luachair Leothaid, Sgiathan mao Sgairbh, An Gruagach, Rochd, Sithallan, Mùr Bheura, Tiomban, Sealg na Cluana, Gleanncruidhach, Uirnich Oisein, Earragan, (resembling Macpherson's Battle of Lora,) Manns, Maire Borb, (Maid of Craca,) Cath Siscar, Sliabh nam Beann Fionn, Bas Dheirg, Bas Chuinn, Rìgh Liur, Sealg na Leana, Dun sn Oir, An Cn dubh, Gleann Diamhair, Conal, Bas Chiuinlaich Diarmad, Carril, Bas Ghuill (different from the Death of Gaul published by Dr Smith,) Garaibh, Bas Oseair, (part of which is the same narrative with the opening of Macpherson's *Temora*;) in three parts; Tuiridh nam Fian, and Bass Osein. To each of these poems Kennedy has prefixed a dissertation containing some account of the *Sgealachd* story, or argument of the poem which is to follow. It was very common for the reciter, or *history-man*, as he was termed in the Highlands, to repeat the *Sgealachds* to his hearers before reciting the poems to which they related. Several of the poems in this collection correspond pretty nearly with the ancient MS. above mentioned, which belonged to the Dean of Lismore.⁹

26. A paper, medical, MS. in the old Gaelic character, a thick volume, written by Angus Connacher at Ardeconal, Lochow-side, Argyleshire, 1612, presented to the Highland Society of Scotland by the late William Macdonald, Esq. of St Martins, W.S.

27. A beautiful parchment MS., greatly mutilated, in the same character, presented to the Society by the late Lord Bannatyne, one of the judges of the Court of Session. The supposed date upon the cover is 1238, is written in black letter, but it is in a comparatively modern hand. "Gleann Masan an cuigo la deag do an . . . Mh : : do bhlian ar tsaoirse Mile da chead, trichid sa hocht." That is, Glen-Masan, the 15th day of the . . . of M : : of the year of our Redemption 1238. It is supposed that the date has been taken from the MS. when in a more entire state. Glenmasan, where it was written, is a valley in the district of Cowal. From a note on the margin of the

15th leaf, it would appear to have formerly belonged to the Rev. William Campbell, minister of Kilehrenan and Dalavioch, and a native of Cowal, and to whom Dr D. Smith supposes it may, perhaps, have descended from his grand-uncle, Mr Robert Campbell, in Cowal, an accomplished scholar and poet, who wrote the eighth address prefixed to Lhnyd's *Archæologia*.

The MS. consists of some mutilated tales in prose, interspersed with verse, one of which is part of the poem of "Clan Uisneachan," called by Macpherson *Darthula*, from the lady who makes the principal figure in it. The name of this lady in Gaelic is Deirdir, or Dearduil. A *fac simile* of the writing is given in the appendix to the Highland Society's Report on Ossian. Plate iii. No. 4.

28. A paper MS. in the same character, consisting of an ancient tale in prose, presented to the Society by Mr Norman Macleod, son of the Rev. Mr Macleod of Morven.

29. A small paper MS. in the same character, on religion.

30. A paper MS. in the same character, presented to the Highland Society by James Grant, Esquire of Corymony. It consists of the history of the wars of Cuchullin, in prose and verse. This MS. is much worn at the ends and edges. It formerly belonged to Mr Grant's mother, said to have been an excellent Gaelic scholar.

CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT GAELIC MSS. WHICH BELONGED TO THE LATE MAJOR MACLAUCHLAN OF KILBRIDE, BESIDES THE FIVE FIRST ENUMERATED IN THE FOREGOING LIST, AND WHICH ARE NOW IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH.

1. A beautiful medical MS. with the other MSS. formerly belonging to the collection. The titles of the different articles are in Latin, as are all the medical Gaelic MSS., being translations from Galen and other ancient physicians. The capital letters are flourished and painted red.

2. A thick folio paper MS., medical, written by Duncan Conacher, at Dunollie, Argyleshire, 1511.

3. A folio parchment MS. consisting of ancient Scottish and Irish history, very old.

4. A folio parchment medical MS. beautifully written. It is older than the other medical MSS.

5. A folio parchment medical MS. of equal beauty with the last.

6. A folio parchment MS. upon the same subject, and nearly of the same age with the former.

7. A folio parchment, partly religious, partly medical.

8. A folio parchment MS. consisting of the Histories of Scotland and Ireland, much damaged.

9. A folio parchment medical MS., very old.

10. A folio parchment MS. Irish history and poetry.

11. A quarto parchment MS., very old.

12. A long duodecimo parchment MS. consisting of hymns and maxims. It is a very beautiful MS., and may be as old as the time of St Columba.

13. A duodecimo parchment MS. much damaged and illegible.

14. A duodecimo parchment MS. consisting of poetry, but not Ossianic. Hardly legible.

15. A duodecimo parchment MS. much injured by vermin. It consists of a miscellaneous collection of history and poetry.

16. A duodecimo parchment MS. in large beautiful letter, very old and difficult to be understood.

17. A folio parchment MS. consisting of the genealogies of the Macdonalds, Macniels, Macdougals, Maclanchlans, &c.

All these MSS. are written in the old Gaelic character, and, with the exception of No. 2, have neither date nor name attached to them.

⁸ Report on Ossian, Appendix, p. 312.

⁹ Report on Ossian, pp. 104-3.

Besides those enumerated, there are, it is believed, many ancient Gaelic MSS. existing in private libraries. The following are known:—

A Deed of Forfeiture between Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, and John Mackenzie, executed in the year 1640. This circumstance shows that the Gaelic language was in use in legal obligations at that period in the Highlands. This MS. was in the possession of the late Lord Baunatync.

A variety of parchment MSS. on medicine, in the Gaelic character, formerly in the possession of the late Dr Donald Smith. He was also possessed of a complete copy of the Emannel MS. before mentioned, and of copies of many other MSS., which he made at different times from other MSS.

Two paper MS. Gaelic grammars, in the same character, formerly in the possession of the late Dr Wright of Edinburgh.

Two ancient parchment MSS. in the same character, formerly in the possession of the late Rev. James MacLagan, at Blair-Athole. Now in possession of his family. It is chiefly Irish history.

A paper MS. written in the Romau character, in the possession of Mr Matheson of Fearnraig, Ross-shire. It is dated in 1688, and consists of songs and hymns by different persons, some by Carswell, Bishop of the Isles. There is reason to fear that this MS. has been lost.

A paper MS. formerly in the possession of a Mr Simpson in Leith.

The Liliuim Medecinae, a paper folio MS. written and translated by one of the Bethunes, the physicians of Skye, at the foot of Mount Pelop. It was given to the Antiquarian Society of London by the late Dr Macqueen of Kilmore, in Skye.

Two treatises, one on astronomy, the other on medicine, written in the latter end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, formerly in the possession of Mr Astle.

GAELIC AND IRISH MSS. IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY.

Three volumes MS. in the old character, chiefly medical, with some fragments of Scottish and Irish history; and the life of St Columba, said to have been translated from the Latin into Gaelic, by Father Calohoran.

IN THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

A MS. volume (No. 5280) containing twenty-one Gaelic or Irish treatises, of which Mr Astle has given some account. One of these treats of the Irish militia, under Fion Maccumhail, in the reign of Cormac-Mac-Airt, king of Ireland, and of the course of probation or exercise which each soldier was to go through before his admission therein. Mr Astle has given a *fac simile* of the writing, being the thirteenth specimen of Plate xxii.

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD.

An old Irish MS. on parchment, containing, among other tracts, An account of the Conquest of Britain by the Romans:—Of the Saxon Conquest and their Heptarchy:—An account of the Irish Saints, in verse, written in the tenth century:—The Saints of the Roman Breviary:—An account of the Conversion of the Irish and English to Christianity, with some other subjects. Laud. F. 92. This book, as is common in old Irish manuscripts, has here and there some Latin notes intermixed with Irish, and may possibly contain some hints of the doctrines of the Druids.

An old vellum MS. of 140 pages, in the form of a music-book, containing the works of St Columba, in verse, with some account of his own life; his exhortations to princes and his prophecies. Laud. D. 17.

A chronological history of Ireland, by Jeffrey Keating, D.D.

Among the Clarendon MSS. at Oxford are—

Annales Ultonienses, sic dicti quod precipue continent res gestas Ultoniensium. Codex antiquissimus caractere Hibernico scriptus; sed sermone, partim Hibernico, partim Latino. Fol. membr. The 16th and 17th specimens in Plate xxii. of Astle's work are taken from this MS., which is numbered 31 of Dr Rawlinson's MSS.

Annales Tigernaci (Erenaci. ut opinatur Warrens Clonmanaisis. Vid. Annal. Ulton. ad an. 1088), multo in initio et alibi. Liber caractere et lingua Hibernicis scriptus. Memb.

These annals, which are written in the old Irish character, were originally collected by Sir James Ware, and came into the possession successively of the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Chandos, and of Dr Rawlinson.

Miscellanea de Rebus Hibernicis, metricè. Lingua partim Latina, partim Hibernica; collecta per Oengusium O'Colode (fortè Colidium). Hic liber vulgò Psalter Na rann appellatur.

Elegiæ Hibernicæ in Obitus quorundam Nobilium fo. 50.

Notæ quædam Philosophicæ, partim Latinæ, partim Hibernicæ, Characteribus Hibernicis, fo. 69. Memb.

Anonymi cujusdam Tractatus de variis apud Hibernos veteres occultis scribendi Formulæ, Hibernicè Ogum dictis.

Fincleachi O Catalai Gigantomachia (vel potiùs Acta Finni Mac Cuil, cum Praelo de Fiutra), Hibernicè. Colloquia quædam de Rebus Hibernicis in quibus colloquentes introducuntur S. Patricius, Coillius, et Ogsenus Hibernicè f. 12. Leges Ecclesiasticæ Hibernicè f. 53. Memb.

Vitæ Sanctorum Hibernicorum, per Magnum sive Manum, filium Hugonis O'Donnell, Hibernigè descriptæ. An. 1532, Fol. Memb.

Calieni Prophetiæ, in Lingua Hibernica. Ejusdem libri exemplar extat in Bibl. Cotton, f. 22. b.

Extracto ex Libro Killensi, Lingua Hibernica, f. 39.

Historica quædam, Hibernicè, ab An. 130, ad An. 1317, f. 231.

A Book of Irish Poetry, f. 16.

Tractatus de Scriptoribus Hibernicis.

Dr Keating's History of Ireland.

Irish MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin:—

Extracto ex Libro de Kells Hibernicè.

A book in Irish, treating,—1. Of the Building of Babel. 2. Of Grammar. 3. Of Physic. 4. Of Chirurgery. Fol. D. 10.

A book containing several ancient historical matters, especially of the coming of Milesius out of Spain. B. 35.

The book of Balimote, containing,—1. The Genealogies of all the ancient Families in Ireland. 2. The Uracept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens. 3. The Ogma, or Art of Writing in Characters. 4. The History of the Wars of Troy, with other historical matters contained in the book of Lecane, D. 18. The book of Lecane, *alias* Sligo, contains the following treatises:—1. A treatise of Ireland and its divisions into provinces, with the history of the Irish kings and sovereigns, answerable to the general history; but nine leaves are wanting. 2. How the race of Milesius came into Ireland, and of their adventures since Moses's passing through the Red Sea. 3. Of the descent and years of the ancient fathers. 4. A catalogue of the kings of Ireland in verse. 5. The maternal genealogies and degrees of the Irish saints. 6. The genealogies of our Lady,

Joseph, and several other saints mentioned in the Scripture. 7. An alphabetic catalogue of Irish saints. 8. The sacred antiquity of the Irish saints in versè. 9. Cormac's life. 10. Several transactions of the monarchs of Ireland and their provincial kings. 11. The history of Eogain M'or, Knight; as also of his children and posterity. 12. O'Neil's pedigree. 13. Several battles of the Sept of Cinet Ogen, or tribe of Owen, from Owen Mac Neile Mac Donnoch. 14. Manne, the son of King Neal, of the nine hostages and his family. 15. Fiacha, the son of Mac Neil and his Sept. 16. Leogarius, son of Nelus Magnus, and his tribe. 17. The Connaught book. 18. The book of Fiatrach. 19. The book of Uriel. 20. The Leinster book. 21. The descent of the Fochards, or the Nolans. 22. The descent of those of Leix, or the O'Mores. 23. The descent of Dceyes of Munster, or the Ophelans. 24. The coming of Muscrey to Moybreagh. 25. A commentary upon the antiquity of Albany, now called Scotland. 26. The descent of some Septs of the Irish, different from those of the most known sort, that is, of the posterity of Lugadh Frith. 27. The Ulster book. 28. The British book. 29. The Uraccept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens. 30. The genealogies of St Patrick and other saints, as also an etymology of the hard words in the said treatise. 31. A treatise of several prophccies. 32. The laws, customs, exploits, and tributes of the Irish kings and provincials. 33. A treatise of Eva, and the famous women of ancient times. 34. A poem that treats of Adam and his posterity. 35. The Munster book. 36. A book containing the etymology of all the names of the chief territories and notable places in Ireland. 37. Of the several invasions of Clan-Partholan, Clan-nan vies, Firbolgh, Tu'atha de Danaan, and the Milesians into Ireland. 38. A treatise of the most considerable men

in Ireland, from the time of Leogarius the son of Nelus Magnus, alias Neale of the nine hostages in the time of Roderic O'Conner, monarch of Ireland, fol. parchment. D. 19.

De Chirurgia. De Infirmitatibus Corporis humane, Hibernicè, f. Membr. C. 1.

Excerpta quædam de antiquitatibus Incolarum, Dublin ex libris Bellemorculi et Sligantino, Hibernicè.

Hymni in laudem B. Patricii, Brigidæ et Columbia, Hibern. plerumque. Invocationes Apostolorum et SS. cum not. Hibern. interlin. et margin. Orationes quædam excerptæ ex Psalmis; partim Latinè, partim Hibernicè, fol. Membr. I. 125.

Opera Galeni et Hippocratis de Chirurgia, Hibernicè, fol. Membr. C. 29.

A book of Postils in Irish, fol. Membr. D. 24.

Certain prayers, with the argument of the four Gospels and the Acts, in Irish (10.), 'Fiechi Sjebthiensis. Hymnus in laudem S. Patricii, Hibernicè (12.), A hymn on St Bridget, in Irish, made by Columkill in the time of Eda Mac Ainmireck, cum Regibus Hibern. et success. S. Patricii (14.), Sanctani Hymnus. Hibern.

Reverendissimi D. Bedelli Translatio Hibernica S. Bibliorum.

BRITISH MUSEUM.

In addition to the above, there has been a considerable collection of Gaelic MSS. made at the British Museum. They were all catalogued a few years ago by the late Eugene O'Curry, Esq. It is unnecessary to give the list here, but Mr O'Curry's catalogue will be found an admirable directory for any inquirer at the Museum. Foreign libraries also contain many such MSS.

PART SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLANS.

CHAPTER I.

Clanship—Principle of *kin*—Mormaordoms—Traditions as to origin of Clans—Distinction between Feudalism and Clanship—Peculiarities of Clanship—Consequences of Clanship—*Manrent*—Customs of Succession—Tanistry and Gavel—Highland Marriage Customs—Hand-fasting—Highland gradation of ranks—*Calpe*—Native-men—Rìgh or King—Mormaor, Tighern, Thane—Tanist—*Ceantighes*—Toshach—"Captain" of a Clan—Ogtiern—Duine-wassels, Tacksmen, or Goodmen—Brehon—Position and power of Chief—Influence of Clanship on the people—Chiefs sometimes abandoned by the people—Number and Distribution of Clans.

The term *clan*, now applied almost exclusively to the tribes into which the Scottish Highlanders were formerly, and still to some extent are divided, was also applied to those large and powerful septs into which the Irish people were at one time divided, as well as to the communities of freebooters that inhabited the Scottish borders, each of which, like the Highland clans, had a common surname. Indeed, in an Act of the Scottish Parliament for 1587, the Highlanders and Borderers are classed together as being alike "dependents on chieftains or captains of clans." The border clans, however, were at a comparatively early period broken up and weaned from their predatory and warlike habits, whereas the system of clanship in the Highlands continued to flourish in almost full vigour down to the middle of last century. As there is so much of romance surrounding the system, especially in its later manifesta-

tions, and as it was the cause of much annoyance to Britain, it has become a subject of interest to antiquarians and students of mankind generally; and as it flourished so far into the historical period, curiosity can, to a great extent, be gratified as to its details and working.

A good deal has been written on the subject in its various aspects, and among other authorities we must own our indebtedness for much of our information to Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, Logan's *Scottish Gael and Clans*, and *The Iona Club Transactions*, besides the publications of the various other Scottish Clubs.

We learn from Tacitus and other historians, that at a very early period the inhabitants of Caledonia were divided into a number of tribes, each with a chief at its head. These tribes, from all we can learn, were independent of, and often at war with each other, and only united under a common elected leader when the necessity of resisting a common foe compelled them. In this the Caledonians only followed a custom which is common to all barbarous and semi-barbarous peoples; but what was the bond of union among the members of the various tribes it is now not easy to ascertain. We learn from the researches of Mr E. W. Robertson that the feeling of *kin-dred* was very strong among all the early Celtic

and even Teutonic nations, and that it was on the principle of *kin* that land was allotted to the members of the various tribes. The property of the land appears to have been vested in the *Cean-cinneth*, or head of the lineage for the good of his *elan*; it was "burdened with the support of his kindred and *Amasach*" (military followers), these being allotted parcels of land in proportion to the nearness of their relation to the chief of the *elan*.¹ The word *clan* itself, from its etymology,² points to the principle of *kin*, as the bond which united the members of the tribes among themselves, and bound them to their chiefs. As there are good grounds for believing that the original Caledonians, the progenitors of the present genuine Highlanders, belonged to the Celtic family of mankind, it is highly probable that when they first entered upon possession of Alban, whether peaceably or by conquest, they divided the land among their various tribes in accordance with their Celtic principle. The word *elan*, as we have said, signifies family, and a *elan* was a certain number of families of the same name, sprung, as was believed, from the same root, and governed by the lineal descendant of the parent family. This patriarchal form of society was probably common in the infancy of mankind, and seems to have prevailed in the days of Abraham; indeed, it was on a similar principle that Palestine was divided among the twelve tribes of Israel, the descendants of the twelve sons of Jacob.

As far back as we can trace, the Highlands appear to have been divided into a number of districts, latterly known as *Mormaor*doms, each under the jurisdiction of a *Mormaor*, to whom the several tribes in each district looked up as their common head. It is not improbable that *Galgacus*, the chosen leader mentioned by *Tacitus*, may have held a position similar to this, and that in course of time some powerful or popular chief, at first elected as a temporary leader, may have contrived to make his office permanent, and even to some extent hereditary. The title *Mormaor*, however, is first met with only after the various divisions of northern Scotland had

been united into a kingdom. "In Scotland the royal official placed over the crown or fiseal lands, appears to have been originally known as the *Maor*, and latterly under the Teutonic appellation of *Thane*. . . . The original *Thanage* would appear to have been a district held of the Crown, the holder, *Maor* or *Thane*, being accountable for the collection of the royal dues, and for the appearance of the royal tenantry at the yearly 'hosting,' and answering to the hereditary *Toshach*, or captain of a *elan*, for the king stood in the place of the *Cean-cinneth*, or chief. . . . When lands were strictly retained in the Crown, the *Royal Thane*, or *Maor*, was answerable directly to the King; but there was a still greater official among the Scots, known under the title of *Mormaor*, or *Lord High Steward*. . . who was evidently a *Maor* placed over a province instead of a thanage—an earldom or county instead of a barony—a type of *Harfager's* royal *Jarl*, who often exercised as a royal deputy that authority which he had originally claimed as the independent lord of the district over which he presided."³ According to *Mr Skene*,⁴ it was only about the 16th century when the great power of these *Mormaors* was broken up, and their provinces converted into thanages or earldoms, many of which were held by Saxon nobles, who possessed them by marriage, that the *elans* first make their appearance in these districts and in independence. By this, we suppose, he does not mean that it was only when the above change took place that the system of clanship sprang into existence, but that then the various great divisions of the clans, losing their *cean-cinneth*, or head of the kin, the individual clans becoming independent, sprang into greater prominence and assumed a stronger individuality.

Among the Highlanders themselves various traditions have existed as to the origin of the *elans*. *Mr Skene* mentions the three principal ones, and proves them to be entirely fanciful. The first of these is the *Scottish* or *Irish* system, by which the *elans* trace their origin or foundation to early Irish or Scots-Irish kings. The second is what *Mr Skene* terms the *heroic*

¹ *Scotland under her Early Kings*, Ap. D.

² Gaelic, *clann*; Irish, *clann*, or *cland*; Manx, *clann*, children, offspring, tribe.

³ *Robertson's Early Kings*, i. 102, 103, 104.

⁴ *Highlanders*, i. 16.

system, by which many of the Highland clans are deduced from the great heroes in the fabulous histories of Scotland and Ireland, by identifying one of these fabulous heroes with an ancestor of the clan of the same name. The third system did not spring up till the 17th century, "when the fabulous history of Scotland first began to be doubted, when it was considered to be a principal merit in an antiquarian to display his scepticism as to all the old traditions of the country."³ Mr Skene terms it the *Norwegian* or *Danish* system, and it was the result of a *furor* for imputing everything and deriving everybody from the Danes. The idea, however, never obtained any great credit in the Highlands. The conclusion to which Mr Skene comes is, "that the Highland clans are not of different or foreign origin, but that they were a part of the original nation, who have inhabited the mountains of Scotland as far back as the memory of man, or the records of history can reach; that they were divided into several great tribes possessing their hereditary chiefs; and that it was only when the line of these chiefs became extinct, and Saxon nobles came into their place, that the Highland clans appeared in the peculiar situation and character in which they were afterwards found." Mr Skene thinks this conclusion strongly corroborated by the fact that there can be traced existing in the Highlands, even so late as the 16th century, a still older tradition than that of the Irish origin of the clans. This tradition is found in the often referred to letter of "John Elder, clerk, a Reddschankc," dated 1542, and addressed to King Henry VIII. This tradition, held by the Highlanders of the "more ancient stoke" in opposition to the "Papistical curside spiritualite of Scotland," was that they were the true descendants of the ancient Picts, then known as "Redd Schankes."

Whatever may be the value of Mr Skene's conclusions as to the purity of descent of the present Highlanders, his researches, taken in conjunction with those of Mr E. W. Robertson, seem pretty clearly to prove, that from as far back as history goes the Highlanders were divided into tribes on the principle of *kin*,

that the germ of the fully developed clan-system can be found among the earliest Celtic inhabitants of Scotland; that clanship, in short, is only a modern example, systematised, developed, and modified by time of the ancient principle on which the Celtic people formed their tribes and divided their lands. The clans were the fragments of the old Celtic tribes, whose mormaors had been destroyed, each tribe dividing into a number of clans. When, according to a recent writer, the old Celtic tribe was deprived of its chief, the bolder spirits among the minor chieftains would gather round them, each a body of partisans, who would assume his name and obey his orders. It might even happen that, from certain favourable circumstances, a Saxon or a Norman stranger would thus be able to gain a circle of adherents out of a broken or chieftainless Celtic tribe, and so become the founder of a clan.

As might be expected, this primitive, patriarchal state of society would be liable to be abolished as the royal authority became extended and established, and the feudal system substituted in its stead. This we find was the case, for under David and his successors, during the 12th and 13th centuries, the old and almost independent mormaordoms were gradually abolished, and in their stead were substituted earldoms feudally dependent upon the Crown. In many instances these mormaordoms passed into the hands of lowland barons, favourites of the king; and thus the dependent tribes, losing their hereditary heads, separated, as we have said, into a number of small and independent clans, although even the new foreign barons themselves for a long time exercised an almost independent sway, and used the power which they had acquired by royal favour against the king himself.

As far as the tenure of lands and the heritable jurisdictions were concerned, the feudal system was easily introduced into the Highlands; but although the principal chiefs readily agreed, or were induced by circumstances to hold their lands of the Crown or of low-country barons, yet the system of clanship remained in full force amongst the native Highlanders until a very recent period, and its spirit still to a certain extent survives in

³ *Highlanders*, p. 7, *et. seq.*

the affections, the prejudices, the opinions, and the habits of the people.⁶

The nature of the Highlands of Scotland was peculiarly favourable to the clan system, and no doubt helped to a considerable extent to perpetuate it. The division of the country into so many straths, and valleys, and islands, separated from one another by mountains or arms of the sea, necessarily gave rise to various distinct societies. Their secluded situation necessarily rendered general intercourse difficult, whilst the impenetrable ramparts with which they were surrounded made defence easy. The whole race was thus broken into many individual masses, possessing a community of customs and character, but placed under different jurisdictions; every district became a sort of petty independent state; and the government of each community or clan assumed the patriarchal form, being a species of hereditary monarchy, founded on custom, and allowed by general consent, rather than regulated by positive laws.

The system of clanship in the Highlands,⁷ although possessing an apparent resemblance to feudalism, was in principle very different indeed from that system as it existed in other parts of the country. In the former case, the people followed their chief as the head of their race, and the representative of the common ancestor of the clan; in the latter, they obeyed their leader as feudal proprietor of the lands to which they were attached, and to whom they owed military service for their respective portions of these lands. The Highland chief was the hereditary lord of all who belonged to his clan, wherever they dwelt or whatever lands they occupied; the feudal baron was entitled to the military service of all who held lands under him, to whatever race they might individually belong. The one dignity was personal, the other was territorial; the rights of the chief were inherent, those of the baron were accessory; the one might lose or forfeit his possessions, but could not thereby be divested of his hereditary character and privi-

⁶ For details concerning the practical working of the clan system, in addition to what are given in this introduction, we refer the reader to chaps. xviii. xlii., xliii., xlv. of Part First.

⁷ We are indebted for much of what follows to Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 153, *et seq.*

leges; the other, when divested of his fee, ceased to have any title or claim to the service of those who occupied the lands. Yet these two systems, so different in principle, were in effect nearly identical. Both exhibited the spectacle of a subject possessed of unlimited power within his own territories, and exacting unqualified obedience from a numerous train of followers, to whom he stood in the several relations of landlord, military leader, and judge, with all the powers and prerogatives belonging to each of those characters. Both were equally calculated to aggrandise turbulent chiefs and nobles, at the expense of the royal authority, which they frequently defied, generally resisted, and but seldom obeyed; although for the most part, the chief was less disloyal than the baron, probably because he was farther removed from the seat of government, and less sensible of its interference with his own jurisdiction. The one system was adapted to a people in a pastoral state of society, and inhabiting a country, like the Highlands of Scotland, which from its peculiar nature and conformation, not only prevented the adoption of any other mode of life, but at the same time prescribed the division of the people into separate families or clans. The other system, being of a defensive character, was necessary to a population occupying a fertile but open country, possessing only a rude notion of agriculture, and exposed on all sides to aggressions on the part of neighbours or enemies. But the common tendency of both was to obstruct the administration of justice, nurse habits of lawless violence, exclude the cultivation of the arts of peace, and generally to impede the progress of improvement; and hence neither was compatible with the prosperity of a civilised nation, where the liberty of the subject required protection, and the security of property demanded an equal administration of justice.

The peculiarities of clanship are nowhere better described than in Burt's *Letters from an Officer of Engineers to his Friend in London*.⁸ "The Highlanders," he says, "are divided into tribes or clans, under chiefs or

⁸ Letter xix., part of which has already been quoted in ch. xlii., but may with advantage be again introduced here.

chieftains, and each clan is again divided into branches from the main stock, who have chieftains over them. These are subdivided into smaller branches of fifty or sixty men, who deduce their original from their particular chieftains, and rely upon them as their more immediate protectors and defenders. The ordinary Highlanders esteem it the most sublime degree of virtue to love their chief and pay him a blind obedience, although it be in opposition to the government. Next to this love of their chief is that of the particular branch whence they sprang; and, in a third degree, to those of the whole clan or name, whom they will assist, right or wrong, against those of any other tribe with which they are at variance. They likewise owe good-will to such clans as they esteem to be their particular well-wishers. And, lastly, they have an adherence to one another as Highlanders in opposition to the people of the low country, whom they despise as inferior to them in courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them whenever it is in their power. This last arises from a tradition that the Lowlands, in old times, were the possessions of their ancestors.

“The chief exercises an arbitrary authority over his vassals, determines all differences and disputes that happen among them, and levies taxes upon extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage of a daughter, building a house, or some pretence for his support or the honour of his name; and if any one should refuse to contribute to the best of his ability, he is sure of severe treatment, and, if he persists in his obstinacy, he would be cast out of his tribe by general consent. This power of the chief is not supported by interest, as they are landlords, but by consanguinity, as lineally descended from the old patriarchs or fathers of the families, for they hold the same authority when they have lost their estates, as may appear from several instances, and particularly that of one (Lord Lovat) who commands his clan, though at the same time they maintain him, having nothing left of his own. On the other hand, the chief, even against the laws, is bound to protect his followers, as they are sometimes called, be they never so criminal. He is their leader in clan quarrels, must free

the necessitous from their arrears of rent, and maintain such who by accidents are fallen to total decay. Some of the chiefs have not only personal dislikes and enmity to each other, but there are also hereditary feuds between clan and clan, which have been handed down from one generation to another for several ages. These quarrels descend to the meanest vassals, and thus sometimes an innocent person suffers for crimes committed by his tribe at a vast distance of time before his being began.”

This clear and concise description will serve to convey an idea of clanship as it existed in the Highlands, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the system was in full force and vigour. It presented a singular mixture of patriarchal and feudal government and everything connected with the habits, manners, customs, and feelings of the people tended to maintain it unimpaired, amidst all the changes which were gradually taking place in other parts of the country, from the diffusion of knowledge, and the progress of improvement. There was, indeed, something almost oriental in the character of immutability which seemed to belong to this primitive institution, endeared as it was to the affections, and singularly adapted to the condition of the people amongst whom it prevailed. Under its influence all their habits had been formed; with it all their feelings and associations were indissolubly blended. When the kindred and the followers of a chief saw him surrounded by a body of adherents, numerous, faithful, and brave, devoted to his interests, and ready at all times to sacrifice their lives in his service, they could conceive no power superior to his; and, when they looked back into the past history of their tribe, they found that his progenitors had, from time immemorial, been at their head. Their tales, their traditions, their songs, constantly referred to the exploits or the transactions of the same tribe or fraternity living under the same line of chiefs; and the transmission of command and obedience, of protection and attachment, from one generation to another, became in consequence as natural, in the eye of a Highlander, as the transmission of blood or the regular laws of descent. This order of things appeared to him as fixed and as inviolable as the constitution

of nature or the revolutions of the seasons. Hence nothing could shake his fidelity to his chief, or induce him to compromise what he believed to be for the honour and interest of his clan. He was not without his feelings of independence, and he would not have brooked oppression where he looked for kindness and protection. But the long unbroken line of chiefs is of itself a strong presumptive proof of the general mildness of their sway. The individuals might change, but the ties which bound one generation were drawn more closely, although by insensible degrees, around the succeeding one; and thus each family, in all its various successions, retained something like the same sort of relation to the parent stem, which the renewed leaves of a tree in spring preserve, in point of form and position, to those which had dropped off in the preceding autumn.

Many important consequences, affecting the character of the Highlanders, resulted from this division of the people into small tribes, each governed in the patriarchal manner already described. The authority of the sovereign, if nominally recognised, was nearly altogether unfelt and inoperative. His mandates could neither arrest the mutual depredations of the clans, nor allay their hereditary hostilities. Delinquents could not be pursued into the bosom of the clan which protected them, nor could the judges administer the laws, in opposition to the will or the interests of the chiefs. Sometimes the sovereign attempted to strengthen his hands by fomenting divisions between the different clans, and entering occasionally into the interests of one, in the hope of weakening another; he threw his weight into one scale that the other might kick the beam, and he withdrew it again, that, by the violence of the reaction, both parties might be equally damaged and enfeebled. Many instances of this artful policy occur in Scottish history, which, for a long period, was little else than a record of internal disturbances. The general government, wanting the power to repress disorder, sought to destroy its elements by mutual collision; and the immediate consequence of its inefficiency was an almost perpetual system of aggression, warfare, depredation, and contention. Besides, the

little principalities into which the Highlands were divided touched at so many points, yet they were so independent of one another; they approached so nearly in many respects, yet, in some others, were so completely separated; there were so many opportunities of encroachment on the one hand, and so little disposition to submit to it on the other; and the quarrel or dispute of one individual of the tribe so naturally involved the interest, the sympathies, and the hereditary feelings or animosities of the rest, that profound peace or perfect cordiality scarcely ever existed amongst them, and their ordinary condition was either a chronic or an active state of internal warfare. From opposing interests or wounded pride, deadly feuds frequently arose amongst the chiefs, and being warmly espoused by the clans, were often transmitted, with aggravated animosity, from one generation to another.

If it were profitable, it might be curious to trace the negotiations, treaties, and bonds of amity, or *manrent* as they were called, by which opposing clans strengthened themselves against the attacks and encroachments of their enemies or rivals, or to preserve what may be called the balance of power. Amongst the rudest communities of mankind may be discovered the elements of that science which has been applied to the government and diplomacy of the most civilised nations. By such bonds they came under an obligation to assist one another; and, in their treaties of mutual support and protection, smaller clans, unable to defend themselves, and those families or septs which had lost their chieftains, were also included. When such confederacies were formed, the smaller clans followed the fortunes, engaged in the quarrels, and fought under the chiefs, of the greater. Thus the MacRaes followed the Earl of Scaforth, the MacColls the Stewarts of Appin, and the MacGillivrays and MacBeans the Laird of Maekintosh; but, nevertheless, their ranks were separately marshalled, and were led by their own subordinate chieftains and lairds, who owned submission only when necessary for the success of combined operations. The union had for its object aggression or revenge, and extended no further than the occasion for which it had been formed; yet it served to

prevent the smaller clans from being swallowed up by the greater, and at the same time nursed the turbulent and warlike spirit which formed the common distinction of all. From these and other causes, the Highlands were for ages as constant a theatre of petty conflicts as Europe has been of great and important struggles; in the former were enacted, in miniature, scenes bearing a striking and amusing analogy to those which took place upon a grand scale in the latter. The spirit of opposition and rivalry between the clans perpetuated a system of hostility; it encouraged the cultivation of the military at the expense of the social virtues, and it perverted their ideas both of law and morality. Revenge was accounted a duty, the destruction of a neighbour a meritorious exploit, and rapine an honourable employment. Wherever danger was to be encountered, or bravery displayed, there they conceived that distinction was to be obtained; the perverted sentiment of honour rendered their feuds more implacable, their inroads more savage and destructive; and superstition added its influence in exasperating animosities, by teaching that to revenge the death of a kinsman or friend was an act agreeable to his manes; thus engaging on the side of the most implacable hatred and the darkest vengeance, the most amiable and domestic of all human feelings, namely, reverence for the memory of the dead, and affection for the virtues of the living.

Another custom, which once prevailed, contributed to perpetuate this spirit of lawless revenge. "Every heir or young chieftain of a tribe," says Martin, who had studied the character and manners of the Highlanders, and understood them well, "was obliged to give a specimen of his valour before he was owned and declared governor or leader of his people, who obeyed and followed him on all occasions. This chieftain was usually attended with a retinue of young men, who had not before given any proof of their valour, and were ambitious of such an opportunity to signalise themselves. It was usual for the chief to make a desperate incursion upon some neighbour or other that they were in feud with, and they were obliged to bring, by open force, the cattle they found in the land they attacked, or to die in the at-

tempt. After the performance of this achievement, the young chieftain was ever after reputed valiant, and worthy of government, and such as were of his retinue acquired the like reputation. This custom being reciprocally used among them, was not reputed robbery; for the damage which one tribe sustained by the inauguration of the chieftain of another, was repaired when their chieftain came in his turn to make his specimen."⁹ But the practice seems to have died out about half a century before the time at which Martin's work appeared, and its disuse removed one fertile source of feuds and disorders. Of the nature of the depredations in which the Highlanders commonly engaged, the sentiments with which they were regarded, the manner in which they were conducted, and the effects which they produced on the character, habits, and manners of the people, an ample and interesting account will be found in the first volume of General Stewart's valuable work on the Highlands.

It has been commonly alleged, that ideas of succession were so loose in the Highlands, that brothers were often preferred to grandsons and even to sons. But this assertion proceeds on a most erroneous assumption, inasmuch as election was never in any degree admitted, and a system of hereditary succession prevailed, which, though different from that which has been instituted by the feudal law, allowed of no such deviations or anomalies as some have imagined. The Highland law of succession, as Mr Skene observes, requires to be considered in reference, first, to the chiefship and the superiority of the lands belonging to the clan; and secondly, in respect to the property or the land itself. The succession to the chiefship and its usual prerogatives was termed the law of *tanistry*; that to the property or the land itself, *gavel*. But when the feudal system was introduced, the law of tanistry became the law of succession to the property as well as the chiefship; whilst that of gavel was too directly opposed to feudal principles to be suffered to exist at all, even in a modified form. It appears, indeed, that the Highlanders adhered strictly to succession in the male line, and that the great peculiarity which distinguished their

⁹ *Description of the Western Islands*. London, 1703.

law of succession from that established by the feudal system, consisted in the circumstance that, according to it, brothers invariably succeeded before sons. In the feudal system property was alone considered, and the nearest relation to the last proprietor was naturally accounted the heir. But, in the Highland system, the governing principle of succession was not property, but the right of chiefship, derived from being the lineal descendant of the founder or patriarch of the tribe; it was the relation to the common ancestor, to whom the brother was considered as one degree nearer than the son, and through whom the right was derived, and not to the last chief, which regulated the succession. Thus, the brothers of the chief invariably succeeded before the sons, not by election, but as a matter of right, and according to a fixed rule which formed the law or principle of succession, instead of being, as some have supposed, a departure from it, occasioned by views of temporary expediency, by usurpation, or otherwise. In a word, the law of tanistry, however much opposed to the feudal notions of later times, flowed naturally from the patriarchal constitution of society in the Highlands, and was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of a people such as we have described, whose warlike habits and love of military enterprise, or armed predatory expeditions, made it necessary to have at all times a chief competent to act as their leader or commander.

But if the law of tanistry was opposed to the principles of the feudal system, that of gavel or the succession to property amongst the Highlanders was still more adverse. By the feudal law the eldest son, when the succession opened, not only acquired the superiority over the rest of the family, but he also succeeded to the whole of the property, whilst the younger branches were obliged to push their fortune by following other pursuits. But in the Highlands the case was altogether different. By the law of gavel, the property of the clan was divided in certain proportions amongst all the male branches of the family, to the exclusion of females, who, by this extraordinary Salic anomaly, could no more succeed to the property than to the chiefship itself. The law of gavel in the Highlands, therefore, differed from the

English custom of gavel-kind in being exclusively confined to the male branches of a family. In what proportions the property was divided, or whether these proportions varied according to circumstances, or the will of the chief, it is impossible to ascertain. But it would appear that the principal seat of the family, with the lands immediately surrounding it, always remained the property of the chief; and besides this, the latter retained a sort of superiority over the whole possessions of the clan, in virtue of which he received from each dependent branch a portion of the produce of the land as an acknowledgment of his chiefship, and also to enable him to support the dignity of his station by the exercise of a commensurate hospitality. Such was the law of gavel, which, though adverse to feudal principles, was adapted to the state of society amongst the Highlands, out of which indeed it originally sprang; because, where there were no other pursuits open to the younger branches of families except rearing flocks and herds during peace, and following the chief in war; and where it was the interest as well as the ambition of the latter to multiply the connexions of his family, and take every means to strengthen the power as well as to secure the obedience of his clan, the division of property, or the law of gavel, resulted as naturally from such an order of things, as that of hereditary succession to the patriarchal government and chiefship of the clan. Hence, the chief stood to the cadets of his family in a relation somewhat analogous to that in which the feudal sovereign stood to the barons who held their fiefs of the crown, and although there was no formal investiture, yet the tenure was in effect pretty nearly the same. In both cases the principle of the system was essentially military, though it apparently led to opposite results; and, in the Highlands, the law under consideration was so peculiarly adapted to the constitution of society, that it was only abandoned after a long struggle, and even at a comparatively recent period traces of its existence and operation may be observed amongst the people of that country.¹

Similar misconceptions have prevailed re-

¹ Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. ii. ch. 7.

garding Highland marriage-customs. This was, perhaps, to be expected. In a country where a bastard son was often found in undisturbed possession of the chiefship or property of a clan, and where such bastard generally received the support of the clansmen against the claims of the feudal heir, it was natural to suppose that very loose notions of succession were entertained by the people; that legitimacy conferred no exclusive rights; and that the title founded on birth alone might be set aside in favour of one having no other claim than that of election. But this, although a plausible, would nevertheless be an erroneous supposition. The person here considered as a bastard, and described as such, was by no means viewed in the same light by the Highlanders, because, according to their law of marriage, which was originally very different from the feudal system in this matter, his claim to legitimacy was as undoubted as that of the feudal heir afterwards became. It is well known that the notions of the Highlanders were peculiarly strict in regard to matters of hereditary succession, and that no people on earth was less likely to sanction any flagrant deviation from what they believed to be the right and true line of descent. All their peculiar habits, feelings, and prejudices were in direct opposition to a practice, which, had it been really acted upon, must have introduced endless disorder and confusion; and hence the natural explanation of this apparent anomaly seems to be, what Mr Skene has stated, namely, that a person who was feudally a bastard might in their view be considered as legitimate, and therefore entitled to be supported in accordance with their strict ideas of hereditary right, and their habitual tenacity of whatever belonged to their ancient usages. Nor is this mere conjecture or hypothesis. A singular custom regarding marriage, retained till a late period amongst the Highlanders, and clearly indicating that their law of marriage originally differed in some essential points from that established under the feudal system, seems to afford a simple and natural explanation of the difficulty by which genealogists have been so much puzzled.

“This custom was termed *hand-fasting*, and consisted in a species of contract between two

chiefs, by which it was agreed that the heir of one should live with the daughter of the other as her husband for twelve months and a day. If in that time the lady became a mother, or proved to be with child, the marriage became good in law, even although no priest had performed the marriage ceremony in due form; but should there not have occurred any appearance of issue, the contract was considered at an end, and each party was at liberty to marry or hand-fast with any other. It is manifest that the practice of so peculiar a species of marriage must have been in terms of the original law among the Highlanders, otherwise it would be difficult to conceive how such a custom could have originated; and it is in fact one which seems naturally to have arisen from the form of their society, which rendered it a matter of such vital importance to secure the lineal succession of their chiefs. It is perhaps not improbable that it was this peculiar custom which gave rise to the report handed down by the Roman and other historians, that the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain had their wives in common, or that it was the foundation of that law of Scotland by which natural children became legitimized by subsequent marriage; and as this custom remained in the Highlands until a very late period, the sanction of the ancient custom was sufficient to induce them to persist in regarding the offspring of such marriages as legitimate.”²

It appears, indeed, that, as late as the sixteenth century, the issue of a hand-fast marriage claimed the earldom of Sutherland. The claimant, according to Sir Robert Gordon, described himself as one lawfully descended from his father, John, the third earl, because, as he alleged, “his mother was *hand-fasted* and fianced to his father;” and his claim was bought off (which shows that it was not considered as altogether incapable of being maintained) by Sir Adam Gordon, who had married the heiress of Earl John. Such, then, was the nature of the peculiar and temporary connexion, which gave rise to the apparent anomalies which we have been considering. It was a custom which had for its object, not to interrupt, but to preserve the lineal succession of

² Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. chap. 7, pp. 166, 167

the chiefs, and to obviate the very evil of which it is conceived to afford a glaring example. But after the introduction of the feudal law, which, in this respect, was directly opposed to the ancient Highland law, the lineal and legitimate heir, according to Highland principles, came to be regarded as a bastard by the government, which accordingly considered him as thereby incapacitated for succeeding to the honours and property of his race; and hence originated many of those disputes concerning succession and chiefship, which embroiled families with one another as well as with the government, and were productive of incredible disorder, mischief, and bloodshed. No allowance was made for the ancient usages of the people, which were probably but ill understood; and the rights of rival claimants were decided according to the principles of a foreign system of law, which was long resisted, and never admitted except from necessity. It is to be observed, however, that the Highlanders themselves drew a broad distinction between bastard sons and the issue of the hand-fast unions above described. The former were rigorously excluded from every sort of succession, but the latter were considered as legitimate as the offspring of the most regularly solemnized marriage.

Having said thus much respecting the laws of succession and marriage, we proceed next to consider the gradation of ranks which appears to have existed amongst the Highlanders, whether in relation to the lands of which they were proprietors, or the clans of which they were members. And here it may be observed, that the classification of society in the Highlands seems to have borne a close resemblance to that which prevailed in Wales and in Ireland amongst cognate branches of the same general race. In the former country there were three different tenures of land, and nine degrees of rank. Of these tenures, the first was termed *Maerdir*, signifying a person who has jurisdiction, and included three ranks; the second was called *Uehilordir*, or property, and likewise consisted of three ranks; and the third, denominated *Priordordir*, or native, included that portion of the population whom we would now call tenants, divided into the degrees of yeomen, labourers, and serfs. A

similar order of things appears to have prevailed in Ireland, where, in the classification of the people, we recognise the several degrees of *Fuidir*, *Biadhtach*, and *Mogh*. In the Highlands, the first tenure included the three degrees of *Ard Righ*, *Righ*, and *Mormaor*; the *Tighern* or *Thane*, the *Armin* and the *Squire*, were analogous to the three Welsh degrees included in the *Uehilordir*; and a class of persons, termed native men, were evidently the same in circumstances and condition with the *Priordordir* of Wales. These native men were obviously the tenants or farmers on the property, who made a peculiar acknowledgment, termed *calpe*, to the chief or head of their clan. For this we have the authority of *Martin*, who informs us that one of the duties "payable by all the tenants to their chiefs, though they did not live upon his lands," was called "*calpieh*," and that "there was a standing law for it," denominated "*calpieh law*." The other duty paid by the tenants was that of *herezeld*, as it was termed, which, along with *calpe*, was exigible if the tenant happened to occupy more than the eighth part of a *davoeh* of land. That such was the peculiar acknowledgment of chiefship incumbent on the native men, or, in other words, the clan tribute payable by them in acknowledgment of the power and in support of the dignity of the chief, appears from the bonds of amity or *manrent*, in which we find them obliging themselves to pay "*calpis* as native men ought and should do to their chief."

But the native men of Highland properties must be carefully distinguished from the *cumerlach*, who, like the *kaeth* of the Welsh, were merely a species of serfs, or *adscripti glebæ*. The former could not be removed from the land at the will of their lord, but there was no restriction laid on their personal liberty; the latter might be removed at the pleasure of their lord, but their personal liberty was restrained, or rather abrogated. The native man was the tenant who cultivated the soil, and as such possessed a recognised estate in the land which he occupied. As long as he performed the requisite services he could not be removed, nor could a greater proportion of labour or produce be exacted from him than custom or usage had fixed. It appears, there-

fore, that these possessed their farms, or holdings, by a sort of hereditary right, which was not derived from their lord, and of which, springing as it did from immemorial usage, and the very constitution of clanship, it was not in his power to deprive them. The *cumerlach* were the cottars and actual labourers of the soil, who, possessing no legal rights either of station or property, were in reality absolute serfs. The changes of succession, however, occasionally produced important results, illustrative of the peculiarities above described. "When a Norman baron," says Mr Skene, "obtained by succession, or otherwise, a Highland property, the Gaelic *nativi* remained in actual possession of the soil under him, but at the same time paid their *calpes* to the natural chief of their clan, and followed him in war. When a Highland chief, however, acquired by the operation of the feudal succession, an additional property which had not been previously in the possession of his clan, he found it possessed by the *nativi* of another race. If these *nativi* belonged to another clan which still existed in independence, and if they chose to remain on the property, they did so at the risk of being placed in a perilous situation, should a feud arise between the two clans. But if they belonged to no other independent clan, and the stranger chief had acquired the whole possessions of their race, the custom seems to have been for them to give a bond of *manrent* to their new lord, by which they bound themselves to follow him as their chief, and make him the customary acknowledgment of the *calpe*. They thus became a dependent sept upon a clan of a different race, while they were not considered as forming a part of that clan."³

The gradation of ranks considered in reference to the clan or tribe may be briefly described. The highest dignitary was the *righ* or *king*, who in point of birth and station was originally on a footing of equality with the other chiefs, and only derived some additional dignity during his life from a sort of regal pre-eminence. "Among the ancient Celtæ the prince or king had nothing actually his own, but everything belonging to his followers was

freely at his service;" of their own accord they gave their prince so many cattle, or a certain portion of grain. It seems probable that the Celtic chief held the public lands in trust for his people, and was on his succession invested with those possessions which he afterwards apportioned among his retainers. Those only, we are told by Cæsar, had lands, "magistrates and princes, and they give to their followers as they think proper, removing them at the year's end."⁴ The Celtic nations, according to Dr Macpherson, limited the regal authority to very narrow bounds. The old monarchs of North Britain and Ireland were too weak either to control the pride and insolence of the great, or to restrain the licentiousness of the populace. Many of those princes, if we credit history, were dethroned, and some of them even put to death by their subjects, which is a demonstration that their power was not unlimited.

Next to the king was the *Mormaor*, who seems to have been identical with the *Tighern*⁵ and the later *Thane*. As we have already indicated, the persons invested with this distinction were the patriarchal chiefs or heads of the great tribes into which the Highlanders were formerly divided. But when the line of the ancient mormaors gradually sank under the ascendant influence of the feudal system, the clans forming the great tribes became independent, and their leaders or chiefs were held to represent each the common ancestor or founder of his clan, and derived all their dignity and power from the belief in such representation. The chief possessed his office by right of blood alone, as that right was understood in the Highlands; neither election nor marriage could constitute any title to this distinction; it was, as we have already stated, purely hereditary, nor could it descend to any person except him who, according to the Highland rule of succession, was the nearest male heir to the dignity.

Next to the chief stood the *tanist* or person who, by the laws of tanistry, was entitled to succeed to the chiefship; he possessed this title during the lifetime of the chief, and, in

⁴ Logan's *Scottish Gael*, i. 171.

³ Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173.

⁵ According to Dr Macpherson, *Tighern* is derived from two words, meaning "a man of land."

virtue of his apparent honours, was considered as a man of mark and consequence. "In the settlement of succession, the law of tanistry prevailed in Ireland from the earliest accounts of time. According to that law," says Sir James Ware, "the hereditary right of succession was not maintained among the princes or the rulers of countries; but the strongest, or he who had the most followers, very often the eldest and most worthy of the deceased king's blood and name, succeeded him. This person, by the common suffrage of the people, and in the lifetime of his predecessor, was appointed to succeed, and was called *Tanist*, that is to say, the second in dignity. Whoever received this dignity maintained himself and followers, partly out of certain lands set apart for that purpose, but chiefly out of tributary impositions, which he exacted in an arbitrary manner; impositions from which the lands of the church only, and those of persons vested with particular immunities, were exempted. The same custom was a fundamental law in Scotland for many ages. Upon the death of a king, the throne was not generally filled by his son, or daughter, failing of male issue, but by his brother, uncle, cousin-german, or near relation of the same blood. The personal merit of the successor, the regard paid to the memory of his immediate ancestors, or his address in gaining a majority of the leading men, frequently advanced him to the crown, notwithstanding the precautions taken by his predecessor."⁶

According to Mr E. W. Robertson,⁷ the *Tanist*, or heir-apparent, appears to have been nominated at the same time as the monarch or chief, and in pursuance of what he considers a true Celtic principle, that of a "divided authority," the office being immediately filled up in case of the premature death of the *Tanist*, the same rule being as applicable to the chieftain of the smallest territory as to the chosen leader of the nation. According to Dr Macpherson, it appears that at first the *Tanist* or successor to the monarchy, or chiefship, was elected, but at a very early period the office seems to have become hereditary, although not in the feudal sense of that term. Mr Skene has shown that the succession was strictly limited

to heirs male, and that the great peculiarity of the Highland system was that brothers in variably were preferred to sons. This perhaps arose partly from an anxiety to avoid minorities "in a nation dependent upon a competent leader in war." This principle was frequently exemplified in the succession to the *normaords*, and even to the kingly power itself; it formed one of the pleas put forward by Bruce in his competition for the crown with Baliol.

After the family of the chief came the *ceantighes*, or heads of the subordinate houses into which the clan was divided, the most powerful of whom was the *toisich*, or *toshach*, who was generally the oldest cadet. This was a natural consequence of the law of *gavel*, which, producing a constant subdivision of the chief's estate, until in actual extent of property he sometimes came to possess less than any of the other branches of the family, served in nearly the same proportion to aggrandise the latter, and hence that branch which had been longest separated from the original became relatively the most powerful. The *toshach*, military leader, or captain of the clan, certainly appears to have been at first elected to his office among the Celtic nations, as indeed were all the dignitaries who at a later period among the Highlanders succeeded to their positions according to fixed laws.⁸ As war was the principal occupation of all the early Celtic nations, the office of *toshach*, or "war-king," as Mr Robertson calls him, was one of supreme importance, and gave the holder of it many opportunities of converting it into one of permanent kingship although the Celts carefully guarded against this by enforcing the principle of divided authority among their chiefs, and thus maintaining the "balance of power." The *toshach's* duties were strictly military, he having nothing to do with the internal affairs of the tribe or nation, these being regulated by a magistrate, judge, or *vergobreith*, elected annually, and invested with regal authority and the power of life and death. It would appear that the duties of *toshach* sometimes devolved on the *tanist*, though this appears to have seldom been the case among the Highlanders.⁹ From a very early time the oldest cadet held the

⁶ *Dissertation*, pp. 165-6.

⁷ *Early Kings*

⁸ Robertson's *Early Kings*, i. 24.

⁹ Logan's *Gael*, i. 138.

highest rank in the clan, next to the chief; and when the clan took the field he occupied, as a matter of right, the principal post of honour. On the march he headed the van, and in battle took his station on the right; he was, in fact, the lieutenant-general of the chief, and when the latter was absent he commanded the whole clan.¹ Another function exercised by the oldest cadet was that of *maor*, or steward, the principal business of which officer was to collect the revenues of the chief; but, after the feudal customs were introduced, this duty devolved upon the baron-bailie, and the *maor* consequently discontinued his fiscal labours.

The peculiar position of the *toshach*, with the power and consequence attached to it, naturally pointed him out as the person to whom recourse would be had in circumstances of difficulty; and hence arose an apparent anomaly which has led to no little misconception and confusion. The difficulty, however, may easily be cleared by a short explanation. When, through misfortune or otherwise, the family of the chief had become so reduced that he could no longer afford to his clan the protection required, and which formed the correlative obligation on his part to that of fealty and obedience on theirs, then the clansmen followed the oldest cadet as the head of the most powerful sept or branch of the clan; and he thus enjoyed, sometimes for a considerable period, all the dignity, consequence, and privileges of a chief, without, of course, either possessing a right, *jure sanguinis*, to that station, or even acquiring the title of the office which he, *de facto*, exercised. He was merely

a sort of patriarchal regent, who exercised the supreme power, and enjoyed prerogatives of royalty without the name. While the system of clanship remained in its original purity, no such regency, or interregnum, could ever take place. But, in process of time, many circumstances occurred to render it both expedient and necessary. In fact, clanship, in its ancient purity, could scarcely co-exist with the feudal system, which introduced changes so adverse to its true spirit; and hence, when the territory had passed, by descent, into the hands of a Lowland baron, or when, by some unsuccessful opposition to the government, the chief had brought ruin upon himself and his house, and was no longer in a condition to maintain his station and afford protection to his clan, the latter naturally placed themselves under the only head capable of occupying the position of their chief, and with authority sufficient to command or enforce obedience. In other words, they sought protection at the hands of the oldest cadet; and he, on his part, was known by the name, not of chief, which would have been considered a gross usurpation, but of *captain*, or leader of the clan. It is clear, therefore, that this dignity was one which owed its origin to circumstances, and formed no part of the original system, as has been generally but erroneously supposed. If an anomaly, it was one imposed by necessity, and the deviation was confined, as we have seen, within the narrowest possible limits. It was altogether unknown until a recent period in the history of the Highlands, and, when it did come into use, it was principally confined to three clans, namely, Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, and Clan Ranald; an undoubted proof that it was not a regular but an exceptional dignity, that it was a temporary expedient, not part of a system; and that a captain differed as essentially from a chief as a regent differs from an hereditary sovereign. "It is evident," says Mr Skene, who has the merit of being the first to trace out this distinction clearly, "that a title, which was not universal among the Highlanders, must have arisen from peculiar circumstances connected with those clans in which it is first found; and when we examine the history of these clans, there can be little doubt that it was

¹ "*Toisich*," says Dr Macpherson, "was another title of honour which obtained among the Scots of the middle ages. Spelman imagined that this dignity was the same with that of Thane. But the Highlanders, among whose predecessors the word was once common, distinguished carefully in their language the *toisich* from the *tanistair* or the *tierna*. When they enumerate the different classes of their great men, agreeably to the language of former times, they make use of these three titles, in the same sentence, with a disjunctive particle between them." "In Gaelic," he adds, "*tus*, *tos*, and *tosich* signify the *beginning* or *first part* of anything, and sometimes the *front* of an army or battle." Hence perhaps the name *toisich*, implying the post of honour which the oldest cadet always occupied as his peculiar privilege and distinction. Mr Robertson, however, thinks *toshach* is derived from the same root as the Latin *dux*. (*Early Kings*, i. 26.)

simply a person who had, from various causes, become *de facto* head of the clan, while the person possessing the hereditary right to that dignity remained either in a subordinate situation, or else for the time disunited from the rest of the clan."²

Another title known among the ancient Highlanders was that of *ogtiern*, or *lesser tighern*, or Thane, and was applied either to the son of a *tighern*, or to those members of the clan whose kinship to the chief was beyond a certain degree. They appear to have to a large extent formed the class of *duinewassels*, or gentry of the clan, intermediate between the chief and the body of the clan, and known in later times as *tacks-men* or *goodmen*. "These, again, had a circle of relations, who considered them as their immediate leaders, and who in battle were placed under their immediate command. Over them in peace, these chieftains exercised a certain authority, but were themselves dependent on the chief, to whose service all the members of the clan were submissively devoted. As the *duinewassels* received their lands from the bounty of the chief, for the purpose of supporting their station in the tribe, so these lands were occasionally resumed or reduced to provide for those who were more immediately related to the laird; hence many of this class necessarily sank into commoners. This transition strengthened the feeling which was possessed by the very lowest of the community, that they were related to the chief, from whom they never forgot they originally sprang."³ The *duinewassels* were all cadets of the house of the chief, and each had a pedigree of his own as long, and perchance as complicated as that of his chief. They were, as might be expected, the bravest portion of the clan; the first in the onset, and the

last to quit the strife, even when the tide of battle pressed hardest against them. They cherished a high and chivalrous sense of honour, ever keenly alive to insult or reproach; and they were at all times ready to devote themselves to the service of their chief, when a wrong was to be avenged, an inroad repressed or punished, or glory reaped by deeds of daring in arms.

Another office which existed among the old Gaelic inhabitants of Scotland was that of *Brehon*, deemster, or judge, the representative of the *vergobreith* previously referred to. Among the continental Celts this office was elective, but among the Highlanders it appears to have been hereditary, and by no means held so important, latterly at least, as it was on the continent. As we referred to this office in the former part of this work, we shall say nothing farther of it in this place.

To this general view of the constitution of society in the Highlands, little remains to be added. The chief, as we have seen, was a sort of *regulus*, or petty prince, invested with an authority which was in its nature arbitrary, but which, in its practical exercise, seems generally to have been comparatively mild and paternal. He was subjected to no theoretical or constitutional limitations, yet, if ferocious in disposition, or weak in understanding, he was restrained or directed by the elders of the tribe, who were his standing counsellors, and without whose advice no measure of importance could be decided on. Inviolable custom supplied the deficiency of law. As his distinction and power consisted chiefly in the number of his followers, his pride as well as his ambition became a guarantee for the mildness of his sway; he had a direct and immediate interest to secure the attachment and devotion of his clan; and his condescension, while it raised the clansman in his own estimation, served also to draw closer the ties which bound the latter to his superior, without tempting him to transgress the limits of propriety. The Highlander was thus taught to respect himself in the homage which he paid to his chief. Instead of complaining of the difference of station and fortune, or considering prompt obedience as slavish degradation, he felt convinced that he was supporting

² Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178. That the captains of clans were originally the oldest cadets, is placed beyond all doubt by an instance which Mr Skene has mentioned in the part of his work here referred to. "The title of captain occurs but once in the family of the Macdonalds of Slate, and the single occurrence of this peculiar title is when the clan Houston was led by the uncle of their chief, then in minority. In 1545, we find Archibald Macconnill, captain of the clan Houston; and thus, on the only occasion when this clan followed as a chief a person who had not the right of blood to that station, he styles himself captain of the clan."

³ Logan's *Gael*, i. 173.

his own honour in showing respect to the head of his family, and in yielding a ready compliance to his will. Hence it was that the Highlanders carried in their demeanour the politeness of courts without the vices by which these are too frequently dishonoured, and cherished in their bosoms a sense of honour without any of its follies or extravagances. This mutual interchange of condescension and respect served to elevate the tone of moral feeling amongst the people, and no doubt contributed to generate that principle of incorruptible fidelity of which there are on record so many striking and even affecting examples. The sentiment of honour, and the firmness sufficient to withstand temptation, may in general be expected in the higher classes of society; but the voluntary sacrifice of life and fortune is a species of self-devotion seldom displayed in any community, and never perhaps exemplified to the same extent in any country as in the Highlands of Scotland.⁴ The punishment of treachery was a kind of conventional outlawry or banishment from society, a sort of *aque et ignis interdictio* even more terrible than the punishment inflicted under that denomination, during the prevalence of the Roman law. It was the judgment of all against one, the condemnation of society, not that of a tribunal; and the execution of the sentence was as complete as its ratification was universal. Persons thus intercommunicated were for ever cut off from the society to which they belonged; they incurred civil death in its most appalling form, and their names descended with infamy to posterity. What higher proof could possibly be produced of the noble sentiments of honour and fidelity cherished by the people, than the simple fact that the breach of these was visited with such a fearful retribution?

On the other hand, when chiefs proved worthless or oppressive, they were occasionally deposed, and when they took a side which

⁴ "All who are acquainted with the events of the unhappy insurrection of 1745, must have heard of a gentleman of the name of M'Kenzie, who had so remarkable a resemblance to Prince Charles Stuart, as to give rise to the mistake to which he cheerfully sacrificed his life, continuing the heroic deception to the last, and exclaiming with his expiring breath, 'Villains, you have killed your Prince.'" (Stewart's *Sketches*, &c., vol. i. p. 59).

was disapproved by the clan, they were abandoned by their people. Of the former, there are several well authenticated examples, and General Stewart has mentioned a remarkable instance of the latter. "In the reign of King William, immediately after the Revolution, Lord Tullibardine, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, collected a numerous body of Athole Highlanders, together with three hundred Frasers, under the command of Hugh, Lord Lovat, who had married a daughter of the Marquis. These men believed that they were destined to support the abdicated king, but were in reality assembled to serve the government of William. When in front of Blair Castle, their real destination was disclosed to them by Lord Tullibardine. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and filling their bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James; then with colours flying and pipes playing, fifteen hundred of the men of Athole put themselves under the command of the Laird of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee, whose chivalrous bravery and heroic exploits had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose."

The number of Highland clans has been variously estimated, but it is probable that when they were in their most flourishing condition it amounted to about forty. Latterly, by including many undoubtedly Lowland houses, the number has been increased to about a hundred, the additional being made chiefly by tartan manufacturers. Mr Skene has found that the various purely Highland clans can be clearly classified and traced up as having belonged to one or other of the great mormaorships into which the north of Scotland was at one time divided. In his history of the individual clans, however, this is not the classification which he adopts, but one in accordance with that which he finds in the manuscript genealogies. According to these, the people were originally divided into several great tribes, the clans forming each of these separate tribes being deduced from a common ancestor. A marked line of distinction may be drawn between the different tribes, in each of which indications may be traced serving more or less,

according to Mr Skene, to identify them with the ancient mormaorships or carldoms.

In the old genealogies each tribe is invariably traced to a common ancestor, from whom all the different branches or clans are supposed to have descended. Thus we have—1. *Descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles*, including the Lords of the Isles, or Macdonalds, the Macdougals, the Macneills, the MacIachlans, the Macewens, the MacIachlachs, and the Maceacherns; 2. *Descendants of Fearchar Fada Mac Feradaig*, comprehending the old mormaors of Moray, the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons, and the Macnaughtans; 3. *Descendants of Cormac Mac Oirbertaig*, namely, the old Earls of Ross, the Mackenzies, the Mathiesons, the Macgregors, the Mackinnons, the Macquarries, the Macnabs, and the Macduffies; 4. *Descendants of Fergus Leith Dearg*, the Macleods and the Campbells; and 5. *Descendants of Krycul*, the Macnicols.

Whatever may be the merits or defects of this distribution, it is convenient for the purpose of classification. It affords the means of referring the different clans to their respective tribes, and thus avoiding an arbitrary arrangement; and it is further in accordance with the general views which have already been submitted to the reader respecting the original constitution of clanship. We shall not, however, adhere strictly to Mr Skene's arrangement.

CHAPTER II.

The Gallgael, or Western Clans—Fiongall and Dubhgall—Lords of the Isles—Somered—Suibne—Gillebride Mac Gille Adomnan—Somered in the West—Defeat and death—His children—Dugall and his descendants—Ranald's three sons, Ruari, Donald, Dugall—Roderick—Ranald—The Clan Donald—Origin—Angus Og—His son John—His sons Godfrey and Donald—Donald marries Mary, sister of Earl of Ross—Battle of Harlaw—Policy of James I.—Alexander of the Isles—Donald Balloch—John of the Isles—Angus Og declares himself Lord of the Isles—Seizes Earl and Countess of Athole—Intrigues with England—Battle of Lagebread—Battle of Bloody Bay—Alexander of Lochalsh—Expedition of James IV.—Donald *Dubh*—Donald *Galda*—Donald Gorme—Donald *Dubh* reappears—Somered's descendants fail—The various Island Clans—The Chiefship—Lord Macdonald and Macdonald of Clan Ranald—Donald Gorme Mor—Feuds with the Macleans and Macleods—Sir Donald, fourth Baronet—Sir Alexander's wife befriends Prince Charles—Sir James, eighth Baronet—Sir Alexander, ninth Baronet, created a peer of Ireland—Present Lord Macdonald—Macdonalds of Islay and Kintyre—

Alexander of Islay's rebellions—Angua Macdonald—Feud with Macleaus—Sir James imprisoned—His lands pass to the Caupbells—Macdonalds of Keppoch, or Clanranald of Lochaber—Disputes with the Mackintoshes—The Macdonalda at Culloden—Clanranald Macdonalds of Garinoran and their offshoots—Battle of Kinloch-lochy or Blarnan-leino—Macdonalds of Benbecula, Boisdale, Kinlochmoidart, Glenaladale—Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum—Macdonalds of Glencoe—Macdonnells of Glengarry—Feud between the Glengarry Macdonalds and Mackenzie of Kintail—General Sir James Macdonnell—Colonel Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell, last specimen of a Highland Chief—Families descended from the Macdonnells of Glengarry—Strength of the Macdonalds—Characteristic in the arms of the Coast-Gael.

THE clans that come first in order in Mr Skene's classification are those whose progenitor is said by the genealogists to have been the fabulous Irish King Conn "of the hundred battles." They are mostly all located in the Western Islands and Highlands, and are said by Mr Skene to have been descended from the *Gallgael*, or Gaelic pirates or rovers, who are said to have been so called to distinguish them from the Norwegian and Danish *Fingall* and *Dugall*, or white and black strangers or rovers. Mr Skene advocates strongly the unmixed Gaelic descent of these clans, as indeed he does of almost all the other clans. He endeavours to maintain that the whole of these western clans are of purely Pictish descent, not being mixed with even that of the Dalriadic Scots. We are inclined, however, to agree with Mr Smibert in thinking that the founders of these clans were to a large extent of Irish extraction, though clearly distinguishable from the primitive or Dalriadic Scots, and that from the time of the Scottish conquest they formed intimate relationships with the Northern Picts. "From whatever race," to quote the judicious remarks of Mr Gregory, "whether Pictish or Scottish, the inhabitants of the Isles, in the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin, were derived, it is clear that the settlements and wars of the Scandinavians in the Hebrides, from the time of Harald Harfager to that of Olave the Red, a period of upwards of two centuries, must have produced a very considerable change in the population. As in all cases of conquest, this change must have been most perceptible in the higher ranks, owing to the natural tendency of invaders to secure their new possessions, where practicable, by matrimonial alliances with the natives. That in the Hebrides

a mixture of the Celtic and Scandinavian blood was thus effected at an early period seems highly probable, and by no means inconsistent with the ultimate prevalence of the Celtic language in the mixed race, as all history sufficiently demonstrates. These remarks regarding the population of the Isles apply equally to that of the adjacent mainland districts, which, being so accessible by numerous arms of the sea, could hardly be expected to preserve the blood of their inhabitants unmixed. The extent to which this mixture was carried is a more difficult question, and one which must be left in a great measure to conjecture; but, on the whole, the Celtic race appears to have predominated. It is of more importance to know which of the Scandinavian tribes it was that infused the greatest portion of northern blood into the population of the Isles. The Irish annalists divide the piratical bands, which, in the ninth and following centuries infested Ireland, into two great tribes, styled by these writers *Fiongall*, or white foreigners, and *Dubhgall*, or black foreigners. These are believed to represent, the former the Norwegians, the latter the Danes; and the distinction in the names given to them is supposed to have arisen from a diversity, either in their clothing or in the sails of their vessels. These tribes had generally separate leaders; but they were occasionally united under one king; and although both bent first on ravaging the Irish shores, and afterwards on seizing portions of the Irish territories, they frequently turned their arms against each other. The Gaelic title of *Rìgh Fhiongall*, or King of the Fiongall, so frequently applied to the Lords of the Isles, seems to prove that Olave the Red, from whom they were descended in the female line, was so styled, and that, consequently, his subjects in the Isles, in so far as they were not Celtic, were Fiongall or Norwegians. It has been remarked by one writer, whose opinion is entitled to weight,⁵ that the names of places in the exterior Hebrides, or the Long Island, derived from the Scandinavian tongue, resemble the names of places in Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness. On the other hand, the corresponding names in the interior Hebrides are

in a different dialect, resembling that of which the traces are to be found in the topography of Sutherland; and appear to have been imposed at a later period than the first mentioned names. The probability is, however, that the difference alluded to is not greater than might be expected in the language of two branches of the same race, after a certain interval; and that the Scandinavian population of the Hebrides was, therefore, derived from two successive Norwegian colonies. This view is further confirmed by the fact that the Hebrides, although long subject to Norway, do not appear to have ever formed part of the possessions of the Danes."⁶

As by far the most important, and at one time most extensive and powerful, of these western clans, is that of the Macdonalds, and as this, as well as many other clans, according to some authorities, can clearly trace their ancestry back to Somerled, the progenitor of the once powerful Lords of the Isles, it may not be out of place to give here a short summary of the history of these magnates.

The origin of Somerled, the undoubted founder of the noble race of the Island Lords, is, according to Mr Gregory, involved in considerable obscurity. Assuming that the clan governed by Somerled formed part of the great tribe of Gallgael, it follows that the independent kings of the latter must in all probability have been his ancestors, and should therefore be found in the old genealogies of his family. But this scarcely appears to be the case. The last king of the Gallgael was Suibne, the son of Kenneth, who died in the year 1034; and, according to the manuscript of 1450, an ancestor of Somerled, contemporary with this petty monarch, bore the same name, from which it may be presumed that the person referred to in the genealogy and the manuscript is one and the same individual. The latter, however, calls Suibne's father Nialgusa; and in the genealogy there is no mention whatever of a Kenneth. But from the old Scottish writers we learn that at this time there was a Kenneth, whom they call Thane of the Isles, and that one of the northern mormaors also bore the same name, although it is not very easy to say what

⁵ Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 266.

⁶ *Western Highlands*, p. 7.

precise claim either had to be considered as the father of Suibne. There is also a further discrepancy observable in the earlier part of the Macdonald genealogies, as compared with the manuscript; and besides, the latter, without making any mention of these supposed kings, deviates into the misty region of Irish heroic fable and romance. At this point, indeed, there is a complete divergence, if not contrariety, between the history as contained in the Irish Annals, and the genealogy developed in the manuscript; for, whilst the latter mentions the Gallgael under their leaders as far back as the year 856, the former connect Suibne, by a different genealogy, with the kings of Ireland. The fables of the Highland and Irish Sennachies now became connected with the genuine history. The real descent of the chiefs was obscured or perplexed by the Irish genealogies, and previously to the eleventh century neither these genealogies nor even that of the manuscript of 1450 can be considered as of any authority whatsoever. It seems somewhat rash, however, to conclude, as Mr Skene has done, that the Siol-Cuinn, or descendants of Conn, were of native origin. This exceeds the warrant of the premises, which merely carry the difficulty a few removes backwards into the obscurity of time, and there leave the question in greater darkness than ever.

From the death of Suibne till the accession of Gillebride Mac Gille Adouunan, the father of Somerled, nothing whatever is known of the history of the clan. The latter, having been expelled from his possessions by the Lochlans and the Fingalls, took refuge in Ireland, where he persuaded the descendants of Colla to espouse his quarrel and assist him in an attempt to recover his possessions. Accordingly, four or five hundred persons put themselves under his command, and at their head he returned to Alban, where he effected a landing; but the expedition, it would seem, proved unsuccessful. Somerled, the son of Gillebride, was, however, a man of a very different stamp. At first he lived retired, musing in solitude upon the ruined fortunes of his house. But when the time for action arrived, he boldly put himself at the head of the inhabitants of Morven; attacked the Nor-

wegians, whom, after a considerable struggle, he expelled; made himself master of the whole of Morven, Loehaber, and northern Argyle; and not long afterwards added to his other possessions the southern districts of that country. In the year 1135, when David I. expelled the Norwegians from Man, Arran, and Bute, Somerled appears to have obtained a grant of those Islands from the king. But finding himself still unable to contend with the Norwegians of the Isles, whose power remained unbroken, he resolved to recover by policy what he despaired of acquiring by force of arms; and, with this view, he succeeded in obtaining (about 1140) the hand of Ragnhildis, the daughter of Olaf, surnamed the Red, who was then the Norwegian king of the Isles. This lady brought him three sons, namely Dugall, Reginald, and Angus; and, by a previous marriage, he had one named Gillecallum.

The prosperous fortunes of Somerled at length inflamed his ambition. He had already attained to great power in the Highlands, and success inspired him with the desire of extending it. His grandsons having formerly claimed the earldom of Moray, their pretensions were now renewed, and this was followed by an attempt to put them in actual possession of their alleged inheritance. The attempt, however, failed. It had brought the *regulus* of Argyll into open rebellion against the king, and the war appears to have excited great alarm amongst the inhabitants of Scotland; but Somerled, having encountered a more vigorous opposition than he had anticipated, found it necessary to return to the Isles, where the tyrannical conduct of his brother-in-law, Godred, had irritated his vassals and thrown everything into confusion. His presence gave confidence to the party opposed to the tyrant, and Thorfinn, one of the most powerful of the Norwegian nobles, resolved to depose Godred, and place another prince on the throne of the Isles. Somerled readily entered into the views of Thorfinn, and it was arranged that Dugall, the eldest son of the former, should occupy the throne from which his maternal uncle was to be displaced. But the result of the projected deposition did not answer the expectations of either party. Dugall was committed to the care of Thorfinn, who undertook to conduct

him through the Isles, and compel the chiefs not only to acknowledge him as their sovereign, but also to give hostages for their fidelity and allegiance. The Lord of Skye, however, refused to comply with this demand, and, having fled to the Isle of Man, apprised Godrod of the intended revolution. Somerled followed with eight galleys; and Godred having commanded his ships to be got ready, a bloody but indecisive battle ensued. It was fought on the night of the Epiphany; and as neither party prevailed, the rival chiefs next morning entered into a sort of compromise or convention, by which the sovereignty of the Isles was divided, and two distinct principalities established. By this treaty Somerled acquired all the islands lying to the southward of the promontory of Ardnurchan, whilst those to the northward remained in the possession of Godred.

But no sooner had he made this acquisition than he became involved in hostilities with the government. Having joined the powerful party in Scotland, which had resolved to depose Malcolm IV., and place the boy of Egremont on the throne, he began to infest various parts of the coast, and for some time carried on a vexatious predatory warfare. The project, however, failed; and Malcolm, convinced that the existence of an independent chief was incompatible with the interests of his government and the maintenance of public tranquillity, required of Somerled to resign his lands into the hands of the sovereign, and to hold them in futuro as a vassal of the crown. Somerled, however, was little disposed to comply with this demand, although the king was now preparing to enforce it by means of a powerful army. Emboldened by his previous successes, he resolved to anticipate the attack, and having appeared in the Clyde with a considerable force, he landed at Renfrew, where being met by the royal army under the command of the High Steward of Scotland, a battle ensued which ended in his defeat and death (1164). This celebrated chief has been traditionally described as "a well-tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and of quick discernment." He appears, indeed, to have been equally brave and sagacious, tempering courage with prudence, and, excepting in the last act of his life, dis-

tinguished for the happy talent, rare at any period, of profiting by circumstances, and making the most of success. In the battle of Renfrew his son Gillicallum perished by his side. Tradition says that Gillicallum left a son Somerled, who succeeded to his grandfather's possessions in the mainland, which he held for upwards of half a century after the latter's death. The existence of this second Somerled, however, seems very doubtful although Mr Gregory believes that, besides the three sons of his marriage with Olavo the Red, Somerled had other sons, who seem to have shared with their brothers, according to the then prevalent custom of gavelkind, the mainland possessions held by the Lord of Argyle; whilst the sons descended of the House of Moray divided amongst them the South Isles ceded by Godred in 1156. Dugall, the eldest of these, got for his share, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Jura; Reginald, the second son, obtained Isla and Kintyre; and Angus, the third son, Bute. Arran is supposed to have been divided between the two latter. The Chronicle of Man mentions a battle, in 1192, between Reginald and Angus, in which the latter obtained the victory. He was killed, in 1210, with his three sons, by the men of Skye, leaving no male issue. One of his sons, James, left a daughter and heiress, Jane, afterwards married to Alexander, son and heir of Walter, High Steward of Scotland, who, in her right, claimed the isle of Bute.

Dugall, the eldest son of his father by the second marriage, seems to have possessed not only a share of the Isles, but also the district of Lorn, which had been allotted as his share of the territories belonging to his ancestors. On his death, however, the Isles, instead of descending immediately to his children, were acquired by his brother Reginald, who in consequence assumed the title of King of the Isles; but, by the same law of succession, the death of Reginald restored to his nephews the inheritance of their father. Dugall left two sons, Dugall Scrag and Duncan, who appear in the northern Sagas, under the title of the Sudereyan Kings. They appear to have acknowledged, at least nominally, the authority of the Norwegian king of the Hebrides; but actually they maintained an almost entire in-

dependence. Haaco, the king of Norway, therefore came to the determination of reducing them to obedience and subjection, a design in which he proved completely successful. In a night attack the Norwegians defeated the Sudereyans, and took Dugall prisoner.

Duncan was now the only member of his family who retained any power in the Sudereys; but nothing is known of his subsequent history except that he founded the priory of Ardchattan, in Lorn. He was succeeded by his son Ewen, who appears to have remained more faithful to the Norwegian kings than his predecessors had shown themselves; for, when solicited by Alexander II. to join him in an attempt he meditated to obtain possession of the Western Isles, Ewen resisted all the promises and entreaties of the king, and on this occasion preserved inviolate his allegiance to Haaco. Alexander, it is well known, died in Kerreray (1249), when about to commence an attack upon the Isles, and was succeeded by his son Alexander III. When the latter had attained majority, he resolved to renew the attempt which his father had begun, and with this view excited the Earl of Ross, whose possessions extended along the mainland opposite to the Northern Isles, to commence hostilities against them. The earl willingly engaged in the enterprise, and having landed in Skye, ravaged the country, burned churches and villages, and put to death numbers of the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex. Haaco soon appeared with a Norwegian force, and was joined by most of the Highland chiefs. But Ewen having altered his views, excused himself from taking any part against the force sent by the Scottish king; and the unfortunate termination of Haaco's expedition justified the prudence of this timely change. In the year 1263 the Norwegians were completely defeated by the Scots at the battle of Largs; and the Isles were, in consequence of this event, finally ceded to the kings of Scotland. This event, however, rather increased than diminished the power of Ewen, who profited by his seasonable defection from the Norwegians, and was favoured by the government to which that defection had been useful. But he died without any male issue to succeed him, leaving only two daughters, one of whom married the Nor-

wegian king of Man, and the other, Alexander of the Isles, a descendant of Reginald.

The conquest and partition of Argyle by Alexander II., and the subsequent annexation of the Western Islands to the kingdom of Scotland, under the reign of his successor, annihilated the power of the race of Conn as an independent tribe; and, from the failure of the male descendants of Dugall in the person of Ewen, had the effect of dividing the clan into three distinct branches, the heads of which held their lands of the crown. These were the clan Ruari or Rory, the clan Donald, and the clan Dugall, so called from three sons of Ranald or Reginald, the son of Somerled by Raguhildis, daughter of Olave.

Of this Ranald or Reginald, but little comparatively is known. According to the Highland custom of gavel, Somerled's property was divided amongst all his sons; and in this division the portion which fell to the share of Reginald appears to have consisted of the island of Islay, with Kintyre, and part of Lorn on the mainland. Contemporary with Reginald there was a Norwegian king of Man and the Isles, who, being called by the same name, is liable to be confounded with the head of the Siol Conn. Reginald, after the death of his brother Dugall, was designated as Lord, and sometimes even as King, of the Isles;⁷ and he had likewise the title of Lord of Argyle and Kintyre, in which last capacity he granted certain lands to an abbey that had been founded by himself at Sattel in Kintyre. But these titles did not descend to his children. He was succeeded by his eldest son Roderick,⁸ who, on the conquest of Argyle, agreed to hold his lands of Rory, or the crown, and afterwards was commonly styled

⁷ "Both Dugall and Reginald were called Kings of the Isles at the same time that Reginald, the son of Godred the Black, was styled King of Man and the Isles; and in the next generation we find mention of these kings of the Isles of the race of Somerled existing at one time." The word *king* with the Norwegians therefore corresponds to Magnate.—Gregory, 17.

⁸ "The seniority of Roderick, son of Reginald, has not been universally admitted, some authors making Donald the elder by birth. But the point is of little moment, seeing that the direct and legitimate line of Roderick, who, with his immediate progeny, held a large portion of the Isles, terminated in a female in the third generation, when the succession of the house of Somerled fell indisputably to the descendants of Donald, second grandson of Somerled, and head of the entire and potent clan of the Macdonalds."—Smibert, p. 20.

Lord of Kintyre. In this Roderick the blood of the Norwegian rovers seems to have revived in all its pristine purity. Preferring "the good old way, the simple plan" to more peaceful and honest pursuits, he became one of the most noted pirates of his day, and the annals of the period are filled with accounts of his predatory expeditions. But his sons, Dugall and Allan, had the grace not to follow the vocation of their father, for which they do not seem to have evinced any predilection. Dugall having given important aid to Haco in his expedition against the Western Isles, obtained in consequence a considerable increase of territory, and died without descendants. Allan succeeded to the possessions of this branch of the race of Conn, and, upon the annexation of the Isles to the crown of Scotland, transferred his allegiance to Alexander III., along with the other chiefs of the Hebrides.⁹

Allan left one son, Roderick, of whom almost nothing is known, except that he was not considered as legitimate by the feudal law, and in consequence was succeeded in his lordship of Garmoran by his daughter Christina. Yet the custom or law of the Highlands, according to which his legitimacy could 'moult no feather,' had still sufficient force amongst the people to induce the daughter to legalise her father's possession of the lands by a formal resignation and reconveyance; a circumstance which shows how deeply it had taken root in the habits and the opinions of the people. Roderick, however, incurred the penalty of forfeiture during the reign of Robert Bruce, "probably," as Mr Skene thinks, "from some connection with the Soulis conspiracy of 1320;" but his lands were restored to his son Ranald by David II. Ranald, however, did not long enjoy his extensive possessions. Holding of the Earl of Ross some lands in North Argyle, he unhappily became embroiled with that powerful chief, and a bitter feud, engendered by proximity, arose between them. In that age the spirit of hostility seldom remained long inactive. In 1346, David II. having summoned the barons of Scotland to meet him at Perth, Ranald, like

the others, obeyed the call, and having made his appearance, attended by a considerable body of men, took up his quarters at the monastery of Elcho, a few miles distant from the Fair City. To the Earl of Ross, who was also with the army, this seemed a favourable opportunity for revenging himself on his enemy; and accordingly having surprised and entered the monastery in the middle of the night, he slew Ranald and seven of his followers. By the death of Ranald, the male descendants of Roderick became extinct; and John of the Isles, the chief of the Clan Donald, who had married Amy, the only sister of Ranald, now claimed the succession to that principality.

THE MACDONALDS OR CLAN DONALD.



BADGE.—Heath.

The Clan Donald derive their origin from a son of Reginald, who appears to have inherited South Kintyre, and the island of Islay; but little is known of their history until the annexation of the Isles to the crown in the year 1266. According to Highland tradition, Donald made a pilgrimage to Rome to do penance, and obtain absolution for the various enormities of his former life; and, on his return, evinced his gratitude and piety by making grants of land to the monastery of Saddle, and other religious houses in Scotland. He was succeeded by his son, Angus Mor, who, on the arrival of Haco with his fleet, immediately joined the Norwegian king, and assisted him during the whole of the expedition; yet, when a treaty of peace was afterwards concluded between the kings of Norway and Scotland, he does not appear to have suffered in consequence of the

⁹ In the list of the Barons who assembled at Scone in 1284 to declare Margaret, the Maid of Norway, heiress to the crown, he appears under the name of *Allangus filius Roderici*.

part which he took in that enterprise. In the year 1284 he appeared at the convention, by which the Maid of Norway was declared heiress of the crown, and obtained as the price of his support on that occasion a grant of Ardnachmurehan, a part of the earldom of Garmoran,¹ and the confirmation of his father's and grandfather's grants to the monastery of Saddle. Angus left two sons, Alexander and Angus Og (*i.e.*, the younger). Alexander, by a marriage with one of the daughters of Ewen of Ergadia, acquired a considerable addition to his possessions; but having joined the Lord of Lorn in his opposition to the claims of Robert Bruce, he became involved in the ruin of that chief; and being obliged to surrender to the king, he was imprisoned in Dundonald Castle, where he died. His whole possessions were forfeited, and given to his brother, Angus Og, who, having attached himself to the party of Bruce, and remained faithful in the hour of adversity, now received the reward of his fidelity and devotion. Angus assisted in the attack upon Carrick, when the king recovered "his father's hall;" and he was present at Bannockburn, where, at the head of his clan, he formed the reserve, and did battle "stalwart and stout," on that never-to-be-forgotten day. Bruce, having at length reaped the reward of all his toils and dangers, and secured the independence of Scotland, was not unmindful of those who had participated in the struggle thus victoriously consummated. Accordingly, he bestowed upon Angus the lordship of Locheaber, which had belonged to the Comyns, together with the lands of Durrour and Glencoe, and the islands of Mull, Tyree, &c., which had formed part of the possessions of the family of Lorn. Prudence might have restrained the royal bounty. The family of the Isles were already too powerful for subjects; but the king, secure of the attachment and fidelity of Angus, contented himself with making the permission to erect a castle or fort at Tarbat in Kintyre, a condition of the grants which he had made. This distinguished chief died early in the fourteenth century, leaving two sons, John his successor, and

John Og, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

Angus, as we have already seen, had all his life been a steady friend to the crown, and had profited by his fidelity. But his son John does not seem to have inherited the loyalty along with the power, dignities, and possessions of his father. Having had some dispute with the Regent concerning certain lands which had been granted by Bruce, he joined the party of Edward Baliol and the English king; and, by a formal treaty concluded on the 12th of December 1335, and confirmed by Edward III. on the 5th October 1336, engaged to support the pretensions of the former, in consideration of a grant of the lands and islands claimed by the Earl of Moray, besides certain other advantages. But all the intrigues of Edward were baffled; Scotland was entirely freed from the dominion of the English; and, in the year 1341, David II. was recalled from France to assume the undisputed sovereignty of his native country. Upon his accession to the throne, David, anxious to attach to his party the most powerful of the Scottish barons, concluded a treaty with John of the Isles, who, in consequence, pledged himself to support his government. But a circumstance soon afterwards occurred which threw him once more into the interest of Baliol and the English party. In 1346, Ranald of the Isles having been slain at Perth by the Earl of Ross, as already mentioned, John, who had married his sister Amy, immediately laid claim to the succession. The government, however, unwilling to aggrandise a chief already too powerful, determined to oppose indirectly his pretensions, and evade the recognition of his claim. It is unnecessary to detail the pretexts employed, or the obstacles which were raised by the government. Their effect was to restore to the party of Baliol one of its most powerful adherents, and to enable John in the meanwhile to concentrate in his own person nearly all the possessions of his ancestor Somerled.

But ere long a most remarkable change took place in the character and position of the different parties or factions, which at that time divided Scotland. The king of Scotland now appeared in the extraordinary and unnatural character of a mere tool or partisan of Edward, and even seconded

¹ "The Lordship of Garmoran (also called Garbh-chrioch) comprehends the districts of Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoydart."—Gregory, p. 27.

covertly the endeavours of the English king to overturn the independence of Scotland. Its effect was to throw into active opposition the party which had hitherto supported the throne and the cause of independence; and, on the other hand, to secure to the enemies of both the favour and countenance of the king. But as soon as by this interchange the English party became identified with the royal faction, John of the Isles abandoned it, and formed a connection with that party to which he had for many years been openly opposed. At the head of the national party was the Steward of Scotland, who, being desirous of strengthening himself by alliances with the more powerful barons, hailed the accession of John to his interests as an extraordinary piece of good fortune, and cemented their union by giving to the Lord of the Isles his own daughter in marriage. The real aim of this policy was not for a moment misunderstood; but any open manifestation of force was at first cautiously avoided. At length, in 1366, when the heavy burdens imposed upon the people to raise the ransom of the king had produced general discontent, and David's jealousy of the Steward had displayed itself by throwing into prison the acknowledged successor to the throne, the northern barons broke out into open rebellion, and refused either to pay the tax imposed, or to obey the king's summons to attend the parliament.

In this state matters remained for some time, when David applied to the Steward, as the only person capable of restoring peace to the country, and, at the same time, commissioned him to put down the rebellion. The latter, satisfied that his objects would be more effectually forwarded by steady opposition to the court than by avowedly taking part with the insurgents, accepted the commission, and employed every means in his power to reduce the refractory barons to obedience. His efforts, however, were only partially successful. The Earls of Mar and Ross, and other northern barons, whose object was now attained, at once laid down their arms; John of Lorn and Gillespie Campbell likewise gave in their submission; but the Lord of the Isles, secure in the distance and inaccessible nature of his territories, refused to yield, and, in fact, set the royal

power at defiance. The course of events, however, soon enabled David to bring this refractory subject to terms. Edward, finding that France required his undivided attention, was not in a condition to prosecute his ambitious projects against Scotland; a peace was accordingly concluded between the rival countries; and David thus found himself at liberty to turn his whole force against the Isles. With this view he commanded the attendance of the Steward and other barons of the realm, and resolved to proceed in person against the rebels. But the Steward, perceiving that the continuance of the rebellion might prove fatal to his party, prevailed with his son-in-law to meet the king at Inverness, where an agreement was entered into, by which the Lord of the Isles not only engaged to submit to the royal authority, and pay his share of all public burdens, but further promised to put down all others who should attempt to resist either; and, besides his own oath, he gave hostages to the king for the fulfilment of this obligation. The accession of Robert Steward or Stewart to the throne of Scotland, which took place in 1371, shortly after this act of submission, brought the Lord of the Isles into close connection with the court; and during the whole of this reign he remained in as perfect tranquillity, and gave as loyal support to the government as his father Angus had done under that of King Robert Bruce.² In those barbarous and unsettled times, the government was not always in a condition to reduce its refractory vassals by force; and, from the frequent changes and revolutions to which it was exposed, joined to its general weakness, the penalty of forfeiture was but little dreaded. Its true policy, therefore, was to endeavour to bind to its interests, by the ties of friendship and alliance, those turbulent chiefs whom it was always difficult and often impossible to reduce to obedience by the means commonly employed for that purpose.

The advice which King Robert Bruce had left for the guidance of his successors, in regard to the Lords of the Isles, was certainly dictated

² The properties of Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoidart, on the mainland, and the isles of Uist, Barra, Rum, Egg, and Harris, were assigned and confirmed to him and his heirs by charter dated at Scone March 9, 1371-2.

by sound political wisdom. He foresaw the danger which would result to the crown were the extensive territories and consequent influence of these insular chiefs ever again to be concentrated in the person of one individual; and he earnestly recommended to those who should come after him never, under any circumstances, to permit or to sanction such aggrandisement. But, in the present instance, the claims of John were too great to be overlooked; and though Robert Stewart could scarcely have been insensible of the eventual danger which might result from disregarding the admonition of Bruce, yet he had not been more than a year on the throne when he granted to his son-in-law a feudal title to all those lands which had formerly belonged to Ranald the son of Roderick, and thus conferred on him a boon which had often been demanded in vain by his predecessors. King Robert, however, since he could not with propriety obstruct the accumulation of so much property in one house, attempted to sow the seeds of future discord by bringing about a division of the property amongst the different branches of the family. With this view he persuaded John, who had been twice married, not only to gavel the lands amongst his offspring, which was the usual practice of his family, but also to render the children of both marriages feudally independent of one another. Accordingly King Robert, in the third year of his reign, confirmed a charter granted by John to Reginald, the second son of the first marriage, by which the lands of Garmoran, forming the dowry of Reginald's mother, were to be held of John's heirs; that is, of the descendants of the eldest son of the first marriage, who would, of course, succeed to all his possessions that had not been feudally destined or devised to other parties. Nor was this all. A short time afterwards John resigned into the king's hands nearly the whole of the western portion of his territories, and received from Robert charters of these lands in favour of himself and the issue of his marriage with the king's daughter; so that the children of the second marriage were rendered feudally independent of those of the first, and the seeds of future discord and contention effectually sown between them. After this period little

is known of the history of John, who is supposed to have died about the year 1380.

During the remainder of this king's reign, and the greater part of that of his successor, Robert III., no collision seems to have taken place between the insular chiefs and the general government; and hence little or nothing is known of their proceedings. But when the dissensions of the Scottish barons, occasioned by the marriage of the Duke of Rothesay, and the subsequent departure of the Earl of March to the English court, led to a renewal of the wars between the two countries, and the invasion of Scotland by an English army, the insular chiefs appear to have renewed their intercourse with England; being more swayed by considerations of interest or policy, than by the ties of relationship to the royal family of Scotland. At this time the clan was divided into two branches, the heads of which seemed to have possessed co-ordinate rank and authority. Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, ruled on the mainland, as lord of Garmoran and Lochaber; Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, held a considerable territory of the crown, then known as the feudal lordship of the Isles; whilst the younger brothers, having received the provisions usually allotted by the law of gavel, held these as vassals either of Godfrey or of Donald. This temporary equipoise was, however, soon disturbed by the marriage of Donald with Mary, the sister of Alexander Earl of Ross, in consequence of which alliance he ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of the earldom. Euphemia, only child of Alexander, Earl of Ross, entered a convent and became a nun, having previously committed the charge of the earldom to her grandfather, Albany. Donald, however, lost no time in preferring his claim to the succession in right of his wife, the consequences of which have already been narrated in detail.³ Donald, with a considerable force, invaded Ross, and met with little or no resistance from the people till he reached Dingwall, where he was encountered by Angus Dhu Mackay, at the head of a considerable body of men from Sutherland, whom, after a fierce conflict, he completely defeated and made their leader

³ For details, see vol. i., p. 69, *et seq.*

prisoner. Leaving the district of Ross, which now acknowledged his authority, he advanced at the head of his army, through Moray, and penetrated into Aberdeenshire. Here, however, a decisive check awaited him. On the 24th of July, 1411, he was met at the village of Harlaw by the Earl of Mar, at the head of an army inferior in numbers, but composed of better materials; and a battle ensued, upon the event of which seemed to depend the decision of the question, whether the Celtic or the Sassenach part of the population of Scotland were in future to possess the supremacy. The immediate issue of the conflict was doubtful, and, as is usual in such cases, both parties claimed the victory. But the superior numbers and irregular valour of the Highland followers of Donald had received a severe check from the steady discipline and more effective arms of the Lowland gentry; they had been too roughly handled to think of renewing the combat, for which their opponents seem to have been quite prepared; and, as in such circumstances a drawn battle was equivalent to a defeat, Donald was compelled, as the Americans say, "to advance backwards." The Duke of Albany, having obtained reinforcements, marched in person to Dingwall; but Donald, having no desire to try again the fate of arms, retired with his followers to the Isles, leaving Albany in possession of the whole of Ross, where he remained during the winter. Next summer the war was renewed, and carried on with various success, until at length the insular chief found it necessary to come to terms with the duke, and a treaty was concluded by which Donald agreed to abandon his claim to the earldom of Ross, and to become a vassal of the crown of Scotland.

The vigour of Albany restored peace to the kingdom, and the remainder of his regency was not disturbed by any hostile attempt upon the part of Donald of the Isles. But when the revenge of James I. had consummated the ruin of the family of Albany, Alexander, the son of Donald, succeeded, without any opposition, to the earldom of Ross, and thus realised one grand object of his father's ambition. At almost any other period the acquisition of such extensive territories would have given a decided and dangerous preponderance to the

family of the Isles. The government of Scotland, however, was then in the hands of a man who, by his ability, energy, and courage, proved himself fully competent to control his turbulent nobles, and, if necessary, to destroy their power and influence. Distrustful, however, of his ability to reduce the northern barons to obedience by force of arms, he had recourse to stratagem; and having summoned them to attend a parliament at Inverness, whither he proceeded, attended by his principal nobility and a considerable body of troops, he there caused forty of them to be arrested as soon as they made their appearance. Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, his mother the Countess of Ross, and Alexander MacGodfrey, of Garmoran, were amongst the number of those arrested on this occasion. Along with several others, MacGodfrey was immediately executed, and his whole possessions forfeited to the crown, and the remainder were detained in captivity. By this bold stroke, James conceived that he had effectually subdued the Highland chiefs; and, under this impression, he soon afterwards liberated Alexander of the Isles. But he seems to have forgotten that "vows made in pain," or at least in duress, "are violent and void." The submission of the captive was merely feigned. As soon as he had recovered his liberty, the Lord of the Isles flew to arms, with what disastrous results to himself has already been told.⁴ So vigorously did the king's officers follow up the victory, that the insular chief, finding concealment or escape equally impossible, was compelled to throw himself upon the royal clemency. He went to Edinburgh, and, on the occasion of a solemn festival celebrated in the chapel of Holyrood, on Easter Sunday 1429, the unfortunate chief, whose ancestors had treated with the crown on the footing of independent princes, appeared before the assembled court in his shirt and drawers, and implored on his knees, with a naked sword held by the point in his hand, the forgiveness of his offended monarch. Satisfied with this extraordinary act of humiliation, James granted the suppliant his life, and directed him to be forthwith imprisoned in Tantallon castle.

⁴ See vol. i. p. 73.

The spirit of clanship could not brook such a mortal affront. The cry for vengeance was raised; the strength of the clan was mustered; and Alexander had scarcely been two years in captivity when the Isles once more broke out into open insurrection. Under the command of Donald Balloch, the cousin of Alexander and chief of clan Ranald, the Islanders burst into Lochaber, where, having encountered an army which had been stationed in that country for the purpose of overawing the Highlanders, they gained a complete victory. The king's troops were commanded by the Earls of Mar and Caithness, the latter of whom fell in the action, whilst the former saved with difficulty the remains of the discomfited force. Donald Balloch, however, did not follow up his victory, but having ravaged the adjacent districts, withdrew first to the Isles, and afterwards to Ireland. In this emergency James displayed his usual energy and activity. To repair the reverse sustained by his lieutenants, he proceeded in person to the North; his expedition was attended with complete success; and he soon received the submission of all the chiefs who had been engaged in the rebellion. Not long afterwards he was presented with what was believed to be the head of Donald Balloch; "but," says Mr Gregory, "as Donald Balloch certainly survived king James many years, it is obvious that the sending of the head to Edinburgh was a stratagem devised by the crafty islander, in order to check further pursuit." The king, being thus successful, listened to the voice of clemency. He restored to liberty the prisoner of Tantallon, granted him a free pardon for his various acts of rebellion, confirmed to him all his titles and possessions, and further conferred upon him the lordship of Lochaber, which, on its forfeiture, had been given to the Earl of Mar. The wisdom of this proceeding soon became apparent. Alexander could scarcely forget the humiliation he had undergone, and the imprisonment he had endured; and, in point of fact, he appears to have joined the Earls of Crawford and Douglas, who at that time headed the opposition to the court; but during the remainder of his life the peace of the country was not again disturbed by any rebellious proceedings on his part, and thus far the king reaped the

reward of his clemency. Alexander died about 1447, leaving three sons, John, Hugh, and Celestine.

The opposition of Crawford, Douglas, and their associates had hitherto been chronic; but, on the death of Alexander, it broke out into active insurrection; and the new Lord of the Isles, as determined an opponent of the royal party as his father had been, seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven in Badenoch, at the same time declaring himself independent. In thus raising the standard of rebellion, John of the Isles was secretly supported by the Earl of Douglas, and openly by the barons, who were attached to his party. But a series of fatalities soon extinguished this insurrection. Douglas was murdered in Edinburgh Castle; Crawford was entirely defeated by Huntly; and John, by the rebellion of his son Angus, was doomed to experience, in his own territories, the same opposition which he had himself offered to the general government. Submission was, therefore, inevitable. Having for several years maintained a species of independence, he was compelled to resign his lands into the hands of the king, and to consent to hold them as a vassal of the crown. This, however, was but a trifling matter compared with the rebellion of his son, which, fomented probably by the court, proved eventually the ruin of the principality of the Isles, after it had existed so long in a state of partial independence. Various circumstances are stated as having given rise to this extraordinary contest, although in none of these, probably, is the true cause to be found. It appears, however, that Angus Og,⁵ having been appointed his father's

⁵ "The authority of Mr Skene is usually to be received as of no common weight, but the account given by him of this portion of the Macdonald annals does not consist with unquestionable facts. As such, the statements in the national collections of *Foedera* (Treaties), and the *Records of Parliament*, ought certainly to be regarded; and a preference must be given to their testimony over the counter-assertions of ancient private annalists. Some of the latter parties seem to assert that John II., who had no children by Elizabeth Livingston (daughter of Lord Livingston), had yet "a natural son begotten of Macduffie of Colonsay's daughter, and Angus Og, his legitimate son, by the Earl of Angus's daughter." No mention of this Angus' marriage occurs in any one public document relating to the Lords of the Isles, or to the Douglasses, then Earls of Angus. On the other hand, the acknowledged wife of John of the

lieutenant and representative in all his possessions, took advantage of the station or office which was thus conferred on him, deprived his father of all authority, and got himself declared Lord of the Isles. How this was effected we know not; but scarcely had he attained the object of his ambition, when he resolved to take signal vengeance upon the Earl of Athole, an inveterate enemy of his house, and, at the same time, to declare himself altogether independent of the crown. With this view, having collected a numerous army, he suddenly appeared before the castle of Inverness, and having been admitted by the governor, who had no suspicion whatever of his design, immediately proclaimed himself king of the Isles. He then invaded the district of Athole; stormed and took Blair Castle; and having seized the earl and countess, carried them prisoners to Islay. The reason given by Mr Gregory for Angus's enmity against the Earl and Countess of Athole is, that the former having crossed over privately to Islay, carried off the infant son of Angus, called Donald *Dubh*, or the Black, and committed him to the care of Argyle, his maternal grandfather, who placed him in the Castle of Inchconnely, where he was detained for many years. Mr Gregory places this event after the Battle of Bloody Bay. On his return to the Isles with the booty he had obtained, the marauder was overtaken by a violent tempest, in which the greater part of his galleys foundered. Heaven seemed to declare against the spoiler, who had added sacrilege to rapine by plundering and attempting to burn the chapel of St Bridget in Athole. Stricken with remorse for the crime he had committed, he released the earl and countess, and then sought to expiate his guilt by doing

Isles, Elizabeth Livingston, was certainly alive in 1475, at which date he, among other charges, is accused of making "his bastard son" a lieutenant to him in "insurrectionary convocations of the lieges;" and Angus could therefore come of no second marriage. He indubitably is the same party still more distinctly named in subsequent Parliamentary Records as "Angus of the Isles, *bastard son* to umquhile John of the Isles." The attribution of noble and legitimate birth to Angus took its origin, without doubt, in the circumstance of John's want of children by marriage having raised his natural son to a high degree of power in the clan, which the active character of Angus well fitted him to use as he willed."—Smibert's *Clans* pp. 23, 24.

penance on the spot where it had been incurred.

As a proof of the sincerity of his repentance, this Angus Og next engaged in treason upon a larger scale. At the instigation of this hopeful son, his father, whom he had already deprived of all authority, now entered into a compact with the king of England and the Earl of Douglas, the object of which was nothing less than the entire subjugation of Scotland, and its partition amongst the contracting parties. By this treaty, which is dated the 18th of February 1462, the Lord of the Isles agreed, on the payment of a stipulated sum, to become the sworn ally of the king of England, and to assist that monarch, with the whole body of his retainers, in the wars in Ireland and elsewhere; and it was further provided, that in the event of the entire subjugation of Scotland, the whole of that kingdom, to the north of the Firth of Forth, should be equally divided between Douglas, the Lord of the Isles, and Donald Balloch of Islay; whilst, on the other hand, Douglas was to be reinstated in possession of those lands between the Forth and the English borders, from which he had, at this time, been excluded. Conquest, partition, and spoliation, were thus the objects contemplated in this extraordinary compact. Yet no proceeding appears to have been taken, in consequence of the treaty, until the year 1473, when we find the Lord of the Isles again in arms against the government. He continued several years in open rebellion; but having received little or no support from the other parties to the league, he was declared a traitor in a parliament held at Edinburgh in 1475, his estates were also confiscated, and the Earls of Crawford and Athole were directed to march against him at the head of a considerable force. The meditated blow was, however, averted by the timely interposition of his father, the Earl of Ross. By a seasonable grant of the lands of Knapdale, he secured the influence of the Earl of Argyll, and through the mediation of that nobleman, received a remission of his past offences, was reinstated in his hereditary possessions, which he had resigned into the hands of the crown, and created a peer of parliament, by the title of the Lord of the Isles. The earldom of Ross, the lands of

Knapdale, and the sheriffships of Inverness and Nairn were, however, retained by the crown, apparently as the price of the remission granted to this doubly unfortunate man.

But Angus Og was no party to this arrangement. He continued to defy the power of the government; and when the Earl of Athole was sent to the north to reinstate the Earl of Ross in his remaining possessions, he placed himself at the head of the clan, and prepared to give him battle. Athole was joined by the Mackenzies, Mackays, Frasers, and others; but being met by Angus at a place called Lagebread, he was defeated with great slaughter, and escaped with great difficulty from the field. The Earls of Crawford and Huntly were then sent against this desperate rebel, the one by sea and the other by land; but neither of them prevailed against the victorious insurgent. A third expedition, under the Earls of Argyll and Athole, accompanied by the father of the rebel and several families of the Isles, produced no result; and the two earls, who seem to have had little taste for an encounter with Angus, returned without effecting anything. John the father, however, proceeded onwards through the Sound of Mull, accompanied by the Macleans, Macleods, Maeneills, and others, and having encountered Angus in a bay on the south side of the promontory of Ardnamurchan,⁶ a desperate combat ensued, in which Angus was again victorious, and his unfortunate parent overthrown. By the battle of the Bloody Bay, as it is called in the traditions of the country, Angus obtained possession of the extensive territories of his clan, and, as "when treason prospers 'tis no longer treason," was recognised as its head. Angus, some time before 1490, when marching to attack Mackenzie of Kintail, was assassinated by an Irish harper.⁷

The rank of heir to the lordship of the Isles devolved on the nephew of John, Alexander of Lochalsh, son of his brother, Celestine. Placing himself at the head of the vassals of the Isles, he endeavoured, it is said, with John's consent, to recover possession of the earldom of Ross, and in 1491, at the head of a

large body of western Highlanders, he advanced from Lochaber into Badenoch, where he was joined by the elan Chattan. They then marched to Inverness, where, after taking the royal castle, and placing a garrison in it, they proceeded to the north-east, and plundered the lands of Sir Alexander Urquhart, sheriff of Cromarty. They next hastened to Strathconnan, for the purpose of ravaging the lands of the Mackenzies. The latter, however, surprised and routed the invaders, and expelled them from Ross, their leader, Alexander of Lochalsh, being wounded, and as some say, taken prisoner. In consequence of this insurrection, at a meeting of the Estates in Edinburgh in May 1493, the title and possessions of the lord of the Isles were declared to be forfeited to the crown. In January following the aged John appeared in the presence of the king, and made a voluntary surrender of his lordship, after which he appears to have remained for some time in the king's household, in the receipt of a pension. He finally retired to the monastery of Paisley, where he died about 1498; and was interred, at his own request, in the tomb of his royal ancestor, Robert II.⁸

With the view of reducing the insular chiefs to subjection, and establishing the royal authority in the Islands, James IV., soon after the forfeiture in 1493, proceeded in person to the West Highlands, when Alexander of Lochalsh, the principal cause of the insurrection which had led to it, and John of Isla, grandson and representative of Donald Balloch, were among the first to make their submission. On this occasion they appear to have obtained royal charters of the lands they had previously held under the Lord of the Isles, and were both knighted. In the following year the king visited the Isles twice, and having seized and garrisoned the castle of Dunaverty in South Kintyre, Sir John of Isla, deeply resenting this proceeding, collected his followers, stormed the castle, and hung the governor from the wall, in the sight of the king and his fleet. With four of his sons, he was soon after apprehended at Isla, by MacIain of Ardnamurchan, and being conveyed to Edinburgh, they were there executed for high treason.

⁶ Gregory (p. 52) says this combat was fought in a bay in the Isle of Mull, near Tobermory.

⁷ See Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 54.

⁸ Gregory, p. 581.

In 1495 King James assembled an army at Glasgow, and on the 18th May, he was at the castle of Mingarry in Ardnamurchan, when several of the Highland chiefs made their submission to him. In 1497 Sir Alexander of Lochalsh again rebelled, and invading the more fertile districts of Ross, was by the Mackenzies and Muirboes, at a place called Drumchatt, again defeated and driven out of Ross. Proceeding southward among the Isles, he endeavoured to rouse the Islanders to arms in his behalf, but without success. He was surprised in the island of Oransay, by MacIain of Ardnamurchan, and put to death.

In 1501, Donald *Dubh*, whom the islanders regarded as their rightful lord, and who, from his infancy, had been detained in confinement in the castle of Inchconnell, escaped from prison, and appeared among his clansmen. They had always maintained that he was the lawful son of Angus of the Isles, by his wife the Lady Margaret Campbell, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, but his legitimacy was denied by the government when the islanders combined to assert by arms his claims as their hereditary chief. His liberation he owed to the gallantry and fidelity of the men of Glencoe. Repairing to the isles of Lewis, he put himself under the protection of its lord, Torquil Macleod, who had married Katherine, another daughter of Argyll, and therefore sister of the lady whom the islanders believed to be his mother. A strong confederacy was formed in his favour, and about Christmas 1503 an irruption of the islanders and western clans, under Donald *Dubh*, was made into Badenoch, which was plundered and wasted with fire and sword. To put down this formidable rebellion, the array of the whole kingdom north of Forth and Clyde was called out; and the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Crawford, and Marischal, and Lord Lovat, with other powerful barons, were charged to lead this force against the islanders. But two years elapsed before the insurrection was finally quelled. In 1505 the Isles were again invaded from the south by the king in person, and from the north by Huntly, who took several prisoners, but none of them of any rank. In these various expeditions the fleet under the celebrated Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton was employed against the

islanders, and at length the insurgents were dispersed. Carniburgh, a strong fort on a small isolated rock, near the west coast of Mull, in which they had taken refuge, was reduced; the Macleans and the Macleods submitted to the king, and Donald *Dubh*, again made a prisoner, was committed to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained for nearly forty years. After this the great power formerly enjoyed by the Lords of the Isles was transferred to the Earls of Argyll and Huntly, the former having the chief rule in the south isles and adjacent coasts, while the influence of the latter prevailed in the north isles and Highlands.

The children of Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, the nephew of John the fourth and last Lord of the Isles, had fallen into the hands of the king, and as they were all young, they appear to have been brought up in the royal household. Donald, the eldest son, called by the Highlanders, Donald *Galda*, or the foreigner, from his early residence in the Lowlands, was allowed to inherit his father's estates, and was frequently permitted to visit the Isles. He was with James IV. at the battle of Flodden, and appears to have been knighted under the royal banner on that disastrous field. Two months after, in November 1513, he raised another insurrection in the Isles, and being joined by the Macleods and Macleans, was proclaimed Lord of the Isles. The numbers of his adherents daily increased. But in the course of 1515, the Earl of Argyll prevailed upon the insurgents to submit to the regent. At this time Sir Donald appeared frequently before the council, relying on a safe-conduct, and his reconciliation to the regent (John, Duke of Albany) was apparently so cordial that on 24th September 1516, a summons was despatched to 'Monsieur de Ylis,' to join the royal army, then about to proceed to the borders. Ere long, however, he was again in open rebellion. Early in 1517 he razed the castle of Mingarry to the ground, and ravaged the whole district of Ardnamurchan with fire and sword. His chief leaders now deserted him, and some of them determined on delivering him up to the regent. He, however, effected his escape, but his two brothers were made prisoners by Maclean of Dowart and Macleod of Dunvegan, who hastened to make their sub-

mission to the government. In the following year, Sir Donald was enabled to revenge the murder of his father on the MacIans of Ardnarehan, having defeated and put to death their chief and two of his sons, with a great number of his men. He was about to be forfeited for high treason, when his death, which took place a few weeks after his success against the MacIans, brought the rebellion, which had lasted for upwards of five years, to a sudden close. He was the last male of his family, and died without issue.

In 1539, Donald Gorme of Sleat claimed the lordship of the Isles, as lawful heir male of John, Earl of Ross. With a considerable force he passed over into Ross shire, where, after ravaging the district of Kinlochewe, he proceeded to Kintail, with the intention of surprising the castle Eilandonan, at that time almost without a garrison. Exposing himself rashly under the wall, he received a wound in the foot from an arrow, which proved fatal.

In 1543, under the regency of the Earl of Arran, Donald *Dubh*, the grandson of John, last Lord of the Isles, again appeared upon the scene. Escaping from his long imprisonment, he was received with enthusiasm by the insular chiefs, and, with their assistance, he prepared to expel the Earls of Argyll and Huntly from their acquisitions in the Isles. At the head of 1800 men he invaded Argyll's territories, slew many of his vassals, and carried off a great quantity of cattle, with other plunder. At first he was supported by the Earl of Lennox, then attached to the English interest, and thus remained for a time in the undisputed possession of the Isles. Through the influence of Lennox, the islanders agreed to transfer their alliance from the Scottish to the English crown, and in June 1545 a proclamation was issued by the regent Arran and his privy council against 'Donald, alleging himself of the Isles, and other Highland men, his partakers.' On the 28th July of that year, a commission was granted by Donald, 'Lord of the Isles, and Earl of Ross,' with the advice and consent of his barons and council of the Isles, of whom seventeen are named, to two commissioners, for treating, under the directions of the Earl of Lennox, with the English king. On the 5th of August, the lord and barons of the Isles

were at Knoekfergus, in Ireland, with a force of 4000 men and 180 galleys, when they took the oath of allegiance to the king of England, at the command of Lennox, while 4000 men in arms were left to guard and defend the Isles in his absence. Donald's plenipotentiaries then proceeded to the English court with letters from him both to King Henry and his privy council; by one of which it appears that the Lord of the Isles had already received from the English monarch the sum of one thousand crowns, and the promise of an annual pension of two thousand. Soon after the Lord of the Isles returned with his forces to Scotland, but appears to have returned to Ireland again with Lennox. There he was attacked with fever, and died at Drogheda, on his way to Dublin. With him terminated the direct line of the Lords of the Isles.

All hopes of a descendant of Somerled again governing the Isles were now at an end; and from this period the race of Conn, unable to regain their former united power and consequence, were divided into various branches, the aggregate strength of which was rendered unavailing for the purpose of general aggrandisement, by the jealousy, disunion, and rivalry, which prevailed among themselves.

After the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, and the failure of the successive attempts which were made to retrieve their fortunes, different clans occupied the extensive territories which had once acknowledged the sway of those insular princes. Of these some were clans, which, although dependent upon the Macdonalds, were not of the same origin as the race of Conn; and, with the exception of the Macleods, Macleans, and a few others, they strenuously opposed all the attempts which were made to effect the restoration of the family of the Isles, rightly calculating that the success of such opposition would tend to promote their own aggrandisement. Another class, again, were of the same origin as the family of the Isles; but having branched off from the principal stem before the succession of the elder branches reverted to the clan, in the person of John of the Isles, during the reign of David II., they now appeared as separate clans. Amongst these were the Macalisters, the MacIans, and some others. The Macalisters, who are traced to Alister, a son of

Angus Mor, inhabited the south of Knapdale and the north of Kintyre. After the forfeiture of the Isles they became independent; but being exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, their principal possessions were ere long absorbed by different branches of that powerful clan. The MacIans of Ardnamurchan were descended from John, a son of Angus Mor, to whom his father conveyed the property which he had obtained from the crown. The Macdonalds of Glencoe are also MacIans, being descended from John Fraoch, a son of Angus Og, Lord of the Isles; and hence their history is in no degree different from that of the other branches of the Macdonalds. A third class consisted of the descendants of the different Lords of the Isles, who still professed to form one clan, although the subject of the representation of the race soon introduced great dissensions, and all adopted the generic name of Macdonald in preference to secondary or collateral patronymics.

We shall now endeavour to give a short account of the different branches of the Macdonalds, from the time of the annexation of the Lordship of the Isles to the crown in 1540.

Since the extinction of the direct line of the family of the Isles, in the middle of the 16th century, Macdonald of Sleat, now Lord Macdonald, has always been styled in Gaelic *Mac Dhonuill nan Eilean*, or Macdonald of the Isles.⁹

As the claim of Lord Macdonald, however, to this distinction has been keenly disputed, we shall here lay before the reader, as clearly as possible, the pretensions of the different claimants to the honour of the chiefship of the clan Donald, as these have been very fairly stated by Mr Skene.

That the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of John, Earl of Ross, and the last Lord of the Isles, appears to be admitted on all sides; but, on the other hand, if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan received its name, or even of John of the Isles, who flourished in the reign of David II., are to be held as constituting one clan, then, according to the Highland principles of clan-

ship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship, rested in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. By Amy, daughter of Roderick of the Isles, John had three sons,—John, Godfrey, and Ranald; but the last of these only left descendants; and it is from him that the Clan Ranald derive their origin. Again, by the daughter of Robert II. John had four sons—Donald, Lord of the Isles, the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Sleat; John Mor, from whom proceeded the Macconnells of Kintyre; Alister, the progenitor of Keppoch; and Angus, who does not appear to have left any descendants. That Amy, the daughter of Roderick, was John's legitimate wife, is proved, first, by a dispensation which the supreme Pontiff granted to John in the year 1337; and secondly, by a treaty concluded between John and David II. in 1369, when the hostages given to the king were a son of the second marriage, a grandson of the first, and a *natural* son. Besides, it is certain that the children of the first marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs; a circumstance which clearly establishes their legitimacy. It is true that Robert II., in pursuance of the policy he had adopted, persuaded John to make the children of these respective marriages feudally independent of each other, and that the effect of this was to divide the possessions of his powerful vassals into two distinct and independent lordships. These were, first, the lordship of Garmoran and Lochaber, which was held by the eldest son of the first marriage,—and secondly, that of the Isles, which passed to the eldest son of the second marriage; and matters appear to have remained in this state until 1427, when, as formerly mentioned, the Lord of Garmoran was beheaded, and his estates were forfeited to the crown. James I., however, reversing the policy which had been pursued by his predecessor, concentrated the possessions of the Macdonalds in the person of the Lord of the Isles, and thus sought to restore to him all the power and consequence which had originally belonged to his house; “but this arbitrary proceeding,” says Mr Skene, “could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal representation of the chiefs of the clan Donald, which now, on the failure of the issue of

⁹ Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 61.

Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage."

The clan Ranald are believed to have derived their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, who was a son of John of the Isles, by Amy MacRory, and obtained from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey. That this lordship continued in possession of the clan appears evident from the Parliamentary Records, in which, under the date of 1587, mention is made of the clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry. But considerable doubt has arisen, and there has been a good deal of controversy, as to the right of chiefship; whilst of the various families descended from Ranald each has put forward its claim to this distinction. On this knotty and ticklish point we shall content ourselves with stating the conclusions at which Mr Skene arrived 'after,' as he informs us, 'a rigid examination' of the whole subject in dispute. According to him, the present family of Clanranald have no valid title or pretension whatever, being descended from an illegitimate son of a second son of the old family of Moydart, who, in 1531, assumed the title of Captain of Clanranald; and, consequently, as long as the descendants of the eldest son of that family remain, they can have no claim by right of blood to the chiefship. He then proceeds to examine the question,—Who was the chief previous to this assumption of the captaincy of Clanranald? and, from a genealogical induction of particulars, he concludes that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry, was the eldest son of the Reginald or Ranald above-mentioned; that from John, the eldest son of Donald, proceeded the senior branch of this family, in which the chiefship was vested; that, in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the Lord of the Isles, and other adverse circumstances, they became so much reduced that the oldest cadet obtained the actual chiefship, under the ordinary title of captain; and that, on the extinction of this branch in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry descended from Alister, second son of Donald, became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently

possessed that *jus sanguinis* of which no usurpation could deprive them. Such are the results of Mr Skene's researches upon this subject. Latterly, the family of Glengarry have claimed not only the chiefship of clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole clan Donald, as being the representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan; and it can scarcely be denied that the same evidence which makes good the one point must serve equally to establish the other. Nor does this appear to be any new pretension. When the services rendered by this family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by Charles II. with a peerage, the Glengarry of the time indicated his claim by assuming the title of Lord Macdonnell and Aros; and although, upon the failure of heirs male of his body, this title did not descend to his successors, yet his lands formed, in consequence, the barony of Macdonnell.

Donald Gorme, the claimant of the lordship of the Isles mentioned above as having been slain in 1539, left a grandson, a minor, known as Donald Macdonald Gormeson of Sleat. His title to the family estates was disputed by the Macleods of Harris. He ranged himself on the side of Queen Mary when the disputes about her marriage began in 1565. He died in 1585, and was succeeded by Donald Gorme Mor, fifth in descent from Hugh of Sleat. This Donald Gorme proved himself to be a man of superior abilities, and was favoured highly by James VI., to whom he did important service in maintaining the peace of the Isles. "From this period, it may be observed, the family were loyal to the crown, and firm supporters of the national constitution and laws; and it is also worthy of notice that nearly all the clans attached to the old Lords of the Isles, on the failure of the more direct line in the person of John, transferred their warmest affections to those royal Stuarts, whose throne they had before so often and so alarmingly shaken. This circumstance, as all men know, became strikingly apparent when misfortune fell heavily in turn on the Stuarts."¹

Donald Gorme Mor, soon after succeeding his father, found himself involved in a deadly

¹ Smibert's *Clans*, p. 25.

feud with the Macleans of Dowart, which raged to such an extent as to lead to the interference of government, and to the passing in 1587 of an act of parliament, commonly called "The general Bond" or Band for maintaining good order both on the borders and in the Highlands and Isles. By this act, it was made imperative on all landlords, bailies, and chiefs of clans, to find sureties for the peaceable behaviour of those under them. The contentions, however, between the Macdonalds and the Macleans continued, and in 1589, with the view of putting an end to them, the king and council adopted the following plan. After remissions under the privy seal had been granted to Donald Gorme of Sleat, his kinsman, Macdonald of Islay, the principal in the feud, and Maclean of Dowart, for all crimes committed by them, they were induced to proceed to Edinburgh, under pretence of consulting with the king and council for the good rule of the country, but immediately on their arrival they were seized and imprisoned in the castle. In the summer of 1591, they were set at liberty, on paying each a fine to the king, that imposed on Sleat being £4,000, under the name of arrears of feu-duties and crown-rents in the Isles, and finding security for their future obedience and the performance of certain prescribed conditions. They also bound themselves to return to their confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, whenever they should be summoned, on twenty days' warning. In consequence of their not fulfilling the conditions imposed upon them, and their continuing in opposition to the government, their pardons were recalled, and the three island chiefs were cited before the privy council on the 14th July 1593, when, failing to appear, summonses of treason were executed against them and certain of their associates.

In 1601, the chief of Sleat again brought upon himself and his clan the interference of government by a feud with Macleod of Dunvegan, which led to much bloodshed and great misery and distress among their followers and their families. He had married a sister of Macleod; but, from jealousy or some other cause, he put her away, and refused at her brother's request to take her back. Having procured a divorce, he soon after married a

sister of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. Macleod immediately assembled his clan, and carried fire and sword through Macdonald's district of Trotternish. The latter, in revenge, invaded Harris, and laid waste that island, killing many of the inhabitants, and carrying off their cattle. "These spoliations and incursions were carried on with so much inveteracy, that both clans were brought to the brink of ruin; and many of the natives of the districts thus devastated were forced to sustain themselves by killing and eating their horses, dogs, and cats." The Macdonalds having invaded Macleod's lands in Skye, a battle took place on the mountain Benquillin between them and the Macleods, when the latter, under Alexander, the brother of their chief, were defeated with great loss, and their leader, with thirty of their clan, taken captive. A reconciliation was at length effected between them by the mediation of Macdonald of Islay, Maclean of Coll, and other friends; when the prisoners taken at Benquillin were released.*

In 1608, we find Donald Gorme of Sleat one of the Island chiefs who attended the court of Lord Ochiltree, the king's lieutenant, at Aros in Mull, when he was sent there for the settlement of order in the Isles, and who afterwards accepted his invitation to dinner on board the king's ship, called the Moon. When dinner was ended, Ochiltree told the astonished chiefs that they were his prisoners by the king's order; and weighing anchor he sailed direct to Ayr, whence he proceeded with his prisoners to Edinburgh and presented them before the privy council, by whose order they were placed in the castles of Dumbarton, Blackness, and Stirling. Petitions were immediately presented by the imprisoned chiefs to the council submitting themselves to the king's pleasure, and making many offers in order to procure their liberation. In the following year the bishop of the Isles was deputed as solo commissioner to visit and survey the Isles, and all the chiefs in prison were set at liberty, on finding security to a large amount, not only for their return to Edinburgh by a certain fixed day, but for their active concurrence, in the meantime,

* Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 297.

with the bishop in making the proposed survey. Donald Gorme of Sleat was one of the twelve chiefs and gentlemen of the Isles, who met the bishop at Iona, in July 1609, and submitted themselves to him, as the king's representative. At a court then held by the bishop, the nine celebrated statutes called the "Statutes of Icolmkill," for the improvement and order of the Isles, were enacted, with the consent of the assembled chiefs, and their bonds and oaths given for the obedience thereto of their clansmen.*

In 1616, after the suppression of the rebellion of the Clanranald in the South Isles, certain very stringent conditions were imposed by the privy council on the different Island chiefs. Among these were, that they were to take home-farms into their own hands, which they were to cultivate, "to the effect that they might be thereby exercised and eschew idleness," and that they were not to use in their houses more than a certain quantity of wine respectively. Donald Gorme of Sleat, having been prevented by sickness from attending the council with the other chiefs, ratified all their proceedings, and found the required sureties, by a bond dated in the month of August. He named Duntulm, a castle of his family in Trotternish, Skye, as his residence, when six household gentlemen, and an annual consumption of four tun of wine, were allowed to him; and he was once-a-year to exhibit to the council three of his principal kinsmen. He died the same year, without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, Donald Gorme Macdonald of Sleat.

On July 14th 1625, after having concluded, in an amicable manner, all his disputes with the Macleods of Harris, and another controversy in which he was engaged with the captain of Clanranald, he was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., with a special clause of precedency placing him second of that order in Scotland. He adhered to the cause of that monarch, but died in 1643. He had married Janet, commonly called "fair Janet," second daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, by whom he had several children. His eldest son, Sir James Mac-

donald, second baronet of Sleat, joined the Marquis of Montrose in 1645, and when Charles II. marched into England in 1651, he sent a number of his clan to his assistance. He died 8th December 1678.

Sir James' eldest son, Sir Donald Macdonald, third baronet of Sleat, died in 1695. His son, also named Sir Donald, fourth baronet, was one of those summoned by the Lord Advocate, on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, to appear at Edinburgh, under pain of a year's imprisonment and other penalties, to give bail for their allegiance to the government. Joining in the insurrection, his two brothers commanded the battalion of his clan, on the Pretender's side, at Sheriffmuir; and, being sent out with the Earl Marischal's horse to drive away a reconnoitring party, under the Duke of Argyll, from the heights, may be said to have commenced the battle. Sir Donald himself had joined the Earl of Seaforth at his camp at Alness with 700 Macdonalds. After the suppression of the rebellion, Sir Donald proceeded to the Isle of Skye with about 1000 men; but although he made no resistance, having no assurance of protection from the government in case of a surrender, he retired into one of the Uists, where he remained till he obtained a ship which carried him to France. He was forfeited for his share in the insurrection, but the forfeiture was soon removed. He died in 1718, leaving one son and four daughters.

His son, Sir Alexander Macdonald, seventh baronet, was one of the first persons asked by Prince Charles to join him, on his arrival off the Western Islands, in July 1745, but refused, as he had brought no foreign force with him. After the battle of Preston, the prince sent Mr Alexander Macleod, advocate, to the Isle of Skye, to endeavour to prevail upon Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod to join the insurgents; but instead of doing so, these and other well-affected chiefs enrolled each an independent company for the service of government, out of their respective clans. The Macdonalds of Skye served under Lord Loudon in Ross-shire.

After the battle of Culloden, when Prince Charles, in his wanderings, took refuge in Skye, with Flora Macdonald, they landed near Moy-

* Gregory's *Highlands*, p. 330.

dhstat, or Mugstot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald, near the northern extremity of that island. Sir Alexander was at that time with the Duke of Cumberland at Fort Augustus, and as his wife, Lady Margaret Montgomerie, a daughter of the ninth Earl of Eglinton, was known to be a warm friend of the prince, Miss Macdonald proceeded to announce to her his arrival. Through Lady Margaret the prince was consigned to the care of Mr Macdonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander's factor, at whose house he spent the night, and afterwards departed to the island of Rasay. Sir Alexander died in November 1746, leaving three sons.

His eldest son, Sir James, eighth baronet, styled "The Scottish Marcellus," was born in 1741. At his own earnest solicitation he was sent to Eton, on leaving which he set out on his travels, and was everywhere received by the learned with the distinction due to his unrivalled talents. At Rome, in particular, the most marked attention was paid to him by several of the cardinals. He died in that city on 26th July 1766, when only 25 years old. In extent of learning, and in genius, he resembled the admirable Crichton. On his death the title devolved on his next brother, Alexander, ninth baronet, who was created a peer of Ireland, July 17, 1776, as Baron Macdonald of Sleat, county Antrim. He married the eldest daughter of Godfrey Bosville, Esq. of Gunthwaite, Yorkshire, and had seven sons and three daughters. Diana, the eldest daughter, married in 1788 the Right Hon. Sir John Sinelair of Ulbster. His lordship died Sept. 12, 1795.

His eldest son, Alexander Wentworth, second Lord Macdonald, died unmarried, June 9, 1824, when his brother, Godfrey, became third Lord Macdonald. He assumed the additional name of Bosville. He married Louise Maria, daughter of Farley Edsir, Esq.; issue, three sons and seven daughters. He died Oct. 13, 1832.

The eldest son, Godfrey William Wentworth, fourth Lord Macdonald, born in 1809, married in 1845, daughter of G. T. Wyndham, Esq. of Cromer Hall, Norfolk; issue, Somerled James Brudenell, born in 1849, two other sons and four daughters.

The MACDONALDS OF ISLA AND KINTYRE,

called the Clan IAN VOR, whose chiefs were usually styled lords of Dunyveg (from their castle in Isla) and the Glens, were descended from John Mor, second son of "the good John of Isla," and of Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of King Robert II. From his brother Donald, Lord of the Isles, he received large grants of land in Isla and Kintyre, and by his marriage with Marjory Bisset, heiress of the district of the Glens in Antrim, he acquired possessions in Ulster. He was murdered before 1427 by an individual named James Campbell, who is said to have received a commission from King James I. to apprehend him, but that he exceeded his powers by putting him to death. His eldest son was the famous Donald Balloch. From Ranald Bane, a younger brother of Donald Balloch, sprang the Clan-ranaldbane of Largie in Kintyre.

Donald Balloch's grandson, John, surnamed *Cathanach*, or warlike, was at the head of the clan Ian Vor, when the lordship of the Isles was finally forfeited by James IV. in 1493. In that year he was among the chiefs, formerly vassals of the Lord of the Isles, who made their submission to the king, when he proceeded in person to the West Highlands. On this occasion he and the other chiefs were knighted.

Alexander of Isla was with Sir Donald of Lochalsh when, in 1518, he proceeded against the father-in-law of the former, MacIain of Ardnamurehan, who was defeated and slain, with two of his sons, at a place called Craiganairgid, or the Silver Craig in Morvern. The death of Sir Donald soon after brought the rebellion to a close. In 1529 Alexander of Isla and his followers were again in insurrection, and being joined by the Macleans, they made descents upon Roseneath, Craignish, and other lands of the Campbells, which they ravaged with fire and sword. Alexander of Isla being considered the prime mover of the rebellion, the king resolved in 1531 to proceed against him in person, on which, hastening to Stirling, under a safeguard and protection, he submitted, and received a new grant, during the king's pleasure, of certain lands in the South Isles and Kintyre, and a remission to himself and his followers for all crimes committed by them during the late rebellion.

In 1543, on the second escape of Donald Dubh, grandson of John, last lord of the Isles, and the regent Arran's opposing the views of the English faction, James Maedonald of Isla, son and successor to Alexander, was the only insular chief who supported the regent. In the following year his lands of Kintyre were ravaged by the Earl of Lennox, the head of the English party.

After the death of Donald Dubh, the islanders chose for their leader James Maedonald of Isla, who married Lady Agnes Campbell, the Earl of Argyll's sister, and though the most powerful of the Island chiefs, he relinquished his pretensions to the lordship of the Isles, being the last that assumed that title.

A dispute between the Macleans and the clan Ian Vor, relative to the right of occupancy of certain crown lands in Isla, led to a long and bloody feud between these tribes, in which both suffered severely. In 1562 the matter was brought before the privy council, when it was decided that James Maedonald of Isla was really the crown tenant, and as Maclean refused to become his vassal, in 1565 the rival chiefs were compelled to find sureties, each to the amount of £10,000, that they would abstain from mutual hostilities.

James having been killed while helping to defend his family estates in Ulster, Ireland, his eldest son, Angus Maedonald, succeeded to Isla and Kintyre, and in his time the feud with the Macleans was renewed, details of which will be found in the former part of this work. In 1579, upon information of mutual hostilities committed by their followers, the king and council commanded Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart and Angus Maedonald of Dunyveg or Isla, to subscribe assurances of indemnity to each other, under the pain of treason, and the quarrel was, for the time, patched up by the marriage of Maedonald with Maclean's sister. In 1585, however, the feud came to a height, and after involving nearly the whole of the island clans on one side or the other, and causing its disastrous consequences to be felt throughout the whole extent of the Hebrides, by the mutual ravages of the contending parties, government interfered, and measures were at last adopted for reducing to

obediencce the turbulent chiefs, who had caused so much bloodshed and distress in the Isles.

James Maedonald, son of Angus Maedonald of Dunyveg, had remained in Edinburgh for four years as a hostage for his father, and early in 1596 he received a license to visit him, in the hope that he might be prevailed upon to submit to the laws, that the peace of the Isles might be secured. He sent his son, who was soon afterwards knighted, back to court to make known to the privy council, in his father's name and his own, that they would fulfil whatever conditions should be prescribed to them by his majesty. At this time Angus made over to his son all his estates, reserving only a proper maintenance for himself and his wife during their lives. When Sir William Stewart arrived at Kintyre, and held a court there, the chief of Isla and his followers hastened to make their personal submission to the king's representative, and early in the following year he went to Edinburgh, when he undertook to find security for the arrears of his crown rents, to remove his clan and dependers from Kintyre and the Rinns of Isla, and to deliver his castle of Dunyveg to any person sent by the king to receive it.

Angus Maedonald having failed to fulfil these conditions, his son, Sir James, was in 1598 sent to him from court, to induce him to comply with them. His resignation of his estates in favour of his son was not recognised by the privy council, as they had already been forfeited to the crown; but Sir James, on his arrival, took possession of them, and even attempted to burn his father and mother in their house of Askomull in Kintyre. Angus Maedonald, after having been taken prisoner, severely scorched, was carried to Smerbie in Kintyre, and confined there in irons for several months. Sir James, now in command of his clan, conducted himself with such violence, that in June 1598 a proclamation for another royal expedition to Kintyre was issued. He, however, contrived to procure from the king a letter approving of his proceedings in Kintyre, and particularly of his apprehension of his father; and the expedition, after being delayed for some time, was finally abandoned.

In August of the following year, with the view of being reconciled to government, Sir

James appeared in presence of the king's comptroller at Falkland, and made certain proposals for establishing the royal authority in Kintyre and Isla; but the influence of Argyll, who took the part of Angus Macdonald, Sir James's father, and the Campbells, having been used against their being carried into effect, the arrangement came to nothing, and Sir James and his clan were driven into irremediable opposition to the government, which ended in their ruin.

Sir James, finding that it was the object of Argyll to obtain for himself the king's lands in Kintyre, made an attempt in 1606 to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, where he was imprisoned; but being unsuccessful, was put in irons. In the following year a charter was granted to Argyll of the lands in North and South Kintyre, and in the Isle of Jura, which had been forfeited by Angus Macdonald, and thus did the legal right to the lands of Kintyre pass from a tribe which had held them for many hundred years.⁴

Angus Macdonald and his clan immediately took up arms, and his son, Sir James, after many fruitless applications to the privy council, to be set at liberty, and writing both to the king and the Duke of Lennox, made another attempt to escape from the castle of Edinburgh, but having hurt his ancle by leaping from the wall whilst encumbered with his fetters, he was retaken near the West Port of that city, and consigned to his former dungeon. Details of the subsequent transactions in this rebellion will be found in the former part of this work.⁵

After the fall of Argyll, who had turned Roman Catholic, and had also fled to Spain, where he is said to have entered into some very suspicious dealings with his former antagonist, Sir James Macdonald, who was living there in exile, the latter was, in 1620, with MacRanald of Keppoch, recalled from exile by King James. On their arrival in London, Sir James received a pension of 1000 merks sterling, while Keppoch got one of 200 merks. His majesty also wrote to the Scottish privy council in their favour, and granted them remissions for all their offences. Sir James,

however, never again visited Scotland, and died at London in 1626, without issue. The clan Ian Vor from this period may be said to have been totally suppressed. Their lands were taken possession of by the Campbells, and the most valuable portion of the property of the ducal house of Argyll consists of what had formerly belonged to the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre.

The MACDONALDS of GARRAGACH and KEPPOCH, called the CLANRANALD of LOCHABER, were descended from Alexander, or Allaster Carrach, third son of John, Lord of the Isles, and Lady Margaret Stewart. He was forfeited for joining the insurrection of the Islanders, under Donald Balloch, in 1431, and the greater part of his lands were bestowed upon Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, which proved the cause of a fierce and lasting feud between the Mackintoshes and the Macdonalds. It was from Ranald, the fourth in descent from Allaster Carrach, that the tribe received the name of the Clanranald of Lochaber.

In 1498, the then chief of the tribe, Donald, elder brother of Allaster MacAngus, grandson of Allaster Carrach, was killed in a battle with Dougal Stewart, first of Appin. His son John, who succeeded him, having delivered up to Mackintosh, chief of the clan Chattan, as steward of Lochaber, one of the tribe who had committed some crime, and had fled to him for protection, rendered himself unpopular among his clan, and was deposed from the chiefship. His cousin and heir-male presumptive, Donald Glas MacAllaster, was elected chief in his place. During the reign of James IV., says Mr Gregory, this tribe continued to hold their lands in Lochaber, as occupants merely, and without a legal claim to the heritage.⁶ In 1546 Ranald Macdonald Glas, who appears to have been the son of Donald Glas MacAllaster, and the captain of the clan Cameron, being present at the slaughter of Lord Lovat and the Frasers at the battle of Kinloch-lochy, and having also supported all the rebellions of the Earl of Lennox, concealed themselves in Lochaber, when the Earl of Huntly entered that district with a considerable force and laid it waste,

⁴ Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, p. 312.

⁵ Vol. i., chap. x.

⁶ *Highlands and Isles*, p. 109.

taking many of the inhabitants prisoners. Having been apprehended by William Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, the two chiefs were delivered over to Huntly, who conveyed them to Perth, where they were detained in prison for some time. They were afterwards tried at Elgin for high treason, and being found guilty, were beheaded in 1547.

Allaster MacRanald of Keppoch and his eldest son assisted Sir James Macdonald in his escape from Edinburgh Castle in 1615, and was with him at the head of his clan during his subsequent rebellion. On its suppression, he fled towards Kintyre, and narrowly escaped being taken with the loss of his vessels and some of his men.

In the great civil war the Clanranald of Lochaber were very active on the king's side. Soon after the Restoration, Alexander Macdonald Glas, the young chief of Keppoch, and his brother were murdered by some of their own discontented followers. Coll Macdonald was the next chief. Previous to the Revolution of 1688, the feud between his clan and the Mackintoshes, regarding the lands he occupied, led to the last clan battle that was ever fought in the Highlands. The Mackintoshes having invaded Lochaber, were defeated on a height called Mulroy. So violent had been Keppoch's armed proceedings before this event that the government had issued a commission of fire and sword against him. After the defeat of the Mackintoshes, he advanced to Inverness, to wreak his vengeance on the inhabitants of that town for supporting the former against him, if they did not purchase his forbearance by paying a large sum as a fine. Dundee, however, anxious to secure the friendship of the people of Inverness, granted Keppoch his own bond in behalf of the town, obliging himself to see Keppoch paid 2000 dollars, as a compensation for the losses and injuries he alleged he had sustained from the Mackintoshes. Keppoch brought to the aid of Dundee 1000 Highlanders, and as Mackintosh refused to attend a friendly interview solicited by Dundee, Keppoch, at the desire of the latter, drove away his cattle. We are told that Dundee "used to call him Coll of the coves, because he found them out when they were driven to the hills out of the way." He fought at the

battle of Killicrankie, and, on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, he joined the Earl of Mar, with whom he fought at Sheriffmuir. His son, Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, on the arrival of Prince Charles in Scotland in 1745, at once declared for him, and at a meeting of the chiefs to consult as to the course they should pursue, he gave it as his opinion that as the prince had risked his person, and generously thrown himself into the hands of his friends, they were bound, in duty at least, to raise men instantly for the protection of his person, whatever might be the consequences.

At the battle of Culloden, on the three Macdonald regiments giving way, Keppoch, seeing himself abandoned by his clan, advanced with his drawn sword in one hand and his pistol in the other, but was brought to the ground by a musket shot. Donald Roy Macdonald, a captain in Clanranald's regiment, followed him, and entreated him not to throw away his life, assuring him that his wound was not mortal, and that he might easily rejoin his regiment in the retreat, but Keppoch, after recommending him to take care of himself, received another shot, which killed him on the spot. There are still numerous cadets of this family in Lochaber, but the principal house, says Mr Gregory,⁷ if not yet extinct, has lost all influence in that district. Latterly they changed their name to Macdonnell.

CLANRANALD.



BADGE.—Heath.

⁷ *Highlands and Isles*, p. 415.

The CLANRANALD MACDONALDS of GARMORAN are descended from Ranald, younger son of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amy, heiress of the MacRorys or Macruaries of Garmoran. In 1373 he received a grant of the North Isles, Garmoran, and other lands, to be held of John, Lord of the Isles, and his heirs. His descendants comprehended the families of Moydart, Morar, Knoydart, and Glengarry, and came in time to form the most numerous tribe of the Clاندonald. Alexander Macruari of Moydart, chief of the Clanranald, was one of the principal chiefs seized by James I. at Inverness in 1427, and soon after beheaded. The great-grandson of Ranald, named Allan Macruari, who became chief of the Clanranald in 1481, was one of the principal supporters of Angus, the young Lord of the Isles, at the battle of Bloody Bay, and he likewise followed Alexander of Lochalsh, nephew of the Lord of the Isles, in his invasion of Ross and Cromarty in 1491, when he received a large portion of the booty taken on the occasion.⁸ In 1495, on the second expedition of James IV. to the Isles, Allan Macruari was one of the chiefs who made their submission.

During the whole of the 15th century the Clanranald had been engaged in feuds regarding the lands of Garmoran and Uist; first, with the Siol Gorrie, or race of Godfrey, eldest brother of Ranald, the founder of the tribe, and afterwards with the Maedonalds or Clanhustein of Sleat, and it was not till 1506, that they succeeded in acquiring a legal title to the disputed lands. John, eldest son of Hugh of Sleat, having no issue, made over all his estates to the Clanranald, including the lands occupied by them. Archibald, or Gillespock, Dubh, natural brother of John, having slain Donald Gallach and another of John's brothers, endeavoured to seize the lands of Sleat, but was expelled from the North Isles by Ranald Bane Allanson of Moydart, eldest son of the chief of Clanranald. The latter married Florence, daughter of MacIan of Ardnamurchan, and had four sons—1. Ranald Bane; 2. Alexander, who had three sons, John, Farquhar, and Angus, and a daughter; 3. Ranald Oig; and 4. Angus

Reochson. Angus Reoch, the youngest son, had a son named Dowle or Coull, who had a son named Allan, whose son, Alexander, was the ancestor of the Maedonells of Morar.

In 1509 Allan Macruari was tried, convicted, and executed, in presence of the king at Blair-Athol, but for what crime is not known. His eldest son, Ranald Bane, obtained a charter of the lands of Moydart and Arisaig, Dec. 14, 1540, and died in 1541. He married a daughter of Lord Lovat, and had one son, Ranald Galda, or the stranger, from his being fostered by his mother's relations, the Frasers.

On the death of Ranald Bane, the fifth chief, the clan, who had resolved to defeat his son's right to succeed, in consequence of his relations, the Frasers, having joined the Earl of Huntly, lieutenant of the north, against the Maedonalds, chose the next heir to the estate as their chief. This was the young Ranald's cousin-german, John Moydartach, or John of Moydart, eldest son of Alexander Allanson, second son of Allan Macruari, and John was, accordingly, acknowledged by the clan captain of Clanranald. Lovat, apprised of the intentions of the clan against his grandchild, before their scheme was ripe for execution, marched to Castletirrim, and, by the assistance of the Frasers, placed Ranald Galda in possession of the lands. The Clanranald, assisted by the Maedonalds of Keppoch and the Clan Cameron, having laid waste and plundered the districts of Abertarf and Stratherriek, belonging to Lovat, and the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, the property of the Grants, the Earl of Huntly, the king's lieutenant in the north, to drive them back and put an end to their ravages, was obliged to raise a numerous force. He penetrated as far as Inverlochry in Lochaber, and then returned to his own territories. The battle of Kinloch-lochry, called Blar-nan-leine, "the field of shirts," followed, as related in the account of the clan Fraser. The Maedonalds being the victors, the result was that John Moydartach was maintained in possession of the chiefship and estates, and transmitted the same to his descendants. On the return of Huntly with an army, into Lochaber, John Moydartach fled to the Isles, where he remained for some time.

The Clanranald distinguished themselves

⁸ Gregory's *Highlands and Isles*, page 66.

under the Marquis of Montrose in the civil wars of the 17th century. At the battle of Killiecrankie, their chief, then only fourteen years of age, fought under Dundee, with 500 of his men. They were also at Sheriffmuir. In the rebellion of 1745, the Clanranald took an active part. Maedonald of Boisdale, the brother of the chief, then from age and infirmities unfit to be of any service, had an interview with Prince Charles, on his arrival off the island of Eriska, and positively refused to aid his enterprise. On the following day, however, young Clanranald, accompanied by his kinsmen, Alexander Maedonald of Glenaladale and Æneas Maedonald of Dalily, the author of a Journal and Memoirs of the Expedition, went on board the prince's vessel, and readily offered him his services. He afterwards joined him with 200 of his clan, and was with him throughout the rebellion.

At the battles of Preston and Falkirk, the Maedonalds were on the right, which they claimed as their due, but at Culloden the three Maedonald regiments of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry, formed the left. It was probably their feeling of dissatisfaction at being placed on the left of the line that caused the Maedonald regiments, on observing that the right and centre had given way, to turn their backs and fly from the fatal field without striking a blow.

At Glenboisdale, whither Charles retreated, after the defeat at Culloden, he was joined by young Clanranald, and several other adherents, who endeavoured to persuade him from embarking for the Isles, but in vain. In the act of indemnity passed in June 1747, young Clanranald was one of those who were specially excepted from pardon.

The ancestor of the Maedonalds of Beubecula was Ranald, brother of Donald Macallan, who was captain of the Clanranald in the latter part of the reign of James VI. The Maedonalds of Boisdale are cadets of Benbecula, and those of Staffa of Boisdale. On the failure of Donald's descendants, the family of Benbecula succeeded to the barony of Castletirrim, and the captainship of the Clanranald, represented by Reginald George Maedonald of Clanranald.

From John, another brother of Donald

Macallan, came the family of Kinloehmoidart, which terminated in an heiress. This lady married Colonel Robertson, who, in her right, assumed the name of Maedonald.

From John Oig, uncle of Donald Macallan, descended the Maedonalds of Glenaladale "The head of this family," says Mr Gregory, "John Maedonald of Glenaladale, being obliged to quit Scotland about 1772, in consequence of family misfortunes, sold his Scottish estates to his cousin (also a Maedonald), and emigrating to Prince Edward's Island, with about 200 followers, purchased a tract of 40,000 acres there, while the 200 Highlanders have increased to 3000"

One of the attendants of Prince Charles, who, after Culloden, embarked with him for France, was Neil MacEachan Maedonald, a gentleman sprung from the branch of the Clanranald in Uist. He served in France as a lieutenant in the Scottish regiment of Ogilvie, and was father of Stephen James Joseph Maedonald, marshal of France, and Duke of Tarentum, born Nov. 17, 1765; died Sept. 24, 1840.

The MACDONALDS of GLENCOE are descended from John Og, surnamed *Fraoch*, natural son of Angus Og of Isla, and brother of John, first Lord of the Isles. He settled in Glencoe, which is a wild and gloomy vale in the district of Lorn, Argyshire, as a vassal under his brother, and some of his descendants still possess lands there. This branch of the Maedonalds was known as the clan Ian Abraeh, it is supposed from one of the family being fostered in Loehaber. After the Revolution, MacIan or Alexander Maedonald of Glencoe, was one of the chiefs who supported the cause of King James, having joined Dundee in Loehaber at the head of his clan, and a mournful interest attaches to the history of this tribe from the dreadful massacre, by which it was attempted to exterminate it in February 1692. The story has often been told, but as full details have been given in the former part of this work, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

The Maedonalds of Glencoe joined Prince Charles on the breaking out of the rebellion in 1745, and General Stewart, in his Sketches of the Highlanders, relates that when the

insurgent army lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, grandson of Secretary Dalrymple, the prince, anxious to save his lordship's house and property, and to remove from his followers all excitement and revenge, proposed that the Glencoe-men should be marched to a distance, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had in the order for the massacre of the clan should rouse them to retaliate on his descendant. Indignant at being supposed capable of wreaking their vengeance on an innocent man, they declared their resolution of returning home, and it was not without much explanation and great persuasion that they were prevented from marching away the following morning.

MACDONNELL OF GLENGARRY.



BADGE.—Heath.

The GLENGARRY branch of the Macdonalds spell their name MACDONNELL. The word *Dhonuill*, whence the name Donald is derived, is said to signify "brown eye." The most proper way, says Mr Gregory, of spelling the name, according to the pronunciation, was that formerly employed by the Macdonalds of Dunvegan and the Glens, who used *Macdonnell*. Sir James Macdonald, however, the last of this family in the direct male line, signed *Makdonall*.⁹

The family of Glengarry are descended from Alistair, second son of Donald, who was eldest son of Reginald or Ranald (progenitor also of the Clanranald), youngest son of John, lord of

the Isles, by Amy, heiress of MacRory. Alexander Macdonnell, who was chief of Glengarry at the beginning of the 16th century, supported the claims of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh to the lordship of the Isles, and in November 1513 assisted him, with Chisholm of Comer, in expelling the garrison and seizing the Castle of Urquhart in Loch Ness. In 1527 the Earl of Argyll, lieutenant of the Isles, received from Alexander Macranald of Glengarry and North Morar, a bond of maintenance or service; and in 1545 he was among the lords and barons of the Isles who, at Knoekfergus in Ireland, took the oath of allegiance to the king of England, "at the command of the Earl of Lennox." He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Celestine, brother of John Earl of Ross, and one of the three sisters and coheiresses of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh. His son, Angus or Æneas Macdonnell of Glengarry, the representative, through his mother, of the house of Lochalsh, which had become extinct in the male line on the death of Sir Donald in 1518, married Janet, only daughter of Sir Hector Maelean of Dowart, and had a son, Donald Macdonnell of Glengarry, styled Donald Mac-Angus MacAlistair.

In 1581 a serious feud broke out between the chief of Glengarry, who had inherited one half of the districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom in Wester Ross, and Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, who was in possession of the other half. The Mackenzies, having made aggressions upon Glengarry's portion, the latter, to maintain his rights, took up his temporary residence in Lochcarron, and placed a small garrison in the castle of Strone in that district. With some of his followers he unfortunately fell into the hands of a party of the Mackenzies, and after being detained in captivity for a considerable time, only procured his release by yielding the castle of Lochcarron to the Mackenzies. The other prisoners, including several of his near kinsmen, were put to death. On complaining to the privy council, they caused Mackenzie of Kintail to be detained for a time at Edinburgh, and subsequently in the castle of Blackness. In 1602, Glengarry, from his ignorance of the laws, was, by the craft of the clan Kenzie, as Sir

⁹ *Highlands and Isles*, p. 417, Note.

Robert Gordon says, "easalió intrapped within the compass thereof," on which they procured a warrant for citing him to appear before the justiciary court at Edinburgh. Glengarry, however, paid no attention to it, but went about revenging the slaughter of two of his kinsmen, whom the Mackenzies had killed after the summons had been issued. The consequence was that he and some of his followers were outlawed, and Kenneth Mackenzie, who was now lord of Kintail, procured a commission of fire and sword against Glengarry and his men, in virtue of which he invaded and wasted the district of North Morar, and carried off all the cattle. In retaliation the Macdonalds plundered the district of Applecross, and, on a subsequent occasion, they landed on the coast of Lochalsh, with the intention of burning and destroying all Mackenzie's lands, as far as Easter Ross, but their leader, Allaster MacGorrie, having been killed, they returned home. To revenge the death of his kinsman, Angus Macdonnell, the young chief of Glengarry, at the head of his followers, proceeded north to Lochearron, where his tribe held the castle of Strone, now in ruins. After burning many of the houses in the district, and killing the inhabitants, he loaded his boats with the plunder, and prepared to return. In the absence of their chief, the Mackenzies, encouraged by the example of his lady, posted themselves at the narrow strait or kyle which separates Skye from the mainland, for the purpose of intercepting them. Night had fallen, however, before they made their appearance, and taking advantage of the darkness, some of the Mackenzies rowed out in two boats towards a large galley, on board of which was young Glengarry, which was then passing the kyle. This they suddenly attacked with a volley of musketry and arrows. Those on board in their alarm crowding to one side, the galley overset, and all on board were thrown into the water. Such of them as were able to reach the shore were immediately despatched by the Mackenzies, and among the slain was the young chief of Glengarry himself. The rest of the Macdonnells, on reaching Strathaird in Skye, left their boats, and proceeded on foot to Morar. Finding that the chief of the Mackenzies had not returned from Mull, a

large party was sent to an island near which he must pass, which he did next day in Maclean's great galley, but he contrived to elude them, and was soon out of reach of pursuit. He subsequently laid siege to the castle of Stroué, which surrendered to him, and was blown up.

In 1603, "the Clanranald of Glengarry, under Allan Maeranal of Lundie, made an irruption into Brae Ross, and plundered the lands of Kilechrist, and others adjacent, belonging to the Mackenzies. This foray was signalized by the merciless burning of a whole congregation in the church of Kilechrist, while Glengarry's piper marched round the building, mocking the cries of the unfortunate inmates with the well-known pibroch, which has been known, ever since, under the name of Kilechrist, as the family tune of the Clanranald of Glengarry."¹ Eventually, Kenneth Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Kintail, succeeded in obtaining a crown charter to the disputed districts of Lochalsh, Lochearron, and others, dated in 1607.

Donald MacAngus of Glengarry died in 1603. By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald, he had, besides Angus above mentioned, two other sons, Alexander, who died soon after his father, and Donald Macdonnell of Seothouse.

Alexander, by his wife, Jean, daughter of Allan Cameron of Lochiel, had a son, Æneas Macdonnell of Glengarry, who was one of the first in 1644 to join the royalist army under Montrose, and never left that great commander, "for which," says Bishop Wishart, "he deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose."² Glengarry also adhered faithfully to the cause of Charles II., and was forfeited by Cromwell in 1651. As a reward for his faithful services he was at the Restoration created a peer by the title of Lord Macdonnell and Aross, by patent dated at Whitehall, 20th December 1660, the honours being limited to the heirs male of his body. This led him to claim not only the chiefship of Clanranald, but likewise that of the whole Clاندonald, as

¹ *Gregory's Highlands*, pp. 301-303.

² *Memoirs*, p. 155.

being the representative of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan: and on 18th July 1672, the privy council issued an order, commanding him as chief to exhibit before the council several persons of the name of Macdonald, to find caution to keep the peace.

The three branches of the Clanranald engaged in all the attempts which were made for the restoration of the Stuarts. On 27th August 1715, Glengarry was one of the chiefs who attended the pretended grand hunting match at Braemar, appointed by the Earl of Mar, previous to the breaking out of the rebellion of that year. After the suppression of the rebellion, the chief of Glengarry made his submission to General Cadogan at Inverness. He died in 1724. By his wife, Lady Mary Mackenzie, daughter of the third Earl of Seaforth, he had a son, John Macdonnell, who succeeded him.

In 1745, six hundred of the Macdonnells of Glengarry joined Prince Charles, under the command of Macdonnell of Lochgarry, who afterwards escaped to France with the prince, and were at the battles of Preston, Falkirk, and Culloden. The chief himself seems not to have engaged in the rebellion. He was however arrested, and sent to London.

General Sir James Macdonnell, G.C.B., who distinguished himself when lieutenant-col. in the guards, by the bravery with which he held the buildings of Hougomont, at the battle of Waterloo, was third son of Duncan Macdonnell, Esq. of Glengarry. He was born at the family seat, Inverness-shire, and died May 15, 1857.

Colonel Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell of Glengarry, who, in January 1822, married Rebecca, second daughter of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, baronet, was the last genuine specimen of a Highland chief. His character in its more favourable features was drawn by Sir Walter Scott, in his romance of Waverley, as Fergus MacIvor. He always wore the dress and adhered to the style of living of his ancestors, and when away from home in any of the Highland towns, he was followed by a body of retainers, who were regularly posted as sentinels at his door. He revived the claims of his family to the chiefship of the Macdonalds, styling himself also of Clauranald.

In January 1828 he perished in endeavouring to escape from a steamer which had gone ashore. As his estate was very much mortgaged and encumbered, his son was compelled to dispose of it, and to emigrate to Australia, with his family and clan. The estate was purchased by the Marquis of Huntly from the chief, and in 1840 it was sold to Lord Ward (Earl of Dudley, Feb. 13, 1860,) for £91,000. In 1860 his lordship sold it to Edward Ellice, Esq. of Glenquoich, for £120,000.

The principal families descended from the house of Glengarry, were the Macdonnells of Barrisdale, in Knoydart, Greenfield, and Lundie.

The strength of the Macdonalds has at all times been considerable. In 1427, the Macdonnells of Garmoran and Lochaber mustered 2000 men; in 1715, the whole clan furnished 2820; and in 1745, 2330. In a memorial drawn up by President Forbes of Culloden, and transmitted to the government soon after the insurrection in 1745, the force of every clan is detailed, according to the best information which the author of the report could procure at the time. This enumeration, which proceeds upon the supposition that the chieftain calculated on the military services of the youthful, the most hardy, and the bravest of his followers, omitting those who, from advanced age, tender years, or natural debility, were unable to carry arms, gives the following statement of the respective forces of the different branches of the Macdonalds:—

	Men.
Macdonald of Sleat, . . .	700
Macdonald of Clanranald, . . .	700
Macdonell of Glengarry, . . .	500
Macdonell of Keppoch, . . .	300
Macdonald of Glenceo, . . .	130
In all, . . .	2330

Next to the Campbells, therefore, who could muster about 5000 men, the Macdonalds were by far the most numerous and powerful clan in the Highlands of Scotland.

“The clans or septs,” says Mr Smibert,³ “sprung from the Macdonalds, or adhering to and incorporated with that family, though bearing subsidiary names, were very numerous.

One point peculiarly marks the Gael of the coasts, as this great connection has already been called, and that is the device of a *Lymphad* or old-fashioned *Oared Galley*, assumed and borne in their arms. It indicates strongly a common origin and site. The Maedonalds, Maelachlans, Macdougals, Macneils, Macleans, and Campbells, as well as the Maephersons, Mackintoshes, and others, carry, and have always carried, such a galley in their armorial shields. Some families of Maedonald descent do not bear it; and indeed, at most, it simply proves a common coast origin, or an early location by the western lochs and lakes."

CHAPTER III.

The Maedougalls—Bruce's adventures with the Macdougalls of Lorn—The Brooch of Lorn—The Stewarts acquire Lorn—Maedougalls of Raray, Gallanach, and Seraba—Macalisters—Siol Gillebray—Macneills—Partly of Norse descent—Two branches of Barra and Gigha—Sea exploits of the former—Ruari the Turbulent's two families—Gigha Macneills—Macneills of Gullochallie, Carskeay, and Tirfergus—The chiefship—Macneills of Colonsay—Maclauchlans—Kindred to the Lamonds and MacEwens of Otter—Present representative—Castle Lachlan—Forec of the clan—Cadets—MacEwens—Macdougall Campbells of Craignish—Policy of Argyll Campbells—Lamonds—Massacred by the Campbells—The laird of Lamond and MacGregor of Glenstrae.

MACDOUGALL.



BADGE.—Cypress; according to others, Bell Heath.

THE next clan that demands our notice is that of the Macdougalls, Macdugalls, Macdovals, Macdowalls, for in all these ways is the name spelled. The clan derives its descent from

Dugall, who was the eldest son of Somerled, the common ancestor of the clan Donald; and it has hitherto been supposed, that Alexander de Ergadia, the undoubted ancestor of the clan Dugall, who first appears in the year 1284, was the son of Ewen de Ergadia, who figured so prominently at the period of the cession of the Isles. This opinion, however, Mr Skene conceives to be erroneous; first, because Ewen would seem to have died without leaving male issue; and, secondly, because it is contradicted by the manuscript of 1450, which states that the clan Dugall, as well as the clan Rory and the clan Donald, sprung not from Ewen, but from Ranald, the son of Somerled, through his son Dugall, from whom indeed they derived their name. Mr Smibert's remarks, however, on this point are deserving of attention. "It seems very evident," he says, "that they formed one of the primitive branches of the roving or stranger tribes of visitants to Scotland of the Irish, or at least Celtic race. Their mere name puts the fact almost beyond doubt. It also distinguishes them clearly from the Norsemen of the Western Isles, who were always styled *Fion-galls*, that is, Fair Strangers (Rovers, or Pirates). The common account of the origin of the Macdougalls is, that they sprung from a son or grandson of Somerled, of the name of Dougal. But though a single chieftain of that appellation may have flourished in the primitive periods of Gaelic story, it appears most probable, from many circumstances, that the clan derived their name from their descent and character generally. They were *Dhu-Galls*, 'black strangers.' The son or grandson of Somerled, who is said to have specially founded the Macdougall clan, lived in the 12th century. In the 13th, however, they were numerous and strong enough to oppose Bruce, and it is therefore out of the question to suppose that the descendant of Somerled could do more than consolidate or collect an already existing tribe, even if it is to be admitted as taking from him its name."⁴

The first appearance which this family makes in history is at the convention which was held in the year 1284. In the list of those who

⁴ *Clans*, 44, 45.

attended on that occasion, we find the name of Alexander de Ergadia, whose presence was probably the consequence of his holding his lands by a crown charter; but from this period we lose sight of him entirely, until the reign of Robert Bruce, when the strenuous opposition offered by the Lord of Lorn and by his son John to the succession of that king, restored his name to history, in connection with that of Bruce. Alister having married the third daughter of the Red Comyn, whom Bruce slew in the Dominican church at Dumfries, became the mortal enemy of the king; and, upon more than one occasion, during the early part of his reign, succeeded in reducing him to the greatest straits.

Bruce, after his defeat at Methven, on the 19th of June 1306, withdrew to the mountainous parts of Breadalbane, and approached the borders of Argyleshire. His followers did not exceed three hundred men, who, disheartened by defeat, and exhausted by privation, were not in a condition to encounter a superior force. In this situation, however, he was attacked by Macdougall of Lorn, at the head of a thousand men, part of whom were Maenabs, who had joined the party of John Baliol; and, after a severe conflict, he was compelled to abandon the field. In the retreat from Dalree, where the battle had been fought, the king was hotly pursued, and especially by three of the clansmen of Lorn, probably personal attendants or *henchmen* of the Macdougalls, who appear to have resolved to slay the Bruce or die. These followed the retreating party, and when King Robert entered a narrow pass, threw themselves suddenly upon him. The king turning hastily round, cleft the skull of one with his battle-axe. "The second had grasped the stirrup, and Robert fixed and held him there by pressing down his foot, so that the captive was dragged along the ground as if chained to the horse. In the meantime, the third assailant had sprung from the hillside to the back of the horse, and sat behind the king. The latter turned half round and forced the Highlander forward to the front of the saddle, where 'he clave the head to the harness.' The second assailant was still hanging by the stirrup, and Robert now struck at him vigorously, and

slew him at the first blow." Whether the story is true or not, and it is by no means improbable, it shows the reputation for gigantic strength which the doughty Bruce had in his day. It is said to have been in this contest that the king lost the magnificent brooch, since famous as the "brooch of Lorn." This highly-prized trophy was long preserved as a remarkable relic in the family of Macdougall of Dunolly, and after having been carried off during the siege of Dunolly Castle, the family residence, it was, about forty years ago, again restored to the family.⁵ In his day of adversity the Macdougalls were the most persevering and dangerous of all King Robert's enemies.

But the time for retribution at length arrived. When Robert Bruce had firmly established himself on the throne of Scotland, one of the first objects to which he directed his attention, was to crush his old enemies the Macdougalls,⁶ and to revenge the many injuries he had suffered at their hands. With this view, he marched into Argyleshire, determined to lay waste the country, and take possession of Lorn. On advancing, he found John of Lorn and his followers posted in a formidable defile between Ben Cruachan and Loch Awe, which it seemed impossible to force, and almost hopeless to turn. But having sent a party to ascend the mountain, gain the heights, and threaten the

⁵ Mr Smibert (*Clans*, p. 46) thus describes this interesting relic:—"That ornament, as observed, is silver, and consists of a circular plate, about four inches in diameter, having a tongue like that of a common buckle on the under side. The upper side is magnificently ornamented. First, from the margin rises a neatly-formed rim, with hollows cut in the edge at certain distances, like the embrasures in an embattled wall. From a circle within this rim rise eight round tapering obelisks, about an inch and a quarter high, finely cut, and each studded at top with a river pearl. Within this circle of obelisks there is a second rim, also ornamented with carved work, and within which rises a neat circular case, occupying the whole centre of the brooch, and slightly overtopping the obelisks. The exterior of this case, instead of forming a plain circle, projects into eight semi-cylinders, which relieve it from all appearance of heaviness. The upper part is likewise carved very elegantly, and in the centre there is a large gem. This case may be taken off, and within there is a hollow, which might have contained any small articles upon which a particular value was set."

⁶ In referring to this incident in the first part of this work (p. 63), the name "Stewart" (which had crept into the old edition) was allowed to remain instead of that of "Macdougall." The Stewarts did not possess Lorn till some years after.

enemy's rear, Bruce immediately attacked them in front, with the utmost fury. For a time the Maedougalls sustained the onset bravely; but at length, perceiving themselves in danger of being assailed in the rear, as well as the front, and thus completely isolated in the defile, they betook themselves to flight. Unable to escape from the mountain gorge, they were slaughtered without mercy, and by this reverse, their power was completely broken. Bruce then laid waste Argyleshire, besieged and took the castle of Dunstaffnage, and received the submission of Alister of Lorn, the father of John, who now fled to England. Alister was allowed to retain the district of Lorn: but the rest of his possessions were forfeited and given to Angus of Isla, who had all along remained faithful to the king's interests.

When John of Lorn arrived as a fugitive in England, King Edward was making preparations for that expedition, which terminated in the ever-memorable battle of Bannockburn. John was received with open arms, appointed to the command of the English fleet, and ordered to sail for Scotland, in order to co-operate with the land forces. But the total defeat and dispersion of the latter soon afterwards confirmed Bruce in possession of the throne; and being relieved from the apprehension of any further aggression on the part of the English kings he resolved to lose no time in driving the Lord of Lorn from the Isles, where he had made his appearance with the fleet under his command. Accordingly, on his return from Ireland, whither he had accompanied his brother Edward, he directed his course towards the Isles, and having arrived at Tarbet, is said to have caused his galleys to be dragged over the isthmus which connects Kintyre and Knapdale. This bold proceeding was crowned with success. The English fleet was surprised and dispersed; and its commander having been made prisoner, was sent to Dumbarton, and afterwards to Lochleven, where he was detained in confinement during the remainder of King Robert's reign.

In the early part of the reign of David II., John's son, John or Ewen, married a grand-daughter of Robert Bruce, and through her not only recovered the ancient possessions of his family, but even obtained a grant of the

property of Glenlyon. These extensive territories, however, were not destined to remain long in the family. Ewen died without male issue; and his two daughters having married, the one John Stewart of Innermeath, and the other his brother Robert Stewart, an arrangement was entered into between these parties, in virtue of which the descendants of John Stewart acquired the whole of the Lorn possessions, with the exception of the castle of Dunolly and its dependencies, which remained to the other branch of the family; and thus terminated the power of this branch of the descendants of Somerled. The chieftainship of the clan now descended to the family of Dunolly, which continued to enjoy the small portion which remained to them of their ancient possessions until the year 1715, when the representative of the family incurred the penalty of forfeiture for his accession to the insurrection of that period; thus, by a singular contrast of circumstances, "losing the remains of his inheritance to replace upon the throne the descendants of those princes, whose accession his ancestors had opposed at the expense of their feudal grandeur." The estate, however, was restored to the family in 1745, as a reward for their not having taken any part in the more formidable rebellion of that year. In President Forbes's Report on the strength of the clans, the force of the Maedougalls is estimated at 200 men.

The Macdougalls of Raray, represented by Maedougall of Ardencaple, were a branch of the house of Lorn. The principal cadets of the family of Donolly were those of Gallanach and Soraba. The Maedougalls still hold possessions in Galloway, where, however, they usually style themselves Maedowall.

MACALISTERS.

A clan at one time of considerable importance, claiming connection with the great clan Donald, is the Macalisters, or MacAlesters, formerly inhabiting the south of Knapdale, and the north of Kintyre in Argyleshire. They are traced to Alister or Alexander, a son of Angus Mor, of the clan Donald. Exposed to the encroachments of the Campbells, their principal possessions became, ere long, absorbed by different branches of that powerful clan. The

chief of this sept of the Macdonalds is Somerville MacAlester of Loup in Kintyre, and Kennox in Ayrshire. In 1805 Charles Somerville MacAlester, Esq. of Loup, assumed the name and arms of Somerville in addition to his own, in right of his wife, Janet Somerville, inheritrix of the entailed estate of Kennox, whom he had married in 1792.

From their descent from Alexander, eldest son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles and Kintyre in 1284, the grandson of Somerled, thane of Argyle, the MacAlesters claim to be the representatives, after MacDonell of Glangarry, of the ancient Lords of the Isles, as heirs male of Donald, grandson of Somerled.

After the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles in 1493, the MacAlesters became so numerous as to form a separate and independent clan. At that period their chief was named John or Ian Dubh, whose residence was at Ard Phadriue or Ardpatrick in South Knapdale. One of the family, Charles MacAlester, is mentioned as steward of Kintyre in 1481.

Alexander MacAlester was one of those Highland chieftains who were held responsible, by the act "called the Black Band," passed in 1587, for the peaceable behaviour of their clansmen and the "broken men" who lived on their lands. He died when his son, Godfrey or Gorrie MacAlester, was yet under age.

In 1618 the laird of Loup was named one of the twenty barons and gentlemen of the shire of Argyle who were made responsible for the good rule of the earldom during Argyll's absence. He married Margaret, daughter of Colin Campbell of Kilberry, and though, as a vassal of the Marquis of Argyll, he took no part in the wars of the Marquis of Montrose, many of his clan fought on the side of the latter.

The principal cadet of the family of Loup was MacAlester of Tarbert. There is also MacAlister of Glenbarr, county of Argyle.

SIOL GILLEVRAY.

Under the head of the Siol or clan Gillevray, Mr Skene gives other three clans said by the genealogists to have been descended from the family of Somerled, and included by Mr Skene under the Gallgael. The three clans are those of the Maeneills, the Maelaughlans, and the

Macewens. According to the MS. of 1450, the Siol Gillevray are descended from a certain Gillebride, surnamed King of the Isles, who lived in the 12th century, and who derived his descent from a brother of Suibne, the ancestor of the Macdonalds, who was slain in the year 1034. Even Mr Skene, however, doubts the genealogy by which this Gillebride is derived from an ancestor of the Macdonalds in the beginning of the 11th century, but nevertheless, the traditionary affinity which is thus shown to have existed between these clans and the race of Somerled at so early a period, he thinks seems to countenance the notion that they had all originally sprung from the same stock. The original seat of this race appears to have been in Lochaber. On the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II., they were involved in the ruin which overtook all the adherents of Somerled; with the exception of the Macneills, who consented to hold their lands of the crown, and the Maelaughlans, who regained their former consequence by means of marriage with an heiress of the Lamonds. After the breaking up of the clan, the other branches appear to have followed, as their chief, Macdougall Campbell of Craignish, the head of a family, which is descended from the kindred race of MacInnes of Ardour.

MACNEILL.



BADGE.—Sea Ware.

The Macneills consisted of two independent branches, the Maeneills of Barra and the Maeneills of Gigha, said to be descended from brothers. Their badge was the sea ware, but

they had different armorial bearings, and from this circumstance, joined to the fact that they were often opposed to each other in the clan fights of the period, and that the Christian names of the one, with the exception of Neill, were not used by the other, Mr Gregory thinks the tradition of their common descent erroneous. Part of their possessions were completely separated, and situated at a considerable distance from the rest.

The clan Neill were among the secondary vassal tribes of the lords of the Isles, and its heads appear to have been of Norse or Danish origin. Mr Smibert thinks this probable from the fact that the Maeneills were lords of Castle Swen, plainly a Norse term. "The clan," he says,⁷ "was in any case largely Gaelic, to a certainty. We speak of the fundamental line of the chiefs mainly, when we say that the Maeneills appear to have at least shared the blood of the old Scandinavian inhabitants of the western islands. The names of those of the race first found in history are partly indicative of such a lineage. The isle of Barra and certain lands in Uist were chartered to a Maeneill in 1427; and in 1472, a charter of the Macdonald family is witnessed by Heeter *Mactorquil* Maeneill, keeper of Castle Swen. The appellation 'Mac-Torquil,' half Gaelic, half Norse, speaks strongly in favour of the supposition that the two races were at this very time in the act of blending with one people. After all, we proceed not beyond the conclusion, that, by heirs male or heirs female, the founders of the house possessed a sprinkling of the blood of the ancient Norwegian occupants of the western isles and coasts, inter-fused with that of the native Gael of Albyn, and also of the Celtic visitants from Ireland. The proportion of Celtic blood, beyond doubt, is far the largest in the veins of the clan generally."

About the beginning of the 15th century, the Maeneills were a considerable clan in Knapdale, Argyleshire. As this district was not then included in the sheriffdom of Argylo, it is probable that their ancestor had consented to hold his lands of the crown.

The first of the family on record is

Nigellus Og, who obtained from Robert Bruce a charter of Barra and some lands in Kintyre. His great-grandson, Gilleonan Roderick Muehard Maeneill, in 1427, received from Alexander, Lord of the Isles, a charter of that island. In the same charter were included the lands of Boisdale in South Uist, which lies about eight miles distant from Barra. With John Garve Maclean he disputed the possession of that island, and was killed by him in Coll. His grandson, Gilleonan, took part with John, the old Lord of the Isles, against his turbulent son, Angus, and fought on his side at the battle of Bloody Bay. He was chief of this sept or division of the Maeneills in 1493, at the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles.

The Gigha Maeneills are supposed to have sprung from Torquil Maeneill, designated in his charter, "filius Nigelli," who, in the early part of the 15th century, received from the Lord of the Isles a charter of the lands of Gigha and Taynish, with the constabulary of Castle Sweyn, in Knapdale. He had two sons, Neill his heir, and Heeter, ancestor of the family of Taynish. Maleolm Maeneill of Gigha, the son of Neill, who is first mentioned in 1478, was chief of this sept of the Maeneills in 1493. After that period the Gigha branch followed the banner of Macdonald of Isla and Kintyre, while the Barra Maeneills ranged themselves under that of Maclean of Dowart.

In 1545 Gilliganan Maeneill of Barra was one of the barons and council of the Isles who accompanied Donald Dubh, styling himself Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, to Ireland, to swear allegiance to the king of England. His elder son, Roderick or Ruari Maeneill, was killed at the battle of Glenlivet, by a shot from a fieldpiece, on 3d Oct. 1594. He left three sons—Roderick, his heir, called Ruari the turbulent, John, and Murdo. During the memorable and most disastrous feud which happened between the Macleans and the Macdonalds at this period, the Barra Maeneills and the Gigha branch of the same clan fought on different sides.

The Maeneills of Barra were expert seamen, and did not scruple to act as pirates upon occasion. An English ship having been

⁷ *Clans*, p. 84.

seized off the island of Barra by Ruari the turbulent, Queen Elizabeth complained of this act of piracy. The laird of Barra was in consequence summoned to appear at Edinburgh, to answer for his conduct, but he treated the summons with contempt. All the attempts made to apprehend him proving unsuccessful, Mackenzie, tutor of Kintail, undertook to effect his capture by a stratagem frequently put in practice against the island chiefs when suspecting no hostile design. Under the pretence of a friendly visit, he arrived at Macneill's castle of Chisamul (pronounced Kisimul), the ruins of which stand on an insulated rock in Castlebay, on the south-east end of Barra, and invited him and all his attendants on board his vessel. There they were well plied with liquor, until they were all overpowered with it. The chief's followers were then sent on shore, while he himself was carried a prisoner to Edinburgh. Being put upon his trial, he confessed his seizure of the English ship, but pleaded in excuse that he thought himself bound by his loyalty to avenge, by every means in his power, the fate of his majesty's mother, so cruelly put to death by the queen of England. This politic answer procured his pardon, but his estate was forfeited, and given to the tutor of Kintail. The latter restored it to its owner, on condition of his holding it of him, and paying him sixty merks Scots, as a yearly feu duty. It had previously been held of the crown. Some time thereafter Sir James Macdonald of Sleat married a daughter of the tutor of Kintail, who made over the superiority to his son-in-law, and it is now possessed by Lord Macdonald, the representative of the house of Sleat.

The old chief of Barra, Ruari the turbulent, had several sons by a lady of the family of Maclean, with whom, according to an ancient practice in the Highlands, he had *handfasted*,* instead of marrying her. He afterwards married a sister of the captain of the Clanranald, and by her also he had sons. To exclude the senior family from the succession, the captain of the Clanranald took the part of his nephews, whom he declared to be the only legitimate sons of the Barra chief. Having apprehended the eldest son of the first family for having been concerned in the piratical seizure of a

ship of Bourdeaux, he conveyed him to Edinburgh for trial, but he died there soon after. His brothers-german, in revenge, assisted by Maclean of Dowart, seized Neill Macneill, the eldest son of the second family, and sent him to Edinburgh, to be tried as an actor in the piracy of the same Bourdeaux ship; and, thinking that their father was too partial to their half brothers, they also seized the old chief, and placed him in irons. Neill Macneill, called Weyislache, was found innocent, and liberated through the influence of his uncle. Barra's elder sons, on being charged to exhibit their father before the privy council, refused, on which they were proclaimed rebels, and commission was given to the captain of the Clanranald against them. In consequence of these proceedings, which occurred about 1613, Clanranald was enabled to secure the peaceable succession of his nephew to the estate of Barra, on the death of his father, which happened soon after.⁸

The island of Barra and the adjacent isles are still possessed by the descendant and representative of the family of Macneill. Their feudal castle of Chisamul has been already mentioned. It is a building of hexagonal form, strongly built, with a wall above thirty feet high, and anchorage for small vessels on every side of it. Martin, who visited Barra in 1703, in his *Description of the Western Islands*, says that the Highland Chroniclers or sennachies alleged that the then chief of Barra was the 34th lineal descendant from the first Macneill who had held it. He relates that the inhabitants of this and the other islands belonging to Macneill were in the custom of applying to him for wives and husbands, when he named the persons most suitable for them, and gave them a bottle of strong waters for the marriage feast.

The chief of the Macneills of Gigha, in the first half of the 16th century, was Neill Macneill, who was killed, with many gentlemen of his tribe, in 1530, in a feud with Allan Maclean of Torlusk, called *Ailen nan Sop*, brother of Maclean of Dowart. His only daughter, Annabella, made over the lands of Gigha to her natural brother, Neill. He sold Gigha to

* Vol. II. p. 124.

⁸ *Gregory's Highlands and Isles*, p. 346.

James Macdonald of Isla in 1554, and died without legitimate issue in the latter part of the reign of Queen Mary.

On the extinction of the direct male line, Neill Maeneill *vic* Eachan, who had obtained the lands of Taynish, became heir male of the family. His descendant, Hector Maeneill of Taynish, purchased in 1590 the island of Gigha from John Campbell of Calder, who had acquired it from Macdonald of Isla, so that it again became the property of a Maeneill. The estates of Gigha and Taynish were possessed by his descendants till 1780, when the former was sold to Maeneill of Colonsay, a cadet of the family.

The representative of the male line of the Maeneills of Taynish and Gigha, Roger Hamilton Maeneill of Taynish, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Hamilton Price, Esq. of Raploch, Lanarkshire, with whom he got that estate, and assumed, in consequence, the name of Hamilton. His descendants are now designated of Raploch.

The principal cadets of the Gigha Maeneills, besides the Taynish family, were those of Gallochallie, Carskeay, and Tirfergus. Torquil, a younger son of Lachlan Maeneill Buy of Tirfergus, acquired the estate of Ugadale in Argyleshire, by marriage with the heiress of the Mackays in the end of the 17th century. The present proprietor spells his name Macneal. From Malcolm Beg Maeneill, celebrated in Highland tradition for his extraordinary prowess and great strength, son of John Oig Maeneill of Gallochallie, in the reign of James VI., sprung the Maeneills of Arichonan. Malcolm's only son, Neill Oig, had two sons, John, who succeeded him, and Donald Maeneill of Crerar, ancestor of the Maeneills of Colonsay, now the possessors of Gigha. Many cadets of the Maeneills of Gigha settled in the north of Ireland.

Both branches of the clan Neill laid claim to the chiefship. According to tradition, it has belonged, since the middle of the 16th century, to the house of Barra. Under the date of 1550, a letter appears in the register of the privy council, addressed to "Torkill Maeneill, chief and principal of the clan and surname of Maenelis." Mr Skene conjectures this Torkill to have been the hereditary keeper

of Castle Sweyn, and connected with neither branch of the Maeneills. He is said, however, to have been the brother of Neill Maeneill of Gigha, killed in 1530, as above mentioned, and to have, on his brother's death, obtained a grant of the non-entries of Gigha as representative of the family. If this be correct, according to the above designation, the chiefship was in the Gigha line. Torquil appears to have died without leaving any direct succession.

The first of the family of Colonsay, Donald Maeneill of Crerar, in South Knapdale, exchanged that estate in 1700, with the Duke of Argyll, for the islands of Colonsay and Oronsay. The old possessors of these two islands, which are only separated by a narrow sound, dry at low water, were the Macduffies or Maephies. Donald's great-grandson, Archibald Maeneill of Colonsay, sold that island to his cousin, John Maeneill, who married Hester, daughter of Duncan Maeneill of Dunmore, and had six sons. His eldest son, Alexander, younger of Colonsay, became the purchaser of Gigha. Two of his other sons, Duncan, Lord Colonsay, and Sir John Maeneill, have distinguished themselves, the one as a lawyer and judge, and the other as a diplomatist.

MACLACHLAN.



BADGE.—Mountain Ash.

Maclachlan, or Maclauchlan, is the name of another clan classified by Skene as belonging to the great race of the Siol Conn, and in the MS., so much valued by this writer, of 1450, the Maclachlans are traced to Gilchrist, a grandson of that Anradan or Henry, from whom all

the clans of the Soil Gillevray are said to be descended. They possessed the barony of Strathlachlan in Cowal, and other extensive possessions in the parishes of Glassrie and Kilmartin, and on Loeh Awe side, which were separated from the main seat of the family by Loeh Fyne.

They were one of those Gaelic tribes who adopted the oared galley for their special device, as indicative of their connection, either by residence or descent, with the Isles. An ancestor of the family, Lachlan Mor, who lived in the 13th century, is described in the Gaelic MS. of 1450, as "son of Patrick, son of Gilchrist, son of De dalan, called the clumsy, son of Anradan, from whom are descended also the clan Neill."

By tradition the Maelachlans are said to have come from Ireland, their original stock being the O'Loughlins of Meath.

According to the Irish genealogies, the clan Lachlan, the Lamonds, and the MacEwens of Otter, were kindred tribes, being descended from brothers who were sons of De dalan above referred to, and tradition relates that they took possession of the greater part of the district of Cowal, from Toward Point to Strachur at the same time; the Lamonds being separated from the MacEwens by the river of Kilfinan, and the MacEwens from the Maelachlans by the stream which separates the parishes of Kilfinan and Strath Lachlan. De dalan, the common ancestor of these families, is stated in ancient Irish genealogies to have been the grandson of Hugh Atlaman, the head of the great family of O'Neils, kings of Ireland.

About 1230, Gilchrist Maelachlan, who is mentioned in the manuscript of 1450 as chief of the family of Maelachlan at the time, is a witness to a charter of Kilfinan granted by Laumanus, ancestor of the Lamonds.

In 1292, Gilleskel Maelachlan got a charter of his lands in Ergadia from Baliol.

In a document preserved in the treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer, entitled "Les petitions de terre demandees en Escocce," there is the following entry,— "Item Gillescop Macloghlan ad domandi la Baronie de Molbryde juvene, apelle Strath, que fu pris contre le foi de Roi." From this it appears that Gillespie

Maelachlan was in possession of the lands still retained by the family, during the occupation of Scotland by Edward I. in 1296.⁹

In 1314, Archibald Maelachlan in Ergadia, granted to the Preaching Friars of Glasgow forty Shillings to be paid yearly out of his lands of Kilbride, "juxta castrum meum quod dicitur Castellachlan." He died before 1322, and was succeeded by his brother Patriek. The latter married a daughter of James, Steward of Scotland, and had a son, Lachlan, who succeeded him. Lachlan's son, Douald, confirmed in 1456, the grant by his predecessor Archibald, to the Preaching Friars of Glasgow of forty shillings yearly out of the lands of Kilbride, with an additional annuity of six shillings and eightpence "from his lands of Kilbryde near Castellachlan."¹

Lachlan, the 15th chief, dating from the time that written evidence can be adduced, was served heir to his father, 23d September 1719. He married a daughter of Stewart of Appin, and was killed at Culloden, fighting on the side of Prince Charles. The 18th chief, his great-grandson, Robert Maelachlan of Maelachlan, convener and one of the deputy-lieutenants of Argyleshire, married in 1823, Helen, daughter of William A. Carruthers of Dormont, Dumfries-shire, without issue. His brother, the next heir, George Maelachlan, Esq., has three sons and a daughter. The family seat, Castle Lachlan, built about 1790, near the old and ruinous tower, formerly the residence of the chiefs, is situated in the centre of the family estate, which is eleven miles in length, and, on an average, a mile and a half in breadth, and stretches in one continued line along the eastern side of Loch Fyne. The effective force of the clan previous to the rebellion of 1745, was estimated at 300 men. Their original seat, according to Mr Skene, appears to have been in Loehaber, where a very old branch of the family has from the earliest period been settled as native men of the Camerons.

In Argyleshire also are the families of Maelachlan of Craiginterve, Inchconnell, &c.,

⁹ See *Sir Francis Palgrave's Scottish Documents*, vol. i. p. 319.

¹ *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu Maitland Club.*

and in Stirlingshire, of Auchintroig. The Maclauchlans of Drumblano in Monteith were of the Lochaber branch.

MACEWENS.

Upon a rocky promontory situated on the coast of Loehfyne, may still be discerned the vestige of a building, called in Gaelic Chaistel Mhic Eobhuin, or the castle of MacEwen. In the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Kilfinnan, quoted by Skene, this MacEwen is described as the chief of a clan, and proprietor of the northern division of the parish called Otter; and in the manuscript of 1450, which contains the genealogy of the *Clan Foghan na Hoitric*, or Clan Ewen of Otter, they are derived from Anradan, the common ancestor of the Maclauchlans and the Macneills. This family soon became extinct, and their property gave title to a branch of the Campbells, by whom it appears to have been subsequently acquired, though in what manner we have no means of ascertaining.

SIOL EACHERN.

Under the name of *Siol Eachern* are included by Mr Skene the Macdougall Campbells of Craignish, and the Lamonds of Lamond, both very old clans in Argyleshire, and supposed to have been originally of the same race.

MACDOUGALL CAMPBELLS OF CRAIGNISH.

"The policy of the Argyll family," says Mr Skene, "led them to employ every means for the acquisition of property, and the extension of the clan. One of the arts which they used for the latter purpose was to compel those clans which had become dependant upon them to adopt the name of Campbell; and this, when successful, was generally followed at an after period, by the assertion that that clan was descended from the house of Argyll. In general, the clans thus adopted into the race of Campbell, are sufficiently marked out by their being promoted only to the honour of their being an illegitimate branch; but the tradition of the country invariably distinguishes between the real Campbells, and those who were compelled to adopt their name." Of the policy in question, the Campbells of Craignish are said to have afforded a remarkable

instance. According to the Argyll system, as here described, they are represented as the descendants of Dugall, an illegitimate son of a Campbell, who lived in the twelfth century. But the common belief amongst the people is, that their ancient name was MacEachern, and that they were of the same race with the Macdonalds; nor are there wanting circumstances which seem to give countenance to this tradition. Their arms are charged with the galley of the Isles, from the mast of which depends a shield exhibiting some of the distinctive bearings of the Campbells; and, what is even more to the purpose, the manuscript of 1450 contains a genealogy of the MacEacherns, in which they are derived from a certain Nicol MacMurdoch, who lived in the twelfth century. Besides, when the MacGillevrays and MacIans of Morvern and Ardgour were broken up and dispersed, many of their sept, although not resident on the property of the Craignish family, acknowledged its head as their chief. But as the MacGillevrays and the MacIans were two branches of the same clan, which had separated as early as the twelfth century; and as the MacEacherns appear to have been of the same race, Murdoch, the first of the clan, being contemporary with Murdoch the father of Gillebride, the ancestor of the Siol Gillevray; it may be concluded that the Siol Eachern and the MacIans were of the same clan; and this is further confirmed by the circumstance, that there was an old family of MacEacherns which occupied Kingerloch, bordering on Ardgour, the ancient property of the MacIans. That branch of the Siol Eachern which settled at Craignish, were called Clan Dugall Craignish, and obtained, it is said, the property known by this name from the brother of Campbell of Lochow, in the reign of David II.² The lands of Colin Campbell of Lochow having been forfeited in that reign, his brother, Gillespie Campbell, appears to have obtained a grant of them from the

² "Nisbet, that acute heraldist," says Smibert, "discovered an old seal of the family, on which the words are, as nearly as they can be made out, *Sigillum Dugalli de Craignish*, showing that the Campbells of Craignish were simply of the Dhu-Gall race. The seal is very old, though noticed only by its use in 1500. It has the grand mark upon it of the bearings of all the Gael of the Western Coasts, namely, the Oared Galley."

crown; and it is not improbable that the clan Dugall Craignish acquired from the latter their right to the property of Craignish. After the restoration of the Lochow family, by the removal of the forfeiture, that of Craignish were obliged to hold their lands, not of the crown, but of the house of Argyll. Nevertheless, they continued for some time a considerable family, maintaining a sort of independence, until at length, yielding to the influence of that policy which has already been described, they merged, like most of the neighbouring clans, in that powerful race by whom they were surrounded.³

LAMOND.



BADGE.—Crab-Apple Tree.

It is an old and accredited tradition in the Highlands, that the Lamonds or Lamonts were the most ancient proprietors of Cowal, and that the Stewarts, Maclauchlans, and Campbells obtained possession of their property in that district by marriage with daughters of the family. At an early period a very small part only of Cowal was included in the sheriffdom of Upper Argyll, the remainder being comprehended in that of Perth. It may, therefore, be presumed that, on the conquest of Argyll by Alexander II., the lord of Lower Cowal had submitted to the king, and obtained a crown charter. But, in little more than half a century after that event, we find the High Steward in possession of Lower Cowal, and the Maclauchlans in possession of Strathlachlan. It appears, indeed, that, in 1242, Alexander the High

Steward of Scotland, married Jean, the daughter of James, son of Angus MacRory, who is styled Lord of Bute; and, from the manuscript of 1450, we learn that, about the same period, Gilchrist Maclauchlan married the daughter of Lachlan MacRory; from which it is probable that this Roderic or Rory was the third individual who obtained a crown charter for Lower Cowal, and that by these intermarriages the property passed from his family into the hands of the Stewarts and the Maclauchlans. The coincidence of these facts, with the tradition above-mentioned, would seem also to indicate that Angus MacRory was the ancestor of the Lamonds.

After the marriage of the Steward with the heiress of Lamond, the next of that race of whom any mention is made is Duncan Mac Fercher, and "Laumanus," son of Malcolm, and grandson of the same Duncan, who appear to have granted to the monks of Paisley a charter of the lands of Kilmore, near Lochgilp, and also of the lands "which they and their predecessors held at Kilmun" (*quas nos et antecessores nostri apud Kilmun habuerunt*). In the same year, "Laumanus," the son of Malcolm, also granted a charter of the lands of Kilfinnan, which, in 1295, is confirmed by Malcolm, the son and heir of the late "Laumanus" (*domini quondam Laumanis*). But in an instrument, or deed, dated in 1466, between the monastery of Paisley and John Lamond of Lamond, regarding the lands of Kilfinnan, it is expressly stated, that these lands had belonged to the ancestors of John Lamond; and hence, it is evident, that the "Laumanus," mentioned in the previous deed, must have been one of the number, if not indeed the chief and founder of the family. "From Laumanus," says Mr Skene, "the clan appear to have taken the name of Maclaman or Lamond, having previously to this time borne the name of Macerachar, and Clan Mhic Earachar."

The connection of this clan with that of Dugall Craignish, is indicated by the same circumstances which point out the connection of other branches of the tribe; for whilst the Craignish family preserved its power it was followed by a great portion of the Clan Mhic Earachar, although it possessed no feudal right

³ Skene's *Highlanders*.

to their services. "There is one peculiarity connected with the Lamonds," says Mr Skene, "that although by no means a powerful clan, their genealogy can be proved by charters, at a time when most other Highland families are obliged to have recourse to tradition, and the genealogies of their ancient sennachies; but their antiquity could not protect the Lamonds from the encroachments of the Campbells, by whom they were soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Lower Cowal, as the other Argyleshire clans had been of theirs."⁴ The Lamonds were a clan of the same description as the Maclauchlans, and, like the latter, they have, notwithstanding "the encroachments of the Campbells," still retained a portion of their ancient possessions. The chief of this family is Lamond of Lamond.

According to Nisbet, the clan Lamond were originally from Ireland, but whether they sprung from the Dalriadic colony, or from a still earlier race in Cowal, it is certain that they possessed, at a very early period, the superiority of the district. Their name continued to be the prevailing one till the middle of the 17th century. In June 1646, certain chiefs of the clan Campbell in the vicinity of Dunoon castle, determined upon obtaining the ascendancy, took advantage of the feuds and disorders of the period, to wage a war of extermination against the Lamonds. The massacre of the latter by the Campbells, that year, formed one of the charges against the Marquis of Argyll in 1661, although he does not seem to have been any party to it.

An interesting tradition is recorded of one of the lairds of Lamond, who had unfortunately killed, in a sudden quarrel, the son of MacGregor of Glenstrae, taking refuge in the house of the latter, and claiming his protection, which was readily granted, he being ignorant that he was the slayer of his son. On being informed, MacGregor escorted him in safety to his own people. When the MacGregors were proscribed, and the aged chief of Glenstrae had become a wanderer, Lamond hastened to protect him and his family, and received them into his house.

⁴ Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. part ii. chap. 4.

CHAPTER IV.

Robertsons or Clan Donnachie—Macfarlanes—Campbells of Argyll and offshoots—Royal Marriage—Campbells of Breadalbane—Macarthur Campbells of Strachur—Campbells of Cawdor, Abernethill, Ardnamurchan, Auchinbreck, Ardinglass, Barcaldine, Dunstaffnage, Monzie—The Macleods of Lewis and Harris—Macleods of Rasay.

ROBERTSON.



BADGE.—Fern or Brackens.

BESIDES the clans already noticed, there are other two which, according to Skene, are set down by the genealogists as having originally belonged to the Gallgael or Celts of the Western Isles; these are the Robertsons or clan Donnachie, and the Macfarlanes.

Tradition claims for the clan Donnachie a descent from the great sept of the Macdonalds, their remote ancestor being said to have been Duncan (hence the name *Donnachie*) the Fat, son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles, in the reign of William the Lion. Smibert thinks this is certainly the most feasible account of their origin. Skene, however, endeavours to trace their descent from Duncan, King of Scotland, eldest son of Malcolm III., their immediate ancestor, according to him, having been Conan, second son of Henry, fourth and last of the ancient Celtic Earls of Athole. This Conan, it is said, received from his father, in the reign of Alexander II., the lands of Generochy, afterwards called Strowan, in Gaelic *Struthan*—that is, streamy. Conan's great-grandson, Andrew, was styled of Athole, *de Atholia*, which was the uniform designation of

the family, indicative, Mr Skene thinks, of their descent from the ancient Earls of Athole. According to the same authority, it was from Andrew's son, Duncan, that the clau derived their distinctive appellation of the clau *Donnachie*, or children of Duncan. Duncau is said to have been twice married, and acquired by both marriages considerable territory in the district of Rannoch. By his first wife he had a son, Robert de Atholia.

As it is well known that Mr Skene's Celtic prejudices are very strong, and as his derivation of the Robertsons from Duncan, king of Scotland, is to a great extent conjectural, it is only fair to give the other side of the question, viz., the probability of their derivation from the Celts of the Western Isles. We shall take the liberty of quoting here Mr Smibert's judicious and acute remarks on this point. "There unquestionably exist doubts about the derivation of the Robertsons from the Macdonalds; but the fact of their acquiring large possessions at so early a period in Athole, seems to be decisive of their descent from some great and strong house among the Western Celts. And what house was more able so to endow its scious than that of Somerled, whose heads were the kings of the west of Scotland? The Somerled or Macdonald power, moreover, extended into Athole beyond all question; and, indeed, it may be said to have been almost the sole power which could so have planted there one of its offshoots, apart from the regal authority. Accordingly, though Duncan may not have been the son of Angus Mor (Macdonald), a natural son of the Lord of the Isles, as has been commonly averred, it by no means follows that the family were not of the Macdonald race. The proof may be difficult, but probability must be accepted in its stead. An opposite course has been too long followed on all sides. Why should men conceal from themselves the plain fact that the times under consideration were barbarous, and that their aunals were necessarily left to us, not by the pen of the accurate historian, but by the dealers in song and tradition?"

Referring to the stress laid by Mr Skene upon the designation *de Atholia*, which was uniformly assumed by the Robertsons, Mr Smibert remarks,—“In the first place, the

designation *De Atholia* can really be held to prove nothing, since, as in the case of *De Insulis*, such phrases often pointed to mere residence, and were especially used in reference to large districts. A gentleman 'of Athole' is not necessarily connected with the Duke; and, as we now use such phrases without any meaning of that kind, much more natural was the custom of old, when general localities alone were known generally. In the second place, are the Robertsons made more purely Gaelic, for such is partly the object in the view of Mr Skene, by being traced to the ancient Athole house? That the first lords of the line were Celts may be admitted; but heiresses again and again interrupted the male succession. While one wedded a certain Thomas of London, another found a mate in a person named David de Hastings. These strictly English names speak for themselves; and it was by the Hastings marriage, which took place shortly after the year 1200, that the first house of Athole was continued. It is clear, therefore, that the supposition of the descent of the Robertsons from the first lords of Athole leaves them still of largely mingled blood—Norman, Saxon, and Gaelic. Such is the result, even when the conjecture is admitted.

As a Lowland neighbourhood gave to the race of Robert, son of Duncan, the name of Robertson, so would it also intermingle their race and blood with those of the Lowlanders.”⁵

It is from the grandson of Robert of Athole, also named Robert, that the clan Donnachie derive their name of Robertson. This Robert was noted for his predatory incursions into the Lowlands, and is historically known as the chief who arrested and delivered up to the vengeance of the government Robert Graham and the Master of Athole, two of the murderers of James I., for which he was rewarded with a crown charter, dated in 1451, erecting his whole lands into a free barony. He also received the honourable augmentation to his arms of a naked man manacled under the achievement, with the motto, *Virtutis gloria merces*. He was mortally wounded in the head near the village of Auchtergaven in a

⁵ Smibert's *Clans*, pp. 77, 78.

conflict with Robert Forrester of Torwood, with whom he had a dispute regarding the lands of Little Dunkeld. Binding up his head with a white cloth, he rode to Perth, and obtained from the king a new grant of the lands of Strowan. On his return home, he died of his wounds. He had three sons, Alexander, Robert, and Patrick. Robert, the second son, was the ancestor of the Earls of Portmore, a title now extinct.

The eldest son, Alexander, was twice married, his sons becoming progenitors of various families of Robertsons. He died in, or shortly prior to, 1507, and was succeeded by his grandson, William. This chief had some dispute with the Earl of Athole concerning the marches of their estates, and was killed by a party of the earl's followers, in 1530. Taking advantage of a wadset or mortgage which he held over the lands of Strowan, the earl seized nearly the half of the family estate, which the Robertsons could never again recover. William's son, Robert, had two sons—William, who died without issue, and Donald, who succeeded him.

Donald's grandson, 11th laird of Strowan, died in 1636, leaving an infant son, Alexander, in whose minority the government of the clan devolved upon his uncle, Donald. Devoted to the cause of Charles I., the latter raised a regiment of his name and followers, and was with the Marquis of Montrose in all his battles. After the Restoration, the king settled a pension upon him.

His nephew, Alexander Robertson of Strowan, was twice married. By his second wife, Marion, daughter of General Baillie of Letham, he had two sons and one daughter, and died in 1688. Duncan, the second son by the second marriage, served in Russia, with distinction, under Peter the Great.

Alexander, the elder son of the second marriage, was the celebrated Jacobite chief and poet. Born about 1670, he was destined for the church, and sent to the university of St Andrews; but his father and brother by the first marriage dying within a few months of each other, he succeeded to the family estate and the chiefship in 1688. Soon after, he joined the Viscount Dundee, when he appeared in arms in the Highlands for the cause of King

James; but though he does not appear to have been at Killiecrankie, and was still under age, he was, for his share in this rising, attainted by a decret of parliament in absence in 1690, and his estates forfeited to the crown. He retired, in consequence, to the court of the exiled monarch at St Germain's, where he lived for several years, and served one or two campaigns in the French army. In 1703, Queen Anne granted him a remission, when he returned to Scotland, and resided unmolested on his estates, but neglecting to get the remission passed the seals, the forfeiture of 1690 was never legally repealed. With about 500 of his clan he joined the Earl of Mar in 1715, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Sheriffmuir, but rescued. Soon after, however, he fell into the hands of a party of soldiers in the Highlands, and was ordered to be conducted to Edinburgh; but, with the assistance of his sister, he contrived to escape on the way, when he again took refuge in France. In 1723, the estate of Strowan was granted by the government to Margaret, the chief's sister, by a charter under the great seal, and in 1726 she disposed the same in trust for the behoof of her brother, substituting, in the event of his death without lawful heirs of his body, Duncan, son of Alexander Robertson of Drumachune, her father's cousin, and the next lawful heir male of the family. Margaret died unmarried in 1727. Her brother had returned to Scotland the previous year, and obtaining in 1731 a remission for his life, took possession of his estate. In 1745 he once more "marshalled his clan" in behalf of the Stuarts, but his age preventing him from personally taking any active part in the rebellion, his name was passed over in the list of proscriptions that followed. He died in his own house of Caric, in Rannoch, April 18, 1749, in his 81st year, without lawful issue, and in him ended the direct male line. A volume of his poems was published after his death. An edition was reprinted at Edinburgh in 1785, 12mo, containing also the "History and Martial Achievements of the Robertsons of Strowan." He is said to have formed the prototype of the Baron of Bradwardine in "Waverley."

The portion of the original estate of Strowan

which remained devolved upon Duncan Robertson of Drumachune, a property which his great-grandfather, Duncan *Mor* (who died in 1687), brother of Donald the tutor, had acquired from the Athole family. As, however, his name was not included in the last act of indemnity passed by the government, he was dispossessed of the estate in 1752, when he and his family retired to France. His son, Colonel Alexander Robertson, obtained a restitution of Strowan in 1784, and died, unmarried, in 1822. Duncan *Mor's* second son, Donald, had a son, called Robert *Bane*, whose grandson, Alexander Robertson, now succeeded to the estate.

The son of the latter, Major-general George Duncan Robertson of Strowan, C.B., passed upwards of thirty years in active service, and received the cross of the Imperial Austrian order of Leopold. He was succeeded by his son, George Duncan Robertson, born 26th July 1816, at one time an officer in the 42d Highlanders.

The force which the Robertsons could bring into the field was estimated at 800 in 1715, and 700 in 1745.

Of the branches of the family, the Robertsons of Lude, in Blair-Athole, are the oldest, being of contemporary antiquity to that of Strowan.

Patrick de Atholia, eldest son of the second marriage of Duncan de Atholia, received from his father, at his death, about 1358, the lands of Lude. He is mentioned in 1391, by Wytoun (Book ii. p. 367) as one of the chieftains and leaders of the clan. He had, with a daughter, married to Donald, son of Farquhar, ancestor of the Farquharsons of Invercauld, two sons, Donald and Alexander. The latter, known by the name of *Rua* or *Red*, from the colour of his hair, acquired the estate of Straloch, for which he had a charter from James II. in 1451, and was ancestor of the Robertsons of Straloch, Perthshire. His descendants were called the Barons *Rua*. The last of the Barons *Rua*, or *Red*, was Alexander Robertson of Straloch, who died about the end of the last century, leaving an only son, John, who adopted the old family *soubriquet*, and called himself Reid (probably hoping to be recognised as the chief of the Reids). John

Reid entered the army, where he rose to the rank of General, and died in 1803, leaving the reversion of his fortune (amounting to about £70,000) for the endowment of a chair of music, and other purposes, in the University of Edinburgh. This ancient family is represented by Sir Archibald Ava Campbell, Bart.

Donald, the elder son, succeeded his father. He resigned his lands of Lude into the king's hand on February 7, 1447, but died before he could receive his infeftment. He had two sons: John, who got the charter under the great seal, dated March 31, 1448, erecting the lands of Lude into a barony, proceeding on his father's resignation; and Donald, who got as his patrimony the lands of Strathgarry. This branch of Lude ended in an heiress, who married an illegitimate son of Stewart of Invermeath. About 1700, Strathgarry was sold to another family of the name of Stewart.

The Robertsons of Inshes, Inverness-shire, are descended from Duncan, second son of Duncan *de Atholia, dominus de Ranagh*, above mentioned.

The Robertsons of Kindceace descend from William Robertson, third son of John, ancestor of the Robertsons of the Inshes, by his wife, a daughter of Fearn of Pitcullen. He obtained from his father, in patrimony, several lands about Inverness, and having acquired great riches as a merchant, purchased, in 1615, the lands of Orkney, Nairnshire, and in 1639, those of Kindceace, Ross-shire; the latter becoming the chief title of the family.

The Robertsons of Kinlochmoidart, Inverness-shire, are descended from John Robertson of Muirton, Elginshire, second son of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, by his wife, Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Athole.

The fifth in succession, the Rev. William Robertson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was father of Principal Robertson, and of Mary, who married the Rev. James Syme, and had an only child, Eleonora, mother of Henry, Lord Brougham. The Principal had three sons and two daughters.

MACFARLANE.



BADGE.—Cloudberry bush.

Of the clan Macfarlane, Mr Skene gives the best account, and we shall therefore take the liberty of availing ourselves of his researches. According to him, with the exception of the clan Donnachie, the clan Parlan or Pharlan is the only one, the descent of which from the ancient earls of the district where their possessions were situated, may be established by the authority of a charter. It appears, indeed, that the ancestor of this clan was Gilchrist, the brother of Maldowen or Malduin, the third Earl of Lennox. This is proved by a charter of Maldowen, still extant, by which he gives to his brother Gilchrist a grant "de terris de superiori Arrochar de Luss;" and these lands, which continued in possession of the clan until the death of the last chief, have at all times constituted their principal inheritance.

But although the descent of the clan from the Earls of Lennox be thus established, the origin of their ancestors is by no means so easily settled. Of all the native earls of Scotland, those of this district alone have had a foreign origin assigned to them, though, apparently, without any sufficient reason. The first Earl of Lennox who appears on record is *Aluin comes de Levenox*, who lived in the early part of the 13th century; and there is some reason to believe that from this Aluin the later Earls of Lennox were descended. It is, no doubt, impossible to determine now who this Aluin really was; but, in the absence of direct authority, we gather from tradition that the heads of the family of Lennox, before

being raised to the peerage, were hereditary seneschals of Strathearn, and bailies of the Abthantry of Dull, in Athole. Aluin was succeeded by a son of the same name, who is frequently mentioned in the chartularies of Lennox and Paisley, and who died before the year 1225. In Donald, the sixth earl, the male branch of the family became extinct. Margaret, the daughter of Donald, married Walter de Fassalane, the heir male of the family; but this alliance failed to accomplish the objects intended by it, or, in other words, to preserve the honours and power of the house of Lennox. Their son Duncan, the eighth earl, had no male issue; and his eldest daughter Isabella, having married Sir Murdoch Stuart, the eldest son of the Regent, he and his family became involved in the ruin which overwhelmed the unfortunate house of Albany. At the death of Isabella, in 1460, the earldom was claimed by three families; but that of Stewart of Darnley eventually overcame all opposition, and acquired the title and estates of Lennox. Their accession took place in the year 1488; upon which the clans that had been formerly united with the earls of the old stock separated themselves, and became independent.

Of these clans the principal was that of the Macfarlanes, the descendants, as has already been stated, of Gilchrist, a younger brother of Maldowen, Earl of Lennox. In the Lennox charters, several of which he appears to have subscribed as a witness, this Gilchrist is generally designated as *frater comitis*, or brother of the earl. His son Duncan also obtained a charter of his lands from the Earl of Lennox, and appears in the Ragman's roll under the title of "Duncan Macgilchrist de Levenaghes." From a grandson of this Duncan, who was called in Gaelic *Parlan*, or Bartholomew, the clan appears to have taken the surname of *Macfarlane*; indeed the connection of Parlan both with Duncan and with Gilchrist is clearly established by a charter granted to Malcolm Macfarlane, the son of Parlan, confirming to him the lands of Arrochar and others; and hence Malcolm may be considered as the real founder of the clan. He was succeeded by his son Duncan, who obtained from the Earl of Lennox a charter of the lands of Arrochar

as ample in its provisions as any that had been granted to his predecessors; and married a daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Loehow, as appears from a charter of confirmation granted in his favour by Duncane, Earl of Lennox. Not long after his death, however, the ancient line of the Earls of Lennox became extinct; and the Macfarlanes having claimed the earldom as heirs male, offered a strenuous opposition to the superior pretensions of the feudal heirs. Their resistance, however, proved alike unsuccessful and disastrous. The family of the chief perished in defence of what they believed to be their just rights; the clan also suffered severely, and of those who survived the struggle, the greater part took refuge in remote parts of the country. Their destruction, indeed, would have been inevitable, but for the opportune support given by a gentleman of the clan to the Darnley family. This was Andrew Macfarlane, who, having married the daughter of John Stewart, Lord Darnley and Earl of Lennox, to whom his assistance had been of great moment at a time of difficulty, saved the rest of the clan, and recovered the greater part of their hereditary possessions. The fortunate individual in question, however, though the good genius of the race, does not appear to have possessed any other title to the chiefship than what he derived from his position, and the circumstance of his being the only person in a condition to afford them protection; in fact, the clan refused him the title of chief, which they appear to have considered as incommunicable, except in the right line; and his son, Sir John Macfarlane, accordingly contented himself with assuming the secondary or subordinate designation of captain of the clan.

From this time, the Macfarlanes appear to have on all occasions supported the Earls of Lennox of the Stewart race, and to have also followed their banner in the field. For several generations, however, their history as a clan is almost an entire blank; indeed, they appear to have merged into mere retainers of the powerful family, under whose protection they enjoyed undisturbed possession of their hereditary domains. But in the sixteenth century Duncan Macfarlane of Macfarlane appears as a steady supporter of Matthew, Earl of Lennox.

At the head of three hundred men of his own name, he joined Lennox and Gleneairn in 1544, and was present with his followers at the battle of Glasgow-Muir, where he shared the defeat of the party he supported. He was also involved in the forfeiture which followed; but having powerful friends, his property was, through their intercession, restored, and he obtained a remission under the privy seal. The loss of this battle forced Lennox to retire to England; whence, having married a niece of Henry VIII., he soon afterwards returned with a considerable force which the English monarch had placed under his command. The chief of Macfarlane durst not venture to join Lennox in person, being probably restrained by the terror of another forfeiture; but, acting on the usual Scottish policy of that time, he sent his relative, Walter Macfarlane of Tarbet, with four hundred men, to reinforce his friend and patron; and this body, according to Holinshed, did most excellent service, acting at once as light troops and as guides to the main body. Duncane, however, did not always conduct himself with equal caution; for he is said to have fallen in the fatal battle of Pinkie, in 1547, on which occasion also a great number of his clan perished.

Andrew, the son of Duncane, as bold, active, and adventurous as his sire, engaged in the civil wars of the period, and, what is more remarkable, took a prominent part on the side of the Regent Murray; thus acting in opposition to almost all the other Highland chiefs, who were warmly attached to the cause of the queen. He was present at the battle of Langside with a body of his followers, and there "stood the Regent's part in great stead;" for, in the hottest of the fight, he came up with three hundred of his friends and countrymen, and falling fiercely on the flank of the queen's army, threw them into irretrievable disorder, and thus mainly contributed to decide the fortune of the day. The clan boast of having taken at this battle three of Queen Mary's standards, which, they say, were preserved for a long time in the family. Macfarlane's reward was not such as afforded any great cause for admiring the munificence of the Regent; but that his vanity at least might be conciliated, Murray bestowed upon him the crest of a

demi-savage *proper*, holding in his dexter hand a sheaf of arrows, and pointing with his sinister to an imperial crown, *or*, with the motto, *This I'll defend*. Of the son of this chief nothing is known; but his grandson, Walter Macfarlane, returning to the natural feelings of a Highlander, proved himself as sturdy a champion of the royal party as his grandfather had been an uncompromising opponent and enemy. During Cromwell's time, he was twice besieged in his own house, and his castle of Inveruglas was afterwards burned down by the English. But nothing could shake his fidelity to his party. Though his personal losses in adhering to the royal cause were of a much more substantial kind than his grandfather's reward in opposing it, yet his zeal was not cooled by adversity, nor his ardour abated by the vengeance which it drew down on his head.

Although a small clan, the Macfarlanes were as turbulent and predatory in their way as their neighbours the Macgregors. By the Act of the Estates of 1587 they were declared to be one of the clans for whom the chief was made responsible; by another act passed in 1594, they were denounced as being in the habit of committing theft, robbery, and oppression; and in July 1624 many of the clan were tried and convicted of theft and robbery. Some of them were punished, some pardoned; while others were removed to the highlands of Aberdeenshire, and to Strathaven in Banffshire, where they assumed the names of Stewart, M'Caudy, Greisock, M'James, and M'Innes.

Of one eminent member of the clan, the following notice is taken by Mr Skene in his work on the Highlands of Scotland. He says, "It is impossible to conclude this sketch of the history of the Macfarlanes without alluding to the eminent antiquary, Walter Macfarlane of that ilk, who is as celebrated among historians as the indefatigable collector of the ancient records of the country, as his ancestors had been among the other Highland chiefs for their prowess in the field. The family itself, however, is now nearly extinct, after having held their original lands for a period of six hundred years."

Of the lairds of Macfarlane there have been no fewer than twenty-three. The last of them went to North America in the early part of

the 18th century. A branch of the family settled in Ireland in the reign of James VII., and the headship of the clan is claimed by its representative, Macfarlane of Hunstown House, in the county of Dublin. The descendants of the ancient chiefs cannot now be traced, and the lands once possessed by them have passed into other hands.

Under the head of Garmoran, Mr Skene, following the genealogists, includes two western clans, viz., those of Campbell and Macleod. We shall, however, depart from Mr Skene's order, and notice these two important clans here, while treating of the clans of the western coasts and isles. Mr Skene,⁶ on very shadowy grounds, endeavours to make out that there must have been an ancient earldom of Garmoran, situated between north and south Argyle, and including, besides the districts of Knoydart, Morar, Arisaig, and Moydart (forming a lato lordship of Garmoran), the districts of Glenelg, Ardnamurehan, and Morvern. He allows, however, that "at no period embraced by the records do we discover Garmoran as an efficient earldom." As to this, Mr E. W. Robertson⁷ remarks that "the same objection may be raised against the earldom of Garmoran which is urged against the earldom of the Merns, the total silence of history respecting it."

ARGYLL CAMPBELL.



BADGE—Myrtle.

The name CAMPBELL is undoubtedly one of considerable antiquity, and the clan has long

⁶ *Highlanders*, ii. 266.

⁷ *Early Kings*, i. 75.

been one of the most numerous and powerful in the Highlands, although many families have adopted the name who have no connection with the Campbells proper by blood or descent. The Argyll family became latterly so powerful, that many smaller clans were absorbed in it voluntarily or compulsorily, and assumed in course of time its peculiar designation. The origin of the name, as well as of the founder of the family, remains still a matter of the greatest doubt. The attempt to deduce the family from the half-mythical King Arthur, of course, is mere trifling.

The name is by some stated to have been derived from a Norman knight, named de Campo Bello, who came to England with William the Conqueror. As respects the latter part of the statement, it is to be observed that in the list of all the knights who composed the army of the Conqueror on the occasion of his invasion of England, and which is known by the name of the Roll of Battle-Abbey, the name of Campo Bello is not to be found. But it does not follow, as recent writers have assumed, that a knight of that name may not have come over to England at a later period, either of his reign or that of his successors.

It has been alleged, in opposition to this account, that in the oldest form of writing the name, it is spelled Cambel or Kambel, and it is so found in many ancient documents; but these were written by parties not acquainted with the individuals whose name they record, as in the manuscript account of the battle of Halidon Hill, by an unknown English writer, preserved in the British Museum; in the Ragman's Roll, which was compiled by an English clerk, and in Wyntoun's Chronicle. There is no evidence, however, that at any period it was written by any of the family otherwise than as *Campbell*, notwithstanding the extraordinary diversity that occurs in the spelling of other names by their holders, as shown by Lord Lindsay in the account of his clan; and the invariable employment of the letter *p* by the Campbells themselves would be of itself a strong argument for the southern origin of the name, did there not exist, in the record of the parliament of Robert Bruce held in 1320, the name of the then head of the family, entered as Sir Nigal de Campo Bello.

The writers, however, who attempt to sustain the fabulous tales of the sennachies, assign a very different origin to the name. It is personal, say they, "like that of some others of the Highland clans, being composed of the words *cam*, bent or arched, and *beul*, mouth; this having been the most prominent feature of the great ancestor of the clan, Diarmid O'Dubin or O'Duin, a brave warrior celebrated in traditional story, who was contemporary with the heroes of Ossian. In the Gaelic language his descendants are called Siol Diarmid, the offspring or race of Diarmid."

Besides the manifest improbability of this origin on other grounds, two considerations may be adverted to, each of them conclusive:—

First, It is known to all who have examined ancient genealogies, that among the Celtic races personal distinctives never have become hereditary. Malcolm *Cannmore*, Donald *Bane*, Rob *Roy*, or Evan *Dhu*, were, with many other names, distinctive of personal qualities, but none of them descended, or could do so, to the children of those who acquired them.

Secondly, It is no less clear that, until after what is called the Saxon Conquest had been completely effected, no hereditary surnames were in use among the Celts of Scotland, nor by the chiefs of Norwegian descent who governed in Argyll and the Isles. This circumstance is pointed out by Tytler in his remarks upon the early population of Scotland, in the second volume of the History of Scotland. The domestic slaves attached to the possessions of the church and of the barons have their genealogies engrossed in ancient charters of conveyances and confirmation copied by him. The names are all Celtic, but in no one instance does the son, even when bearing a second or distinctive name, follow that of his father.

Skene, who maintains the purely native origin of the Campbell, does so in the following remarks:—

"We have shown it to be invariably the case, that when a clan claims a foreign origin, and accounts for their possession of the chiefship and property of the clan by a marriage with the heiress of the old proprietors, they can be proved to be in reality a cadet of that older house who had usurped the chiefship,

while their claim to the chiefship is disputed by an acknowledged descendant of that older house. To this rule the Campbells are no exceptions, for while the tale upon which they found a Norman descent is exactly parallel to those of the other clans in the same situation, the most ancient manuscript genealogies deduce them in the male line from that very family of O'Duin, whose heiress they are said to have married, and the Macarthur Campbells, of Strachur, the acknowledged descendants of the older house, they have at all times disputed the chiefship with the Argyll family. Judging from analogy, we are compelled to admit that the Campbells of Strachur must formerly have been chiefs of the clan, and that the usual causes in such cases have operated to reduce the Strachur family, and to place that of Argyll in that situation, and this is confirmed by the early history of the clan."

We shall take the liberty of quoting here some ingenious speculations on the origin of the name and the founder of the clan, from the pen of a gentleman, a member of the clan, who, for several years, has devoted his leisure to the investigation of the subject, and has placed the results of his researches at our disposal. He declares that the name itself is the most inflexible name in Scotland. In all old documents, he says, in which it occurs, either written by a Campbell, or under his direction, it is spelled always Campbell, or Campo-Bello; and its southern origin he believes is past question. It has always seemed to him to have been the name of some Roman, who, after his countrymen retired from Britain, had settled among the Britons of Strath-Clyde. "I am not one," he continues, "of those who suppose that the fortunes of Campbell depended entirely on the patrimony of his wife. As a family who had been long in the country, the chief of the name (it is improbable that he was then the sole owner of that name, although his family is alone known to history), as a soldier, high in his sovereign's favour, was likely to have possessed lands in Argyle before his marriage took place. Men of mark were then necessary to keep these rather wild and outlandish districts in subjection, and only men high in royal favour were likely to have that trust,—a trust likely to be so well

rewarded, that its holder would be an eligible match for the heiress of Paul In-Sporran.

"It is also quite likely that Eva O'Duin was a king's ward, and on that account her hand would be in the king's gift; and who so likely to receive it as a trusted knight, connected with the district, and one whose loyalty was unquestioned?"

"Again, we put little stress on the Celtic origin of the name,—from the crooked mouth of the first chief, as if from *cam*, bent or crooked, and *beul*, mouth. No doubt this etymology is purely fanciful, and may have been invented by some one anxious to prove the purely Celtic origin of the family; but this seems really unnecessary, as a Celtic residence, Celtic alliances, and Celtic associations for nearly 800 years, is a Celtic antiquity in an almost unbroken line such as few families are able to boast of; indeed, no clan can boast of purer Celtic blood than the Campbells, and their present chief."

The conclusion which, we think, any unprejudiced reader must come to, is, that the question of the origin of the Campbells cannot, until further light be thrown upon it, be determined with certainty at the present day. It is possible that the story of the genealogists may be true; they declare that the predecessors of the Argyll^s family, on the female side, were possessors of Lochow or Lochawe in Argyleshire, as early as 404 A.D. Of this, however, there is no proof worthy of the name. The first of the race who comes prominently into notice is one Archibald (also called Gillespie) Campbell, as likely as not, we think, to be a gentleman of Anglo-Norman lineage, who lived in the 11th century. He acquired the lordship of Lochow, or Lochawe, by marriage with Eva, daughter and heiress of Paul O'Duin, Lord of Lochow, denominated Paul Insporran, from his being the king's treasurer. Another Gillespie is the first of the house mentioned in authentic history, his name occurring as a witness of the charter of the lands of the burgh of Newburgh by Alexander III. in 1246.

* In March 1870, the present Duke, in answer to inquiries, wrote to the papers stating that he spells his name *Argyll*, because it has been spelled so by his ancestors for generations past.

Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, the real founder of the family, sixth in descent from the first Gillespie, distinguished himself by his warlike actions, and was knighted by King Alexander the Third in 1280. He added largely to his estates, and on account of his great prowess he obtained the surname of Mohr or More ("great"); from him the chief of the Argyll family is in Gaelic styled Mae Chaillan More.⁹

Sir Colin Campbell had a quarrel with a powerful neighbour of his, the Lord of Lorn, and after he had defeated him, pursuing the victory too eagerly, was slain (in 1294) at a place called the String of Cowal, where a great obelisk was erected over his grave. This is said to have occasioned bitter feuds betwixt the houses of Lochow and Lorn for a long period of years, which were put an end to by the marriage of the daughter of the Celtic proprietor of Lorn, with John Stewart of Innermeath about 1386. Sir Colin married a lady of the name of Sinclair, by whom he had five sons.

Sir Niel Campbell of Lochow, his eldest son, swore fealty to Edward the First, but afterwards joined Robert the Bruce, and fought by his side in almost every encounter, from the defeat at Methven to the victory at Bannockburn. King Robert rewarded his services by giving him his sister, the Lady Mary Bruce, in marriage, and conferring on him the lands forfeited by the Earl of Athole. His next brother Donald was the progenitor of the Campbells of Loudon. By his wife Sir Niel had three sons,—Sir Colin; John, created Earl of Athole, upon the forfeiture of David de Strathbogie, the eleventh earl; and Dugal.

Sir Colin, the eldest son, obtained a charter from his uncle, King Robert Bruce, of the lands of Lochow and Artornish, dated at Arbroath, 10th February 1316, in which he is designated *Colinus filius Nigelli Cambel, militis*. As a reward for assisting the Steward of Scotland in 1334 in the recovery of the castle of Dunoon, in Cowal, Sir Colin was made hereditary governor of the castle, and had the

grant of certain lands for the support of his dignity. Sir Colin died about 1340. By his wife, a daughter of the house of Lennox, he had three sons and a daughter.

The eldest son, Sir Gillespie or Archibald, who added largely to the family possessions, was twice married, and had three sons, Dunean, Colin, and David, and a daughter, married to Dunean Maefarlane of Arrochar. Colin, the second son, was designed of Ardkinglass, and of his family, the Campbells of Ardentinn, Dunoon, Carriek, Skipnish, Blythswood, Shawfield, Rachan, Auchwillan, and Dergaehie are branches.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, the eldest son, was one of the hostages in 1424, under the name of Dunean, Lord of Argyll, for the payment of the sum of forty thousand pounds (equivalent to four hundred thousand pounds of our money), for the expense of King James the First's maintenance during his long imprisonment in England, when Sir Duncan was found to be worth fifteen hundred merks a-year. He was the first of the family to assume the designation of Argyll. By King James he was appointed one of his privy council, and constituted his justiciary and lieutenant within the shire of Argyll. He became a lord of parliament in 1445, under the title of Lord Campbell. He died in 1453, and was buried at Kilmun. He married, first, Marjory or Mariota Stewart, daughter of Robert Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, by whom he had three sons,—Celestine, who died before him; Archibald, who also predeceased him, but left a son; and Colin, who was the first of Glenorchy, and ancestor of the Breadalbane family. Sir Duncan married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Blackhall and Auchingown, natural son of Robert the Third, by whom also he had three sons, namely, Duncan, who, according to Crawford, was the ancestor of the house of Auchinbreck, of whom are the Campbells of Glencardel, Glensaddel, Kildurkland, Kilmorie, Wester Keams, Kilberry, and Dana; Niel, progenitor, according to Crawford, of the Campbells of Ellengreig and Ormadalo; and Arthur or Archibald, ancestor of the Campbells of Ottar, now extinct. According to some authorities, the Campbells of Auchinbreck and their cadets, also Ellen-

⁹ This, through the mis-spelling, intentional or unintentional, of Sir Walter Scott, is often popularly corrupted into Maccallum More, which, of course, is wrong, as the great or big ancestor's name was *Colin*, not *Callum*.

greig and Ormadale, descend from this the youngest son, and not from his brothers.

The first Lord Campbell was succeeded by his grandson Colin, the son of his second son Archibald. He acquired part of the lordship of Campbell in the parish of Dollar,¹ by marrying the eldest of the three daughters of John Stewart, third Lord of Lorn and Innermeath. He did not, as is generally stated, acquire by this marriage any part of the lordship of Lorn (which passed to Walter, brother of John, the fourth Lord Innermeath, and heir of entail), but obtained that lordship by exchanging the lands of Baldunning and Innerdunning, &c., in Perthshire, with the said Walter. In 1457 he was created Earl of Argyll. In 1470 he was created baron of Lorn, and in 1481 he received a grant of many lands in Knapdale, along with the keeping of Castle Sweyn, which had previously been held by the Lord of the Isles. He died in 1493.

By Isabel Stewart, his wife, eldest daughter of John, Lord of Lorn, the first Earl of Argyll had two sons and seven daughters. Archibald, his elder son, became second earl, and Thomas, the younger, was the ancestor of the Campbells of Lundie, in Forfarshire. Another daughter was married to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis.

Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, succeeded his father in 1493. In 1499 he and others received a commission from the king to let on lease, for the term of three years, the entire lordship of the Isles as possessed by the last lord, both in the Isles and on the mainland, excepting only the island of Isla, and the lands of North and South Kintyre. He also received a commission of lieutenantancy, with the fullest powers, over the lordship of the Isles; and, some months later, was appointed keeper of the castle of Tarbert, and bailie and governor of the king's lands in Knapdale. From this period the great power formerly enjoyed by the Earls of Ross, Lords of the Isles, was transferred to the Earls of Argyll and Huntly; the former having the chief rule in

the south isles and adjacent coasts. At the fatal battle of Flodden, 9th September 1513, his lordship and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, commanded the right wing of the royal army, and with King James the Fourth, were both killed. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first Earl of Lennox, he had four sons and five daughters. His eldest son, Colin, was the third Earl of Argyll. Archibald, his second son, had a charter of the lands of Skipnish, and the keeping of the castle thereof, 13th August 1511. His family ended in an heir-female in the reign of Mary. Sir John Campbell, the third son, at first styled of Lorn, and afterwards of Calder, married Muriella, daughter and heiress of Sir John Calder of Calder, now Cawdor, near Nairn.

According to tradition, she was captured in childhood by Sir John Campbell and a party of the Campbells, while out with her nurse near Calder castle. Her uncles pursued and overtook the division of the Campbells to whose care she had been intrusted, and would have rescued her but for the presence of mind of Campbell of Inverliver, who, seeing their approach, inverted a large camp kettle as if to conceal her, and commanding his seven sons to defend it to the death, hurried on with his prize. The young men were all slain, and when the Calders lifted up the kettle, no Muriel was there. Meanwhile so much time had been gained that farther pursuit was useless. The nurse, just before the child was seized, bit off a joint of her little finger, in order to mark her identity—a precaution which seems to have been necessary, from Campbell of Auchinbreck's reply to one who, in the midst of their congratulations on arriving safely in Argyll with their charge, asked what was to be done should the child die before she was marriageable? "She can never die," said he, "as long as a red-haired lassie can be found on either side of Lochawe!" It would appear that the heiress of the Calders had red hair.

Colin Campbell, the third Earl of Argyll, was, immediately after his accession to the earldom, appointed by the council to assemble an army and proceed against Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, and other Highland chieftains, who had broken out into insurrection,

¹ In 1489, by an act of the Scottish parliament, the name of Castle Gloom, its former designation, was changed to Castle Campbell. It continued to be the frequent and favourite residence of the family till 1644, when it was burnt down by the Macleans in the army of the Marquis of Montrose. The castle and lordship of Castle Campbell remained in the possession of the Argyll family till 1803, when it was sold.

and proclaimed Sir Donald of Lochalsh Lord of the Isles. Owing to the powerful influence of Argyll, the insurgents submitted to the regent, after strong measures had been adopted against them. In 1517 Sir Donald of Lochalsh again appeared in arms, but being deserted by his principal leaders, he effected his escape. Soon after, on his petition, he received a commission of lieutenancy over all the Isles and adjacent mainland.

For some years the Isles had continued at peace, and Argyll employed this interval in extending his influence among the chiefs, and in promoting the aggrandisement of his family and clan, being assisted thereto by his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder, so designed after his marriage with the heiress, and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. The former was particularly active. In 1527 an event occurred, which forms the groundwork of Joanna Baillie's celebrated tragedy of "The Family Legend." It is thus related by Gregory:—"Lauchlan Cattanaeh Maclean of Dowart had married Lady Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of Archibald, second Earl of Argyll, and, either from the circumstance of their union being unfruitful, or more probably owing to some domestic quarrels, he determined to get rid of his wife. Some accounts say that she had twice attempted her husband's life; but, whatever the cause may have been, Maclean, following the advice of two of his vassals, who exercised a considerable influence over him from the tie of fosterage, caused his lady to be exposed on a rock, which was only visible at low water, intending that she should be swept away by the return of the tide. This rock lies between the island of Lismore and the coast of Mull, and is still known by the name of the 'Lady's Rock.' From this perilous situation the intended victim was rescued by a boat accidentally passing, and conveyed to her brother's house. Her relations, although much exasperated against Maclean, smothered their resentment for a time, but only to break out afterwards with greater violence; for the laird of Dowart being in Edinburgh, was surprised when in bed, and assassinated by Sir John Campbell of Calder, the lady's brother. The Macleans instantly took arms to revenge the death of their chief,

and the Campbells were not slow in preparing to follow up the feud; but the government interfered, and, for the present, an appeal to arms was avoided."²

On the escape of the king, then in his seventeenth year, from the power of the Douglasses, in May 1528, Argyll was one of the first to join his majesty at Stirling. Argyll afterwards received an ample confirmation of the hereditary sheriffship of Argyleshire and of the offices of justiciary of Scotland and master of the household, by which these offices became hereditary in his family. He had the commission of justice-general of Scotland renewed 25th October 1529. He died in 1530.

By his countess, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, the third Earl of Argyll had three sons and a daughter. His sons were, Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll; John, ancestor of the Campbells of Lochnell, of which house the Campbells of Balerno and Stonefield are cadets; and Alexander, dean of Moray.

Archibald, the fourth Earl of Argyll, was, on his accession to the title in 1530, appointed to all the offices held by the two preceding earls. A suspicion being entertained by some of the members of the privy council, which is said to have been shared in by the king himself, that many of the disturbances in the Isles were secretly fomented by the Argyll family, that they might obtain possession of the estates forfeited by the chiefs thus driven into rebellion, and an opportunity soon presenting itself, the king eagerly availed himself of it, to curb the increasing power of the Earl of Argyll in that remote portion of the kingdom. Alexander of Isla, being summoned to answer certain charges of Argyll, made his appearance at once, and gave in to the council a written statement, in which, among other things, he stated that the disturbed state of the Isles was mainly caused by the late Earl of Argyll and his brothers, Sir John Campbell of Calder, and Archibald Campbell of Skipnish. The king made such an examination into the complaints of the islanders as satisfied him that the family of Argyll had been acting more for their own benefit than for the welfare

² *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 128.

of the country, and the earl was summoned before his sovereign, to give an account of the duties and rental of the Isles received by him, the result of which was that James committed him to prison soon after his arrival at court. He was soon liberated, but James was so much displeased with his conduct that he deprived him of the offices he still held in the Isles, some of which were bestowed on Alexander of Isla, whom he had accused. After the death of James the Fifth he appears to have regained his authority over the Isles. He was the first of the Scotch nobles who embraced the principles of the Reformation, and employed as his domestic chaplain Mr John Douglas, a converted Carmelite friar, who preached publicly in his house. The Archbishop of St Andrews, in a letter to the earl, endeavoured to induce him to dismiss Douglas, and return to the Romish church, but in vain, and on his death-bed he recommended the support of the new doctrines, and the suppression of Popish superstitions, to his son. He died in August 1558. He was twice married. By his first wife, Lady Helen Hamilton, eldest daughter of James, first Earl of Arran, he had a son, Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll. His second wife was Lady Mary Graham, only daughter of William, third Earl of Menteith, by whom he had Colin, sixth earl, and two daughters.

Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll, was educated under the direction of Mr John Douglas, his father's domestic chaplain, and the first Protestant Archbishop of St Andrews, and distinguished himself as one of the most able among the Lords of the Congregation. In the transactions of their times the earl and his successors took prominent parts; but as these are matters of public history, and as so much the history of the Highlands, in which the Argylls took a prominent part, has been already given in the former part of this work, we shall confine our attention here to what belongs to the history of the family and clan.

The earl had married Jean, natural daughter of King James the Fifth by Elizabeth daughter of John, Lord Carmichael, but he does not seem to have lived on very happy terms with her, as we find that John Knox, at the request of Queen Mary, endeavoured, on more occa-

sions than one, to reconcile them after some domestic quarrels.³ Her majesty passed the summer of 1563 at the earl's house in Argyleshire, in the amusement of deer-hunting.

Argyll died on the 12th of September 1575, aged about 43. His countess, Queen Mary's half-sister, having died without issue, was buried in the royal vault in the abbey of Holyrood-house; and he married, a second time, Lady Johanna or Joneta Cunningham, second daughter of Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn, but as she also had no children, he was succeeded in his estates and title by his brother.

On the 28th of January 1581, with the king and many of the nobility, the sixth earl subscribed a second Confession of Faith. He died in October 1584, after a long illness. He married, first, Janet, eldest daughter of Henry, first Lord Methven, without issue; secondly, Lady Agnes Keith, eldest daughter of William, fourth Earl Marischal, widow of the Regent Moray, by whom he had two sons, Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, and the Hon. Sir Colin Campbell of Lundie, created a baronet in 1627.

In 1594, although then only eighteen, the seventh Earl of Argyll was appointed king's lieutenant against the popish Earls of Huntly and Errol, who had raised a rebellion. In 1599, when measures were in progress for bringing the chiefs of the isles under subjection to the king, the Earl of Argyll and his kinsman, John Campbell of Calder, were accused of having secretly used their influence to prevent Sir James Macdonald of Dunyveg and his clan from being reconciled to the government. The frequent insurrections which occurred in the South Isles in the first fifteen years of the seventeenth century have also been imputed by Mr Gregory to Argyll and the Campbells, for their own purposes. The proceedings of these clans were so violent and illegal, that the king became highly incensed against the Clandonald, and finding, or supposing he had a right to dispose of their possessions both in Kintyre and Isla, he made a grant of them to the Earl of Argyll and the Campbells. This gave rise to a number of bloody conflicts between the Campbells and

³ *Calderwood*, vol. ii. p. 215.

the Clandonald, in the years 1614, 1615, and 1616, which ended in the ruin of the latter, and for the details of which, and the intrigues and proceedings of the Earl of Argyll to possess himself of the lands of that clan, reference may be made to the part of the General History pertaining to this period.

In 1603, the Macgregors, who were already under the ban of the law, made an irruption into the Lennox, and after defeating the Colquhouns and their adherents at Glenfruin, with great slaughter, plundered and ravaged the whole district, and threatened to burn the town of Dumbarton. For some years previously, the charge of keeping this powerful and warlike tribe in order had been committed to the Earl of Argyll, as the king's lieutenant in the "bounds of the clan Gregor," and he was answerable for all their excesses. Instead of keeping them under due restraint, Argyll has been accused by various writers of having from the very first made use of his influence to stir them up to acts of violence and aggression against his own personal enemies, of whom the chief of the Colquhouns was one; and it is further said that he had all along meditated the destruction of both the Macgregors and the Colquhouns, by his crafty and perfidious policy. The only evidence on which these heavy charges rest is the dying declaration of Alistair Macgregor of Glenstrae, the chief of the clan, to the effect that he was deceived by the Earl of Argyll's "falseste and inventiouns," and that he had been often incited by that nobleman to "weir and truble the laird of Luss," and others; but these charges ought to be received with some hesitation by the impartial historian. However this may be, the execution of the severe statutes which were passed against the Macgregors after the conflict at Glenfruin, was intrusted to the Earls of Argyll and Athole, and their chief, with some of his principal followers, was enticed by Argyll to surrender to him, on condition that they would be allowed to leave the country. Argyll received them kindly, and assured them that though he was commanded by the king to apprehend them, he had little doubt he would be able to procure a pardon, and, in the meantime, he would send them to England under an escort, which would convey them off Scottish ground.

It was Macgregor's intention, if taken to London, to procure if possible an interview with the king; but Argyll prevented this; yet, that he might fulfil his promise, he sent them under a strong guard beyond the Tweed at Berwick, and instantly compelled them to retrace their steps to Edinburgh, where they were executed 18th January 1604. How far there may have been deceit used in this matter,—whether, according to Birrel, Argyll "keipit ane Hielandman's promise; in respect he sent the gaird to convey him out of Scottis grund, but thai were not directit to pairt with him, but to fetch him bak agane;" or whether their return was by orders from the king, cannot at the present time be ascertained.

In 1617, after the suppression by him of the Clandonald, Argyll obtained from the king a grant of the whole of Kintyre. For some years Argyll had been secretly a Catholic. His first countess, to whom Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, inscribed his "Aurora" in 1604, having died, he had, in November 1610, married a second time, Anne, daughter of Sir William Cornwall of Brome, ancestor of the Marquis Cornwallis. This lady was a Catholic, and although the earl was a warm and zealous Protestant when he married her, she gradually drew him over to profess the same faith with herself. After the year 1615, as Gregory remarks, his personal history presents a striking instance of the mutability of human affairs. In that year, being deep in debt, he went to England; but as he was the only chief that could keep the Maedonalds in order, the Privy Council wrote to the king urging him to send him home; and in his expedition against the clan Donald he was accompanied by his son, Lord Lorn. In 1618, on pretence of going to the Spa for the benefit of his health, he received from the king permission to go abroad; and the news soon arrived that the earl, instead of going to the Spa, had gone to Spain; that he had there made open defection from the Protestant religion, and that he had entered into very suspicious dealings with the banished rebels, Sir James Maedonald and Alistair MacRanald of Keppoch, who had taken refuge in that country. On the 16th of February he was openly declared rebel and traitor, at the market cross of

Edinburgh, and remained under this ban until the 22d of November 1621, when he was declared the king's free liege. Nevertheless, he did not venture to return to Britain till 1638, and died in London soon after, aged 62. From the time of his leaving Scotland, he never exercised any influence over his great estates; the fee of which had, indeed, been previously conveyed by him to his eldest son, Archibald, Lord Lorn, afterwards eighth Earl of Argyll. By his first wife he had, besides this son, four daughters. By his second wife, the earl had a son and a daughter, viz., James, Earl of Irvine, and Lady Mary, married to James, second Lord Rolle.

Archibald, eighth Earl and first Marquis of Argyll, after his father, went to Spain, as has been above said, managed the affairs of his family and clan. So full an account of the conspicuous part played by the first Marquis of Argyll, in the affairs of his time, has been already given in this work, that further detail here is unnecessary. Suffice it to say, that in 1641 he was created Marquis, and was beheaded with the "Maiden," at the cross of Edinburgh, May 27, 1661; and whatever may be thought of his life, his death was heroic and Christian. By his wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, second Earl of Morton, he had three daughters and two sons. The eldest son Archibald, became ninth Earl of Argyll, the second was Lord Niel Campbell, of Ardmaddie.

On the death of the eighth earl, his estates and title were of course forfeited, but Charles II., in 1663, sensible of the great services of Lord Lorn, and of the injustice with which he had been treated, restored to him the estates and the title of Earl of Argyll. The trivial excuse for the imprisoning and condemning him to death, has been already referred to, and an account has been given of the means whereby he was enabled to make his escape, by the assistance of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay. Having taken part in Monmouth's rebellion, he was taken prisoner, and being carried to Edinburgh, was beheaded upon his former unjust sentence, June 30, 1685. Argyll was twice married; first to Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth Earl of Moray; and secondly, to Lady Anna Maekenzie,

second daughter of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth, widow of Alexander, first Earl of Balcarres. By the latter, he had no issue; but by the former he had four sons and three daughters. He was succeeded by his son Archibald, tenth Earl and first Duke of Argyll, who was an active promoter of the Revolution, and accompanied the Prince of Orange to England. He was one of the commissioners deputed from the Scots Parliament, to offer the crown of Scotland to the Prince, and to tender him the coronation oath. For this and other services, the family estates, which had been forfeited, were restored to him. He was appointed to several important public offices, and in 1696, was made colonel of the Scots horse-guards, afterwards raising a regiment of his own clan, which greatly distinguished itself in Flanders.

On the 21st of June 1701, he was created, by letters patent, Duke of Argyll, Marquis of Lorn and Kintyre, Earl of Campbell and Cowal, Viscount of Loehow and Glenila, Baron Inverary, Mull, Morvern, and Tiree. He died 28th September, 1703. Though undoubtedly a man of ability, he was too dissipated to be a great statesman. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Tollmash, by whom he had two sons, the elder being the celebrated Duke of Argyll and Greenwich.

John, second Duke of Argyll, and also Duke of Greenwich, a steady patriot and celebrated general, the eldest son of the preceding, was born October 10, 1678. On the death of his father in 1703, he became Duke of Argyll, and was soon after sworn of the privy council, made captain of the Scots horse-guards, and appointed one of the extraordinary lords of session. He was soon after sent down as high commissioner to the Scots parliament, where, being of great service in promoting the projected Union, for which he became very unpopular in Scotland, he was, on his return to London, created a peer of England by the titles of Baron of Chatham, and Earl of Greenwich.

In 1706 his Grace made a campaign in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, and rendered important services at various sieges and battles on the continent, and on December 20, 1710, he was installed a knight of the Garter. On the accession of George I., he was

made groom of the stole, and was one of the nineteen members of the regency, nominated by his majesty. On the king's arrival in England, he was appointed general and commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Scotland.

At the breaking out of the Rebellion in 1715, his Grace, as commander-in-chief in Scotland, defeated the Earl of Mar's army at Sheriffmuir, and forced the Pretender to retire from the kingdom. In March 1716, after putting the army into winter quarters, he returned to London, but was in a few months, to the surprise of all, divested of all his employments. In the beginning of 1718 he was again restored to favour, created Duke of Greenwich, and made lord steward of the household. In 1737, when the affair of Captain Porteous came before parliament, his Grace exerted himself vigorously and eloquently in behalf of the city of Edinburgh. A bill having been brought in for punishing the Lord Provost of that city, for abolishing the city guard, and for depriving the corporation of several ancient privileges; and the Queen Regent having threatened, on that occasion, to convert Scotland into a hunting park, Argyll replied, that it was then time to go down and gather his beagles.

In April 1740, he delivered a speech with such warmth against the administration, that he was again deprived of all his offices. To these, however, on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, he was soon restored, but not approving of the measures of the new ministry, he gave up all his posts, and never afterwards engaged in affairs of state. This amiable and most accomplished nobleman has been immortalised by Pope in the lines,

"Argyle, the state's whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the senate and the field."

He was twice married. By his first wife, Mary, daughter of John Brown, Esq. (and niece of Sir Charles Duncombe, Lord Mayor of London in 1708), he had no issue. By his second wife, Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton of Winnington, in Cheshire, one of the maids of honour to Queen Anne, he had five daughters. As the duke died without male issue, his English titles of Duke and Earl of Greenwich, and Baron of Chatham, became extinct, while his Scotch titles and patrimonial estate devolved

on his brother. He died October 4, 1743; and a beautiful marble monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Archibald, third Duke of Argyll, the brother of the preceding, was born at Ham, Surrey, in June 1682, and educated at the university of Glasgow. In 1705 he was constituted lord high treasurer of Scotland; in 1706 one of the commissioners for treating of the Union between Scotland and England; and 19th October of the same year, for his services in that matter, was created Viscount and Earl of Isla. In 1708 he was made an extraordinary lord of session, and after the Union, was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland. In 1710 he was appointed justice-general of Scotland, and the following year was called to the privy council. When the rebellion broke out in 1715, he took up arms for the defence of the house of Hanover. By his prudent conduct in the West Highlands, he prevented General Gordon, at the head of three thousand men, from penetrating into the country and raising levies. He afterwards joined his brother, the duke, at Stirling, and was wounded at the battle of Sheriffmuir. In 1725 he was appointed keeper of the privy seal, and in 1734 of the great seal, which office he enjoyed till his death. He excelled in conversation, and besides building a very magnificent seat at Inverary, he collected one of the most valuable private libraries in Great Britain. He died suddenly, while sitting in his chair at dinner, April 15, 1761. He married the daughter of Mr Whitfield, paymaster of marines, but had no issue by her grace.

The third Duke of Argyll was succeeded by his cousin, John, fourth duke, son of the Hon. John Campbell of Mamore, second son of Archibald, the ninth Earl of Argyll (who was beheaded in 1685), by Elizabeth, daughter of John, eighth Lord Elphinstone. The fourth duke was born about 1693. Before he succeeded to the honours of his family, he was an officer in the army, and saw some service in France and Holland. When the rebellion of 1745 broke out, he was appointed to the command of all the troops and garrisons in the west of Scotland, and arrived at Inverary, 21st December of that year, and, with his eldest son joined the Duke of Cumberland at

Perth, on the 9th of the following February. He died 9th November 1770, in the 77th year of his age. He married in 1720 the Hon. Mary Bellenden, third daughter of the second Lord Bellenden, and had four sons and a daughter.

John, fifth Duke of Argyll, born in 1723, eldest son of the fourth duke, was also in the army, and attained the rank of general in March 1778, and of field-marshal in 1796. He was created a British peer, in the lifetime of his father, as Baron Sundridge of Coomb-bank in Kent, 19th December 1766, with remainder to his heirs male, and failing them to his brothers, Frederiek and William, and their heirs male successively. He was chosen the first president of the Highland Society of Scotland, to which society, in 1806, he made a munificent gift of one thousand pounds. as the beginning of a fund for educating young men of the West Highlands for the navy. He died 24th May 1806, in the 83d year of his age. He married in 1759, Elizabeth, widow of James, sixth Duke of Hamilton, the second of the three beautiful Miss Gunnings, daughters of John Gunning, Esq. of Castle Coote, county Rosecommon, Ireland. By this lady the duke had three sons and two daughters.

George William, sixth Duke of Argyll, was born 22d September 1768. He married, 29th November 1810, Caroline Elizabeth, daughter of the fourth Earl of Jersey, but had no issue. His Grace died 22d October 1839.

His brother, John Douglas Edward Henry (Lord John Campbell of Ardincaple, M.P.) succeeded as seventh duke. He was born 21st December 1777, and was thrice married; first, in August 1802, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Campbell, Esq. of Fairfield, who died in 1818; secondly, 17th April, 1820, to Joan, daughter and heiress of John Glassel, Esq. of Long Niddry; and thirdly, in January 1831, to Anne Colquhoun, eldest daughter of John Cunningham, Esq. of Craighends. By his second wife he had two sons and a daughter, namely, John Henry, born in January 1821, died in May 1837; George Douglas, who succeeded as eighth duke; and Lady Emma Augusta, born in 1825. His Grace died 26th April 1847.

George John Douglas, the eighth duke, born in 1823, married in 1844, Lady Elizabeth Georgina (born in 1824), eldest daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland; issue, John Douglas Sutherland, Marquis of Lorn (M.P. for Argyleshire), born in 1845, and other children. His Grace has distinguished himself not only in politics, but in science; to geology, in particular, he has devoted much attention, and his writings prove him to be possessed of considerable literary ability. He is author of "An Essay on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation," "The Reign of Law," &c. He was made Chancellor of the University of St Andrews, 1851; Lord Privy Seal, 1853; Postmaster-general, 1855-8; Knight of the Thistle, 1856; again Lord Privy Seal, 1859; Secretary of State for India, 1868. The Duke of Argyll is hereditary master of the queen's household in Scotland, keeper of the castles of Dunoon, Dunstaffnage, and Carrick, and heritable sheriff of Argyleshire.

It has been foretold, says tradition, that all the glories of the Campbell line are to be renewed in the first chief who, in the hue of his locks, approaches to Ian Roy Cean (John Red Head, viz., the second duke). This prophecy some may be inclined to think, has been royally fulfilled in the recent marriage of the present duke's heir, the Marquis of Lorn, with the Princess Louise, daughter of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. This event took place on the 21st March 1871, amid the enthusiastic rejoicings of all Scotchmen, and especially Highlandmen, and with the approval of all the sensible portion of Her Majesty's subjects. Her Majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on the Marquis of Lorn, after the ceremony of the marriage, and invested him with the insignia of the Order of the Thistle.

There are a considerable number of important offshoots from the clan Campbell, the origin of some of which has been noticed above; it is necessary, however, to give a more particular account of the most powerful branch of this extensive clan, viz., the BREADALBANK CAMPBELLS.

BREADALBANE CAMPBELL.



BADGE.—Myrtle.

As we have already indicated, the ancestor of the Breadalbane family, and the first of the house of Glenurchy, was Sir Colin Campbell, the third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell of Lochow.

In an old manuscript, preserved in Taymouth Castle, named "the Black Book of Taymouth" (printed by the Bannatyne Club, 1853), containing a genealogical account of the Glenurchy family, it is stated that "Duncan Campbell, commonly callit Duncan in Aa, knight of Lochow (lineallie descendit of a valiant man, surnamit Campbell, quha cam to Scotland in King Malcolm Kandmoir, his time, about the year of God 1067, of quhom came the house of Lochow), flourished in King David Bruce his dayes. Tho foresaid Duncan in Aa had to wyffe Margarit Stewart, dochtler to Duke Murdoch [a mistake evidently for Robert], on whom he begat twa sones, the elder callit Archibald, the other namit Colin, wha was first laird of Glenurchay." That estate was settled on him by his father. It had come into the Campbell family, in the reign of King David the Second, by the marriage of Margaret Glenurchy with John Campbell; and was at one time the property of the warlike clan MacGregor, who were gradually expelled from the territory by the rival clan Campbell.

In 1440 he built the castle of Kilchurn, on a projecting rocky elevation at the east end of Lochawe, under the shadow of the majestic

Ben Cruachan, where—now a picturesque ruin,—

"grey and stern
Stands, like a spirit of the past, lone old Kilchurn."

According to tradition, Kilchurn (properly Coalchuirn) Castle was first erected by his lady, and not by himself, he being absent on a crusade at the time, and for seven years the principal portion of the rents of his lands are said to have been expended on its erection. Sir Colin died before June 10, 1478; as on that day the Lords' auditors gave a decret in a civil suit against "Duncain Cambell, son and air of umquhile Sir Colin Cambell of Glenurquha, knight." He was interred in Argyleshire, and not, as Douglas says, at Finlarig at the north-west end of Lochtay, which afterwards became the burial-place of the family. His first wife had no issue. His second wife was Lady Margaret Stewart, the second of the three daughters and co-heiresses of John Lord Lorn, with whom he got a third of that lordship, still possessed by the family, and thenceforward quartered the galley of Lorn with his paternal achievement. His third wife was Margaret, daughter of Robert Robertson of Strowan, by whom he had a son and a daughter. Sir Colin's fourth wife was Margaret, daughter of Luke Stirling of Keir, by whom he had a son, John, ancestor of the Earls of Loudon, and a daughter, Mariot, married to William Stewart of Baldoran.

Sir Duncan Campbell, the eldest son, obtained the office of bailyard of the king's lands of Discher, Foyer, and Glenlyon, 3d September 1498, for which office, being a hereditary one, his descendant, the second Earl of Breadalbane, received, on the abolition of the heritable jurisdiction in Scotland, in 1747, the sum of one thousand pounds, in full of his claim for six thousand. Sir Duncan also got charters of the king's lands of the port of Lochtay, &c. 5th March 1492; also of the lands of Glenlyon, 7th September 1502; of Finlarig, 22d April 1503; and of other lands in Perthshire in May 1508 and September 1511. He fell at the battle of Flodden. He was twice married. He was succeeded by Sir Colin, the eldest son, who married Lady Marjory Stewart, sixth daughter of John, Earl of Athole, brother uterine

of King James the Second, and had three sons, viz., Sir Duncan, Sir John, and Sir Colin, who all succeeded to the estate. The last of them, Sir Colin, became laird of Glenurchy in 1550, and, according to the "Black Book of Taymouth," he "conquessit" (that is, acquired) "the superiority of M'Nabb, his hail landis." He was among the first to join the Reformation, and sat in the parliament of 1560, when the Protestant doctrines received the sanction of the law. In the "Black Book of Taymouth," he is represented to have been "ane great justiciar all his tyme, throch the quhilk he sustenit the deidly feid of the Clangregor ane lang space; and besides that, he causit execute to the death many notable lymarris, he behiddit the laird of Macgregor himself at Kandmoir, in presenee of the Erle of Athol, the justice-clerk, and sundrie other nobilmen." In 1580 he built the castle of Balloch in Perthshire, one wing of which still continues attached to Taymouth Castle, the splendid mansion of the Earl of Breadalbane. He also built Edinample, another seat of the family. Sir Colin died in 1583. By his wife Catherine, second daughter of William, second Lord Ruthven, he had four sons and four daughters.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurehy, his eldest son and successor, was, on the death of Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll, in 1584, nominated by that nobleman's will one of the six guardians of the young earl, then a minor. The disputes which arose among the guardians have been already referred to, as well as the assassination of the Earl of Moray and Campbell of Calder, and the plot to assassinate the young Earl of Argyll. Gregory expressly charges Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurehy with being the principal mover in the branch of the plot which led to the murder of Calder.

In 1617 Sir Duncan had the office of heritable keeper of the forest of Mamlorn, Bendas-kerlie, &c., conferred upon him. He afterwards obtained from King Charles the First the sheriffship of Perthshire for life. He was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by patent, bearing date 30th May 1625. Although represented as an ambitious and grasping character, he is said to have been the first who attempted to civilise the people on his exten-

sive estates. He not only set them the example of planting timber trees, fencing pieces of ground for gardens, and manuring their lands, but assisted and encouraged them in their labours. One of his regulations of police for the estate was "that no man shall in any public-house drink more than a chopin of ale with his neighbour's wife, in the absence of her husband, upon the penalty of ten pounds, and sitting twenty-four hours in the stocks, totics quoties." He died in June 1631. He was twice married; by his first wife, Lady Jean Stewart, second daughter of John, Earl of Athole, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. Archibald Campbell of Monzie, the fifth son, was ancestor of the Campbells of Monzie, Loehlane, and Finnaab, in Perthshire.

Sir Colin Campbell, the eldest son of Sir Duncan, born about 1577, succeeded as eighth laird of Glenurehy. Little is known of this Sir Colin save what is highly to his honour, namely, his patronage of George Jamesone, the celebrated portrait painter. Sir Colin married Lady Juliana Campbell, eldest daughter of Hugh, first Lord Loudon, but had no issue. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir Robert, at first styled of Glenfalloeh, and afterwards of Glenurchy. Sir Robert married Isabel, daughter of Sir Lauchlan Mackintosh, of Torcastle, captain of the clan Chattan, and had eight sons and nine daughters. William, the sixth son, was ancestor of the Campbells of Glenfalloeh, the representatives of whom have succeeded to the Scottish titles of Earl of Breadalbane, &c. Margaret, the eldest daughter, married to John Cameron of Lochiel, was the mother of Sir Ewen Cameron.

The eldest son, Sir John Campbell of Glenurehy, who succeeded, was twice married. His first wife was Lady Mary Graham, eldest daughter of William, Earl of Strathcarn, Meuteath, and Airth.

Sir John Campbell of Glenurehy, first Earl of Breadalbane, only son of this Sir John, was born about 1635. He gave great assistance to the forces collected in the Highlands for Charles the Second in 1653, under the command of General Middleton. He subsequently used his utmost endeavours with General Monk to declare for a free parliament, as

the most effectual way to bring about his Majesty's restoration. Being a principal creditor of George, sixth Earl of Caithness, whose debts are said to have exceeded a million of marks, that nobleman, on 8th October 1672, made a disposition of his whole estates, heritable jurisdictions, and titles of honour, after his death, in favour of Sir John Campbell of Glenurehy, the latter taking on himself the burden of his lordship's debts; and he was in consequence duly infefted in the lands and earldom of Caithness, 27th February 1673. The Earl of Caithness died in May 1676, when Sir John Campbell obtained a patent, creating him Earl of Caithness, dated at Whitehall, 28th June 1677. But George Sinclair of Keiss, the heir-male of the last earl, being found by parliament entitled to that dignity, Sir John Campbell obtained another patent, 13th August 1681, creating him instead Earl of Breadalbane and Holland, Viscount of Tay and Paintland, Lord Glenurehy, Benederaloch, Ormelie, and Weik, with the precedency of the former patent, and remainder to whichever of his sons by his first wife he might designate in writing, and ultimately to his heirs-male whatsoever. On the accession of James II., the Earl was sworn a privy councillor. At the Revolution, he adhered to the Prince of Orange; and after the battle of Killiecrankie, and the attempted reduction of the Highlands by the forces of the new government, he was empowered to enter into a negotiation with the Jacobite chiefs to induce them to submit to King William, full details of which, as well as of his share in the massacre of Glencoe, have been given in the former part of the work.

When the treaty of Union was under discussion, his Lordship kept aloof, and did not even attend parliament. At the general election of 1713, he was chosen one of the sixteen Scots representative peers, being then seventy-eight years old. At the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, he sent five hundred of his clan to join the standard of the Pretender; and he was one of the suspected persons, with his second son, Lord Glenurehy, summoned to appear at Edinburgh within a certain specified period, to give bail for their allegiance to the government, but no further notice was taken

of his conduct. The Earl died in 1716, in his 81st year. He married first, 17th December 1657, Lady Mary Rich, third daughter of Henry, first Earl of Holland, who had been executed for his loyalty to Charles the First, 9th March 1649. By this lady he had two sons—Duncan, styled Lord Ormelie, who survived his father, but was passed over in the succession, and John, in his father's lifetime styled Lord Glenurehy, who became second Earl of Breadalbane. He married, secondly, 7th April 1678, Lady Mary Campbell, third daughter of Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, dowager of George, sixth Earl of Caithness.

John Campbell, Lord Glenurehy, the second son, born 19th November 1662, was by his father nominated to succeed him as second Earl of Breadalbane, in terms of the patent conferring the title. He died at Holyroodhouse, 23d February 1752, in his ninetieth year. He married, first, Lady Frances Cavendish, second of the five daughters of Henry, second Duke of Newcastle. She died, without issue, 4th February 1690, in her thirtieth year. He married, secondly, 23d May 1695, Henrietta, second daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, knight, sister of the first Earl of Jersey, and of Elizabeth, Countess of Orkney, the witty but plain-looking mistress of King William III. By his second wife he had a son, John, third earl, and two daughters.

John, third earl, born in 1696, was educated at the university of Oxford, and after holding many highly important public offices, died at Holyroodhouse, 26th January 1782, in his 86th year. He was twice married, and had three sons, who all predeceased him.

The male line of the first peer having thus become extinct, the clause in the patent in favour of heirs-general transferred the peerage, and the vast estates belonging to it, to his kinsman, John Campbell, born in 1762, eldest son of Colin Campbell of Carwhin, descended from Colin Campbell of Mochaster (who died in 1678), third son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenurehy. The mother of the fourth Earl and first Marquis of Breadalbane was Elizabeth, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, sheriff of Argyleshire, and sister of John Campbell, judicially styled Lord

Stonefield, a lord of session and justiciary. In 1784 he was elected one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, and was re-chosen at all the subsequent elections, until he was created a peer of the United Kingdom in November 1806, by the title of Baron Breadalbane of Taymouth, in the county of Perth, to himself and the heirs-male of his body. In 1831, at the coronation of William the Fourth, he was created a marquis of the United Kingdom, under the title of Marquis of Breadalbane and Earl of Ormelie. In public affairs he did not take a prominent or ostentatious part, his attention being chiefly devoted to the improvement of his extensive estates, great portions of which, being unfitted for cultivation, he laid out in plantations. In the magnificent improvements at Taymouth, his lordship displayed much taste; and the park has been frequently described as one of the most extensive and beautiful in the kingdom. He married, 2d September 1793, Mary Turner, eldest daughter and coheirress of David Gavin, Esq. of Langton, in the county of Berwick, and by her had two daughters and one son. The elder daughter, Lady Elizabeth Maitland Campbell, married in 1831, Sir John Pringle of Stitchell, baronet, and the younger, Lady Uary Campbell, became in 1819 the wife of Richard, Marquis of Chandos, who in 1839 became Duke of Buckingham. The marquis died, after a short illness, at Taymouth Castle, on 29th March 1834, aged seventy-two.

The marquis' only son, John Campbell, Earl of Ormelie, born at Dundee, 26th October 1796, succeeded, on the death of his father, to the titles and estates. He married, 23d November 1821, Eliza, eldest daughter of George Baillie, Esq. of Jarviswood, without issue. He died November 8th, 1862, when the marquisate, with its secondary titles, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, became extinct, and he was succeeded in the Scotch titles by a distant kinsman, John Alexander Gavin Campbell of Glenfalloch, Perthshire, born in 1824. The claim of the latter, however, was disputed by several candidates for the titles and rich estates. As we have already indicated, the title of Glenfalloch to the estates was descended from William, sixth son of Sir

Robert Campbell, ninth laird and third baron of Glenurehy. He married, in 1850, Mary Theresa, daughter of J. Edwards, Esq., Dublin, and had issue two sons, Lord Glenurehy and the Honourable Ivan Campbell; and one daughter, Lady Eva. This the sixth earl died in London, March 20, 1871, and has been succeeded by his eldest son.

Of the MACARTHUR CAMPBELLS OF STRACHUR, the old Statistical Account of the parish of Strachur says:—"This family is reckoned by some the most ancient of the name of Campbell. The late laird of Macfarlane, who with great genius and assiduity had studied the ancient history of the Highlands, was of this opinion. The patronymic name of this family was Macarthur (the son of Arthur), which Arthur, the antiquary above-mentioned maintains, was brother to Colin, the first of the Argyll family, and that the representatives of the two brothers continued for a long time to be known by the names of *Macarthur* and *Maccaellein*, before they took the surname of Campbell. Another account makes Arthlur the first laird of Strachur, to have descended of the family of Argyll, at a later period, in which the present laird seems to acquiesce, by taking, with a mark of eadete, the arms and livery of the family of Argyll, after they had been quartered with those of Lorn. The laird of Strachur has been always accounted, according to the custom of the Highlands, chief of the clan Arthur or Macarthurs." We have already quoted Mr Skene's opinion as to the claims of the Macarthurs to the chieftainship of the clan Campbell; we cannot think these claims have been sufficiently made out.

Macarthur adhered to the cause of Robert the Bruce, and received, as his reward, a considerable portion of the forfeited territory of MacDougall of Lorn, Bruce's great enemy. He obtained also the keeping of the castle of Dunstaffnage. After the marriage of Sir Neil Campbell with the king's sister, the power and possessions of the Campbell branch rapidly increased, and in the reign of David II. they appear to have first put forward their claims to the chieftainship, but were successfully resisted by Macarthur, who obtained a charter "*Arthurus Campbell quod nulli subjecitur pro terris nisi regi.*"

In the reign of James I., the chief's name was John Macarthur, and so great was his following, that he could bring 1,000 men into the field. In 1427 that king, in a progress through the north, held a parliament at Inverness, to which he summoned all the Highland chiefs, and among others who then felt his vengeance, was John Macarthur, who was beheaded, and his whole lands forfeited. From that period the chieftainship, according to Skene, was lost to the Macarthurs; the family subsequently obtained Strachur in Cowal, and portions of Glenfalloch and Glendochart in Perthshire. Many of the name of Macarthur are still found about Dunstaffnage, but they have long been merely tenants to the Campbells. The Macarthurs were hereditary pipers to the MacDonalds of the Isles, and the last of the race was piper to the Highland Society.

In the history of the main clan, we have noted the origin of most of the offshoots. It may, however, not be out of place to refer to them again explicitly.

The CAMPBELLS of CAWDOR or CALDER, now represented by the Earl of Cawdor, had their origin in the marriage in 1510, of Muriella heiress of the old Thaness of Cawdor, with Sir John Campbell, third son of the second Earl of Argyll. In the general account of the clan, we have already detailed the circumstances connected with the bringing about of this marriage.

The first of the CAMPBELLS of ABERUCHILL, in Perthshire, was Colin Campbell, second son of Sir John Campbell of Lawers, and uncle of the first Earl of Loudon. He got from the Crown a charter of the lands of Aberuchill, in 1596. His son, Sir James Campbell, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in the 17th century.

The CAMPBELLS of ARDNAMURCHAN are descended from Sir Donald Campbell, natural son of Sir John Campbell of Calder, who, as already narrated, was assassinated in 1592. For services performed against the Macdonalds, he was in 1625 made heritable proprietor of the district of Ardnamurehan and Sunart, and was created a baronet in 1628.

The AUCHINBREEK family is descended from Sir Dugald Campbell of Auchinbreek, who was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628.

The CAMPBELLS of ARDKINGGLASS were an old branch of the house of Argyll, Sir Colin Campbell, son and heir of James Campbell of Ardkinglass, descended from the Campbells of Lorn, by Mary, his wife, daughter of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenurehy, was made a baronet in 1679. The family ended in an heiress, who married into the Livingstone family; and on the death of Sir Alexander Livingstone Campbell of Ardkinglass, in 1810, the title and estate descended to Colonel James Callander, afterwards Sir James Campbell, his cousin, son of Sir John Callander of Craigforth, Stirlingshire. At his death in 1832, without legitimate issue, the title became extinct.

The family of BARCALDINE and GLENURE, in Argyshire, whose baronetcy was conferred in 1831, is descended from a younger son of Sir Duncan Campbell, ancestor of the Marquis of Breadalbane.

The CAMPBELLS of DUNSTAFFNAGE descend from Colin, first Earl of Argyll. The first baronet was Sir Donald, so created in 1836.

The ancient family of CAMPBELL of MONZIE, in Perthshire, descend, as above mentioned, from a third son of the family of Glenurehy.

We have already devoted so much space to the account of this important clan, that it is impossible to enter more minutely into the history of its various branches, and of the many eminent men whom it has produced. In the words of Smibert, "pages on pages might be expended on the minor branches of the Campbell house, and the list still be defective." The gentry of the Campbell name are decidedly the most numerous, on the whole, in Scotland, if the clan be not indeed the largest. But, as has been before observed, the great power of the chiefs called into their ranks, nominally, many other families besides the real Campbells. The lords of that line, in short, obtained so much of permanent power in the district of the *Dhu Galls*, or Irish Celts, as to bring these largely under their sway, giving to them at the same time that general clan-designation, respecting the origin of which enough has already been said.

The force of the clan was, in 1427, 1000; in 1715, 4000; and in 1745, 5000.

Although each branch of the Campbells

has its own peculiar arms, still there runs through all a family likeness, the difference generally being very small. All the families of the Campbell name bear the oared galley in their arms, showing the connection by origin or intermarriage with the Western Gaels, the Island Kings. Breadalbane quarters with the Stewart of Lorn, having for supporters two stags, with the motto *Follow Me*.



BADGE.—Red Whortleberry.

The clan LEOD or MACLEOD is one of the most considerable clans of the Western Isles, and is divided into two branches independent of each other, the Macleods of Harris and the Macleods of Lewis.

To the progenitors of this clan, a Norwegian origin has commonly been assigned. They are also supposed to be of the same stock as the Campbells, according to a family history referred to by Mr Skene, which dates no farther back than the early part of the 16th century.

The genealogy claimed for them asserts that the ancestor of the chiefs of the clan, and he who gave it its clan name, was Loyd or Leod, eldest son of King Olave the Black, brother of Magnus, the last king of Man and the Isles. This Leod is said to have had two sons: Tormod, progenitor of the Macleods of Harris, hence called the Siol Tormod, or race of Tormod; and Torquil, of those of Lewis, called the Siol Torquil, or race of Torquil. Although, however, Mr Skene and others are of opinion that there is

no authority whatever for such a descent, and "The Chronicle of Man" gives no countenance to it, we think the probabilities are in its favour, from the manifestly Norwegian names borne by the founders of the clan, namely, Tormod or Gorman and Torquil, and from their position in the Isles, from the very commencement of their known history. The clan itself, there can be no doubt, are mainly the descendants of the ancient Celtic inhabitants of the western isles.

Tormod's grandson, Maleolm, got a charter from David II., of two-thirds of Glenelg, on the mainland, a portion of the forfeited lands of the Bissots, in consideration for which he was to provide a galley of 36 oars, for the king's use whenever required. This is the earliest charter in possession of the Macleods. The same Maleolm obtained the lands in Skye which were long in possession of his descendants, by marriage with a daughter of MacAraill, said to have been one of the Norwegian nobles of the Isles. From the name, however, we would be inclined to take this MacAraill for a Celt. The sennachies sometimes made sad slips.

MACLEOD of HARRIS, originally designated "de Glenelg," that being the first and principal possession of the family, seems to have been the proper chief of the clan Leod. The island, or rather peninsula of Harris, which is adjacent to Lewis, belonged, at an early period, to the Maeruaries of Garmoran and the North Isles, under whom the chief of the Siol Tormod appears to have possessed it. From this family, the superiority of the North Isles passed to the Macdonalds of Isla by marriage, and thus Harris came to form a part of the lordship of the Isles. In the isle of Skye the Siol Tormod possessed the districts of Dunvegan, Duirinish, Braecadale, Lyndale, Trotternish, and Minganish, being about two-thirds of the whole island. Their principal seat was Dunvegan, hence the chief was often styled of that place.

The first charter of the MACLEODS of LEWIS, or Siol Torquil, is also one by King David II. It contained a royal grant to Torquil Macleod of the barony of Assynt, on the north-western coast of Sutherlandshire. This barony, however, he is said to have obtained by marriage

with the heiress, whose name was Maenicol. It was held from the crown. In that charter he has no designation, hence it is thought that he had then no other property. The Lewis Macleods held that island as vassals of the Macdonalds of Isla from 1344, and soon came to rival the Harris branch of the Macleods in power and extent of territory, and even to dispute the chiefship with them. Their armorial bearings, however, were different, the family of Harris having a castle, while that of Lewis had a burning mount. The possessions of the Siol Torquil were very extensive, comprehending the isles of Lewis and Rasay, the district of Waterness in Skye, and those of Assynt, Cogeach, and Gairloch, on the mainland.

To return to the Harris branch. The grandson of the above-mentioned Malcolm, William Macleod, surnamed *Achlerach*, or the elerk, from being in his youth designed for the church, was one of the most daring chiefs of his time. Having incurred the resentment of his superior, the Lord of the Isles, that powerful chief invaded his territory with a large force, but was defeated at a place called Lochsligachan. He was, however, one of the principal supporters of the last Lord of the Isles in his disputes with his turbulent and rebellious son, Angus, and was killed, in 1481, at the battle of the Bloody Bay, where also the eldest son of Roderick Macleod of the Lewis was mortally wounded. The son of William of Harris, Alexander Macleod, called Allaster *Crottach*, or the Humpbacked, was the head of the Siol Tormod at the time of the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, when Roderick, grandson of the above-named Roderick, was chief of the Siol Torquil. This Roderick's father, Torquil, the second son of the first Roderick, was the principal supporter of Donald Dubh, when he escaped from prison and raised the banner of insurrection in 1501, for the purpose of regaining the lordship of the Isles, for which he was forfeited. He married Katherine, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, the sister of Donald Dubh's mother. The forfeited estate of Lewis was restored in 1511 to Malcolm, Torquil's brother. Alexander the Humpback got a charter, under the great seal, of all his lands

in the Isles, from James IV., dated 15th June, 1468, under the condition of keeping in readiness for the king's use one ship of 26 oars and two of 16. He had also a charter from James V. of the lands of Glenelg, dated 13th February, 1539.

With the Macdonalds of Sleat, the Harris Macleods had a feud regarding the lands and office of bailiary of Trotternish, in the isle of Skye, held by them under several crown charters. The feud was embittered by Macleod having also obtained a heritable grant of the lands of Sleat and North Uist; and the Siol Torquil, who had also some claim to the Trotternish bailiary and a portion of the lands, siding with the Macdonalds, the two leading branches of the Macleods came to be in opposition to each other. Under Donald Gruamaeh ("grim-looking") aided by the uterine brother of their chief, John MacTorquil Macleod, son of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, the Macdonalds succeeded in expelling Macleod of Harris or Dunvegan from Trotternish, as well as in preventing him from taking possession of Sleat and North Uist. The death of his uncle, Malcolm Macleod, and the minority of his son, enabled Torquil, with the assistance of Donald Gruamaeh, in his turn, to seize the whole barony of Lewis, which, with the leadership of the Siol Torquil, he held during his life. His daughter and heiress married Donald Gorme of Sleat, a claimant for the lordship of the Isles, and the son and successor of Donald Gruamaeh. An agreement was entered into between Donald Gorme and Ruari or Roderick Macleod, son of Malcolm, the last lawful possessor of the Lewis, whereby Roderick was allowed to enter into possession of that island, and in return Roderick became bound to assist in putting Donald Gorme in possession of Trotternish, against all the efforts of the chief of Harris or Dunvegan, who had again obtained possession of that district. In May 1539, accordingly, Trotternish was invaded and laid waste by Donald Gorme and his allies of the Siol Torquil; but the death soon after of Donald Gorme, by an arrow wound in his foot, under the walls of Mackenzie of Kintail's castle of Ellandonan, put an end to his rebellion and his pretensions together. When the powerful

fleet of James V. arrived at the isle of Lewis the following year, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen met the king, and were made to accompany him in his farther progress through the Isles. On its reaching Skye, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan was also constrained to embark in the royal fleet. With the other captive chiefs they were sent to Edinburgh, and only liberated on giving hostages for their obedience to the laws.

Alexander the Humpbaek, chief of the Harris Macleods, died at an advanced age in the reign of Queen Mary. He had three sons, William, Donald, and Tormod, who all succeeded to the estates and authority of their family. He had also two daughters, the elder of whom was thrice married, and every time to a Macdonald. Her first husband was James, second son of the fourth laird of Sleat. Her second was Allan MacIan, captain of the Clanranald; and her third husband was Macdonald of Keppoch. The younger daughter became the wife of Maclean of Lochbuy.

William Macleod of Harris had a daughter, Mary, who, on his death in 1554, became under a particular destination, his sole heiress in the estates of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg. His claim to the properties of Sleat, Trotternish, and North Uist, of which he was the nominal proprietor, but which were held by the Clandonald, was inherited by his next brother and successor, Donald. This state of things placed the latter in a very anomalous position, which may be explained in Mr Gregory's words:—"The Siol Tormod," he says,⁴ "was now placed in a position, which, though quite intelligible on the principles of feudal law, was totally opposed to the Celtic customs that still prevailed, to a great extent, throughout the Highlands and Isles. A female and a minor was the legal proprietrix of the ancient possessions of the tribe, which, by her marriage, might be conveyed to another and a hostile family; whilst her uncle, the natural leader of the clan according to ancient custom, was left without any means to keep up the dignity of a chief, or to support the clan against its enemies. His claims on the estates possessed by the Clandonald were

worse than nugatory, as they threatened to involve him in a feud with that powerful and warlike tribe, in case he should take any steps to enforce them. In these circumstances, Donald Macleod seized, apparently with the consent of his clan, the estates which legally belonged to his niece, the heiress; and thus, in practice, the feudal law was made to yield to ancient and inveterate custom. Donald did not enjoy these estates long, being murdered in Trotternish, by a relation of his own, John Oig Macleod, who, failing Tormod, the only remaining brother of Donald, would have become the heir male of the family. John Oig next plotted the destruction of Tormod, who was at the time a student in the university of Glasgow; but in this he was foiled by the interposition of the Earl of Argyll. He continued, notwithstanding, to retain possession of the estates of the heiress, and of the command of the clan, till his death in 1559." The heiress of Harris was one of Queen Mary's maids of honour, and the Earl of Argyll, having ultimately become her guardian, she was given by him in marriage to his kinsman, Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck. Through the previous efforts of the earl, Tormod Macleod, on receiving a legal title to Harris and the other estates, renounced in favour of Argyll all his claims to the lands of the Clandonald, and paid 1000 merks towards the dowry of his niece. He also gave his bond of service to Argyll for himself and his clan. Mary Macleod, in consequence, made a complete surrender to her uncle of her title to the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, and Argyll obtained for him a crown charter of these estates, dated 4th August, 1579. Tormod adhered firmly to the interest of Queen Mary, and died in 1584. He was succeeded by his eldest son, William, under whom the Harris Macleods assisted the Macleans in their feuds with the Macdonalds of Isla and Skye, while the Lewis Macleods supported the latter. On his death in 1590, his brother, Roderick, the Rory Mor of tradition, became chief of the Harris Macleods.

In December 1597, an act of the Estates had been passed, by which it was made imperative upon all the chieftains and land

⁴ *History of the Highlands and Isles*, p. 204.

lords in the Highlands and Isles, to produce their title-deeds before the lords of Exchequer on the 15th of the following May, under the pain of forfeiture. The heads of the two branches of the Macleods disregarded the act, and a gift of their estates was granted to a number of Fifo gentlemen, for the purposes of colonisation. They first began with the Lewis, in which the experiment failed, as narrated in the General History. Roderick Macleod, on his part, exerted himself to get the forfeiture of his lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, removed, and ultimately succeeded, having obtained a remission from the king, dated 4th May, 1610. He was knighted by King James VI., by whom he was much esteemed, and had several friendly letters from his majesty; also, a particular license, dated 16th Juno, 1616, to go to London, to the court, at any time he pleased. By his wife, a daughter of Macdonald of Glengarry, he had, with six daughters, five sons, viz., John, his heir; Sir Roderick, progenitor of the Macleods of Talisker; Sir Norman of the Macleods of Bernera and Muiravonside; William of the Macleods of Hamer; and Donald of those of Grisernish.

The history of the Siol Torquil, or Lewis Macleods, as it approached its close, was most disastrous. Roderick, the chief of this branch in 1569, got involved in a deadly feud with the Mackenzies, which ended only with the destruction of his whole family. He had married a daughter of John Mackenzie of Kintail, and a son whom she bore, and who was named Torquil *Connanach*, from his residence among his mother's relations in Strath-eonnan, was disowned by him, on account of the alleged adultery of his mother with the breve or Celtic judge of the Lewis. She eloped with John MacGillechallum of Rasay, a cousin of Roderick, and was, in consequence, divorced. He took for his second wife, in 1541, Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew Lord Avondale, and by this lady had a son, likewise named Torquil, and surnamed *Oighre*, or the Heir, to distinguish him from the other Torquil. About 1566, the former, with 200 attendants, was drowned in a tempest, when sailing from Lewis to Skye, and Torquil *Connanach* immediately took up arms to vindicate

what he conceived to be his rights. In his pretensions he was supported by the Mackenzies. Roderick was apprehended and detained four years a prisoner in the castle of Stornoway. The feud between the Macdonalds and Mackenzies was put an end to by the mediation of the Regent Moray. Before being released from his captivity, the old chief was brought before the Regent and his privy council, and compelled to resign his estate into the hands of the crown, taking a new destination of it to himself in life, and after his death to Torquil *Connanach*, as his son and heir apparent. On regaining his liberty, however, he revoked all that he had done when a prisoner, on the ground of coercion. This led to new commotions, and in 1576 both Roderick and Torquil were summoned to Edinburgh, and reconciled in presence of the privy council, when the latter was again acknowledged as heir apparent to the Lewis, and received as such the district of Cogeach and other lands. The old chief some time afterwards took for his third wife, a sister of Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, and had by her two sons, named Torquil Dubh and Tormod. Having again disinherited Torquil *Connanach*, that young chief once more took up arms, and was supported by two illegitimate sons of Roderick, named Tormod *Uigach* and Murdoch, while three others, Donald, Rory Oig, and Neill, joined with their father. He apprehended the old chief, Roderick Macleod, and killed a number of his men. All the charters and title deeds of the Lewis were carried off by Torquil, and handed over to the Mackenzies. The charge of the castle of Stornoway, with the chief, a prisoner in it, was committed to John Maclood, the son of Torquil *Connanach*, but he was attacked by Rory Oig and killed, when Roderick Macleod was released, and possessed the island in peace during the remainder of his life.

On his death he was succeeded by his son Torquil Dubh, who married a sister of Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris. Torquil Dubh, as we have narrated in the former part of the work, was by stratagem apprehended by the breve of Lewis, and carried to the country of the Mackenzies, into the presence of Lord Kintail, who ordered Torquil Dubh and his

companions to be beheaded. This took place in July 1597.

Torquil Dubh left three young sons, and their uncle Neill, a bastard brother of their father, took, in their behalf, the command of the isle of Lewis. Their cause was also supported by the Macleods of Harris and the Maeleans. The dissensions in the Lewis, followed by the forfeiture of that island, in consequence of the non-production of the title-deeds, as required by the act of the Estates of 1597, already mentioned, afforded the king an opportunity of trying to carry into effect his abortive project of colonisation already referred to. The colonists were at last compelled to abandon their enterprise.

The title to the Lewis having been acquired by Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Kintail, he lost no time in taking possession of the island, expelling Neill Macleod, with his nephews, Malcolm, William, and Roderick, sons of Rory Oig, who, with about thirty others, took refuge on Berrisay, an insulated rock on the west coast of Lewis. Here they maintained themselves for nearly three years, but were at length driven from it by the Maekenzies. Neill surrendered to Roderick Macleod of Harris, who, on being charged, under pain of treason, to deliver him to the privy council at Edinburgh, gave him up, with his son Donald. Neill was brought to trial, convicted, and executed, and is said to have died "very Christianlie" in April 1613. Donald, his son, was banished from Scotland, and died in Holland. Roderick and William, two of the sons of Rory Oig, were seized by the tutor of Kintail, and executed. Malcolm, the other son, apprehended at the same time, made his escape, and continued to harass the Maekenzies for years. He was prominently engaged in Sir James Macdonald's rebellion in 1615, and afterwards went to Flanders, but in 1616 was once more in the Lewis, where he killed two gentlemen of the Maekenzies. He subsequently went to Spain, whence he returned with Sir James Macdonald in 1620. In 1622 and 1626, commissions of fire and sword were granted to Lord Kintail and his clan against "Malcolm MacRuari Macleod." Nothing more is known of him.

On the extinction of the main line of the

Lewis, the representation of the family devolved on the Macleods of Rasay, afterwards referred to. The title of Lord Macleod was the second title of the Maekenzies, Earls of Cromarty.

At the battle of Worcester in 1651, the Macleods fought on the side of Charles II., and so great was the slaughter amongst them that it was agreed by the other clans that they should not engage in any other conflict until they had recovered their losses. The Harris estates were sequestrated by Cromwell, but the chief of the Macleods was at last, in May 1665, admitted into the protection of the Commonwealth by General Monk, on his finding security for his peaceable behaviour under the penalty of £6,000 sterling, and paying a fine of £2,500. Both his uncles, however, were expressly excepted.

At the Revolution, MACLEOD of MACLEOD, which became the designation of the laird of Harris, as chief of the clan, was favourable to the cause of James II. In 1715 the effective force of the Macleods was 1,000 men, and in 1745, 900. The chief, by the advice of President Forbes, did not join in the rebellion of the latter year, and so saved his estates, but many of his clansmen, burning with zeal for the cause of Prince Charles, fought in the ranks of the rebel army.

It has been mentioned that the bad treatment which a daughter of the chief of the Macleods experienced from her husband, the captain of the Clanranald, had caused them to take the first opportunity of inflicting a signal vengeance on the Macdonalds. The merciless act of Macleod, by which the entire population of an island was cut off at once, is described by Mr Skene,⁵ and is shortly thus. Towards the close of the 16th century, a small number of Macleods accidentally landed on the island of Eigg, and were hospitably received by the inhabitants. Offering, however, some incivilities to the young women of the island, they were, by the male relatives of the latter, bound hand and foot, thrown into a boat, and sent adrift. Being met and rescued by a party of their own clansmen, they were brought to Duuvegan, the residence of their

⁵ *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 277.

chief, to whom they told their story. Instantly manning his galleys, Macleod hastened to Eigg. On desceyng his approach, the islanders, with their wives and children, to the number of 200 persons, took refuge in a large cave, situated in a retired and secret place. Here for two days they remained undiscovered, but having unfortunately sent out a scout to see if the Macleods were gone, their retreat was detected, but they refused to surrender. A stream of water fell over the entrance to the cave, and partly concealed it. This Macleod caused to be turned from its course, and then ordered all the wood and other combustibles which could be found to be piled up around its mouth, and set fire to, when all within the cave were suffocated.

The Siol Tormod continued to possess Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg till near the close of the 18th century. The former and the latter estates have now passed into other hands. A considerable portion of Harris is the property of the Earl of Dunmore, and many of its inhabitants have emigrated to Cape Breton and Canada. The climate of the island is said to be favourable to longevity. Martin, in his account of the Western Isles, says he knew several in Harris of 90 years of age. One Lady Macleod, who passed the most of her time here, lived to 103, had then a comely head of hair and good teeth, and enjoyed a perfect understanding till the week she died. Her son, Sir Norman Macleod, died at 96, and his grandson, Donald Macleod of Bernera, at 91. Glenelg became the property first of Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, and afterwards of Mr Baillie. From the family of Bernera, one of the principal branches of the Harris Macleods, sprung the Macleods of Luskinder, of which Sir William Macleod Bannatyne, a lord of session, was a cadet.

The first of the house of RASAY, the late proprietor of which is the representative of the Lewis branch of the Macleods, was Malcolm Garbh Macleod, the second son of Malcolm, eighth chief of the Lewis. In the reign of James V. he obtained from his father in patrimony the island of Rasay, which lies between Skye and the Ross-shire district of Applecross. In 1569 the whole of the Rasay family, except one infant, were barbar-

ously massacred by one of their own kinsmen, under the following circumstances. John MacGhilliechallum Macleod of Rasay, called *Ian na Tuaidh*, or John with the axe, who had carried off Janet Mackenzie, the first wife of his chief, Rodcriek Macleod of the Lewis, married her, after her divorce, and had by her several sons and one daughter. The latter became the wife of Alexander Roy Mackenzie, a grandson of Hector or Eachen Roy, the first of the Mackenzies of Gairloch, a marriage which gave great offence to his clan, the Siol vie Gillechallum, as the latter had long been at feud with that particular branch of the Mackenzies. On Janet Mackenzie's death, he of the axe married a sister of a kinsman of his own, Ruari Macallan Macleod, who, from his venomous disposition, was surnamed *Nimhneach*. The latter, to obtain Rasay for his nephew, his sister's son resolved to cut off both his brother-in-law and his sons by the first marriage. He accordingly invited them to a feast in the island of Isay in Skye, and after it was over he left the apartment. Then, causing them to be sent for one by one, he had each of them assassinated as they came out. He was, however, balked in his object, as Rasay became the property of Malcolm or Ghilliechallum Garbh Macallaster Macleod, then a child, belonging to the direct line of the Rasay branch, who was with his foster-father at the time.⁶ Rasay no longer belongs to the Macleods, they having been compelled to part with their patrimony some years ago.

The Macleods of ASSYNT, one of whom betrayed the great Montrose in 1650, were also a branch of the Macleods of Lewis. That estate, towards the end of the 17th century, became the property of the Mackenzies, and the family is now represented by Macleod of Geanies. The Macleods of Cadboll are cadets of those of Assynt.

⁶ *Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 211.

CHAPTER V.

Clan Chattan—Chiefship—Mackintoshes—Battle of North Inch—Macphersons—MacGillivrays—Shaws—Farquharsons—Macbeans—Macphails—Gows—MacQueens—Cattanachs.

THE CLAN CHATTAN.⁷

OF the clan Chattan little or nothing authentic is known previous to the last six hundred years. Their original home in Scotland, their parentage, even their name, have been disputed. One party brings them from Germany, and settles them in the district of Moray; another brings them from Ireland, and settles them in Lochaber; and a third makes them the original inhabitants of Sutherland and Caithness. With regard to their name there is still greater variety of opinion: the *Catti*, a Teutonic tribe; *Catav*, "the high side of the Ord of Caithness;" *Gillicattan Mor*, their alleged founder, said to have lived in the reign of Malcolm II., 1003-1033; *cat*, a weapon,—all have been advanced as the root name. We cannot pretend to decide on such a matter, which, in the entire absence of any record of the original clan, will no doubt ever remain one open to dispute; and therefore we refrain from entering at length into the reasons for and against these various derivations. Except the simple fact that such a clan existed, and occupied Lochaber for some time (how long cannot be said) before the 14th century, nothing further of it is known, although two elaborate genealogies of it are extant—one in the MS. of 1450 discovered by Mr Skene; the other (which, whatever its faults, is no doubt much more worthy of credence) compiled by Sir Æneas Macpherson in the 17th century.

Mr Skene, on the authority of the MS. of 1450, makes out that the clan was the most important of the tribes owing the sway of the native Earls or Maormors of Moray, and represents it as occupying the whole of Badenoch, the greater part of Lochaber, and the districts of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, hold-

ing their lands in chief of the crown. But it seems tolerably evident that the MS. of 1450 is by no means to be relied upon; Mr Skene himself says it is not trustworthy before A.D. 1000, and there is no good ground for supposing it to be entirely trustworthy 100 or even 200 years later. The two principal septes of this clan in later times, the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes, Mr Skene, on the authority of the MS., deduces from two brothers, Neachtan and Neill, sons of Gillicattan Mor, and on the assumption that this is correct, he proceeds to pronounce judgment on the rival claims of Macpherson of Cluny and Mackintosh of Mackintosh to the headship of clan Chattan.

Mr Skene, from "the investigations which he has made into the history of the tribes of Moray, as well as into the history and nature of Highland traditions," conceives it to be established by "historic authority," that the Macphersons are the lineal and feudal representatives of the ancient chiefs of the clan Chattan, and "that they possess that right by blood to the chiefship, of which no charters from the crown, and no usurpation, however successful and continued, can deprive them." It is not very easy to understand, however, by what particular process of reasoning Mr Skene has arrived at this conclusion. For supposing it were established "beyond all doubt," as he assumes it to be, by the manuscript of 1450, that the Macphersons and the Mackintoshes are descended from Neachtan and Neill, the two sons of Gillicattan-more, the founder of the race, it does not therefore follow that "the Mackintoshes were an usurping branch of the clan," and that "the Macphersons alone possessed the right of blood to that hereditary dignity." This is indeed taking for granted the very point to be proved, in fact the whole matter in dispute. Mr Skene affirms that the descent of the Macphersons from the ancient chiefs "is not denied," which is in reality saying nothing to the purpose; because the question is, not whether this pretended descent has or has not been denied, but whether it can now be established by satisfactory evidence. To make out a case in favour of the Macphersons, it is necessary to show—first, that the descendants of Neachtan formed the eldest

⁷ For much of this account of the clan Chattan we are indebted to the kindness of A. Mackintosh Shaw, Esq. of London, who has revised the whole. His forthcoming history of the clan, we have reason to believe, will be the most valuable clan history yet published.

branch, and consequently were the chiefs of the clan; secondly, that the Macphersons are the lineal descendants and the feudal representatives of this same Neachtan, whom they claim as their ancestor; and, lastly, that the Mackintoshes are really descended from Neill, the second son of the founder of the race, and not from Maeduff, Earl of Fife, as they themselves have always maintained. But we do not observe that any of these points has been formally proved by evidence, or that Mr Skene has deemed it necessary to fortify his assertions by arguments, and deductions from historical facts. His statement, indeed, amounts just to this—That the family of Macheth, the descendants of Head or Heth, the son of Neachtan, were “identical with the chiefs of clan Chattan;” and that the clan Vurich, or Macphersons, were descended from these chiefs. But, in the first place, the “identity” which is here contended for, and upon which the whole question hinges, is imagined rather than proved; it is a conjectural assumption rather than an inference deduced from a series of probabilities: and, secondly, the descent of the clan Vurich from the Macheths rests solely upon the authority of a Celtic genealogy (the manuscript of 1450) which, whatever weight may be given to it when supported by collateral evidence, is not alone sufficient authority to warrant anything beyond a mere conjectural inference. Hence, so far from granting to Mr Skene that the hereditary title of the Macphersons of Cluny to the chiefship of clan Chattan has been clearly established by him, we humbly conceive that he has left the question precisely where he found it. The title of that family may be the preferable one, but it yet remains to be shown that such is the case.

Tradition certainly makes the Macphersons of Cluny the male representatives of the chiefs of the old clan Chattan; but even if this is correct, it does not therefore follow that they have now, or have had for the last six hundred years, any right to be regarded as chiefs of the clan. The same authority, fortified by written evidence of a date only about fifty years later than Skene’s MS., in a MS. history of the Mackintoshes, states that Angus, 6th chief of Mackintosh, married the daughter and

only child of Dugall Dall, chief of clan Chattan, in the end of the 13th century, and with her obtained the lands occupied by the clan, with the station of leader, and that he was *received* as such by the clansmen. Similar instances of the abrogation of what is called the Highland law of succession are to be found in Highland history, and on this ground alone the title of the Mackintosh chiefs seems to be a good one. Then again we find them owned and followed as captains of clan Chattan even by the Macphersons themselves up to the 17th century; while in hundreds of charters, bonds and deeds of every description, given by kings, Lords of the Isles, neighbouring chiefs, and the sept of clan Chattan itself, is the title of captain of clan Chattan accorded to them—as early as the time of David II. Mr Skene, indeed, employs their usage of the term Captain to show that they had no right of blood to the headship—a right they have never claimed, although there is perhaps no reason why they should not claim such a right from Eva. By an argument deduced from the case of the Camerons—the weakness of which will at once be seen on a careful examination of his statements—he presumes that they were the oldest eadets of the clan, and had usurped the chiefship. No doubt the designation captain was used, as Mr Skene says, when the actual leader of a clan was a person who had no right by blood to that position, but it does not by any means follow that he is right in assuming that those who are called captains were *oldest cadets*. Hector, *bastard son* of Ferquhard Mackintosh, while at the head of his clan during the minority of the actual chief, his distant cousin, is in several deeds styled *captain* of clan Chattan, and he was certainly not oldest cadet of the house of Mackintosh.

It is not for us to offer any decided opinion respecting a matter where the pride and pretensions of rival families are concerned. It may therefore be sufficient to observe that, whilst the Macphersons rest their claims chiefly on tradition, the Mackintoshes have produced, and triumphantly appealed to charters and documents of every description, in support of their pretensions; and that it is not very easy to see how so great a mass of written evidence can be overcome by merely calling into court

Tradition to give testimony adverse to its credibility. The admitted fact of the Maekintosh family styling themselves captains of the clan does not seem to warrant any inference which can militate against their pretensions. On the contrary, the original assumption of this title obviously implies that no chief was in existence at the period when it was assumed; and its continuance, unchallenged and undisputed, affords strong presumptive proof in support of the account given by the Maekintoshes as to the original constitution of their title. The idea of usurpation appears to be altogether preposterous. The right alleged by the family of Maekintosh was not direct but collateral; it was founded on a marriage, and not derived by descent; and hence, probably, the origin of the secondary or subordinate title of captain which that family assumed. But can any one doubt that if a claim founded upon a preferable title had been asserted, the inferior pretension must have given way? Or is it in any degree probable that the latter would have been so fully recognised, if there had existed any lineal descendant of the ancient chiefs in a condition to prefer a claim founded upon the inherent and indefeasible right of blood?

Further, even allowing that the Macphersons are the lineal male representatives of the old clan Chattan chiefs, they can have no possible claim to the headship of the clan Chattan of later times, which was composed of others besides the descendants of the old clan. The Mackintoshes also repudiate any connection by blood with the old clan Chattan, except through the heiress of that clan who married their chief in 1291; and, indeed, such a thing was never thought of until Mr Skene started the idea; consequently the Macphersons can have no claim over them, or over the families which spring from them. The great body of the clan, the *historical* clan Chattan, have always owned and followed the chief of Mackintosh as their leader and captain—the term captain being simply employed to include the whole—and until the close of the 17th century no attempt was made to deprive the Mackintosh chiefs of this title.

Among many other titles given to the chief of the Maekintoshes within the last 700 years,

are, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, those of *Captain of Clan Chattan*, *Chief of Clan Chattan*, and *Principal of Clan Chattan*. The following on this subject is from the pen of Lachlan Shaw, the historian of Moray, whose knowledge of the subject entitled him to speak with authority. It is printed in the account of *the Kilravock Family* issued by the Spalding Club. “Eve Catach, who married MacIntosh, was the heir-female (Clunie’s ancestor being the heir-male), and had MacIntosh assumed her surname, he would (say the MacPhersons) have been chief of the Clanehatan, according to the custom of Scotland. But this is an empty distinction. For, if the right of chieftainry is, *jure sanguinis*, inherent in the heir-female, she conveys it, and cannot but convey it to her son, whatever surname he takes; *nam jura sanguinis non præscribunt*. And if it is not inherent in her, she cannot convey it to her son, although he assume her surname. Be this as it will, MacIntosh’s predecessors were, for above 300 years, designed Captains of Clanehatan, in royal charters and commissions, in bonds, contracts, history, heraldrie, &c.; the occasion of which title was, that several tribes or clans (every clan retaining its own surname) united in the general designation of Clanehatan; and of this incorporated body, MacIntosh was the head leader or captain. These united tribes were MacIntosh, MacPherson, Davidson, Shaw, MacBean, MacGilivray, MacQueen, Smith, MacIntyre, MacPhail, &c. In those times of barbarity and violence, small and weak tribes found it necessary to unite with, or come under the patronage of more numerous and powerful clans. And as long as the tribes of Clanehatan remained united (which was till the family of Gordon, breaking with the family of MacIntosh, disunited them, and broke their coalition), they were able to defend themselves against any other clan.”

In a MS., probably written by the same author, a copy of which now lies before us, a lengthened enquiry into the claims of the rival chiefs is concluded thus:—“In a word, if by the chief of the clan Chattan is meant the heir of the family, it cannot be doubted that Clunie is chief. If the heir whatsoever is meant, then unquestionably Maekintosh is chief; and who-

ever is chief, since the captaincy and command of the collective body of the clan Chattan was for above 300 years in the family of Mackintosh, I cannot see but, if such a privilege now remains, it is still in that family." In reference to this much-disputed point, we take the liberty of quoting a letter of the Rev. W. G. Shaw, of Forfar. He has given the result of his inquiries in several privately printed brochures, but it is hoped that ere long he will place at the disposal of all who take an interest in these subjects the large stores of information he must have accumulated on many matters connected with the Highlands. Writing to the editor of this book he says, on the subject of the chiefship of clan Chattan:—

"Skene accords too much to the Macphersons in one way, but not enough in another.

"(*Too much*)—He says that for 200 years the Mackintoshes headed the clan Chattan, but only as *captain*, not as chief. But during these 200 years we have bonds, &c., cropping up now and then in which the Macphersons are *only* designated as (*M. or N.*) *Macpherson of Cluny*. Their claim to *headship* seems to have been thoroughly in abeyance till the middle of the 17th century.

"(*Too little*)—For he says the Macphersons in their controversy (1672) before the Lyon King, pled *only* tradition, whereas they pled the *facts*.

"*De jure* the Macphersons were chiefs; *de facto*, they *never* were; and they only *claimed* to use the *title* when clanship began to be a thing of the past, in so far as *fighting* was concerned.

"The Macphersons seem to have been entitled to the chieftainship by right of birth; but *de facto* they never had it. The *might* of 'the *Macintosh*' had made his *right*, as is evidenced in half-a-hundred bonds of manrent, deeds of various kinds, to be found in the 'Thanes of Cawdor,' and the Spalding Club Miscellany—*passim*. He is always called Capitane or Captane of clan Quhattan, the spelling being scarcely ever twice the same."

Against *Mackintosh's* powerful claims supported by deeds, &c., the following statements are given from the *Macpherson MS.* in Mr W. G. Shaw's possession:—

I. In 1370, the head of the Macphersons disowned the head of the Mackintoshes at Invernahavon. Tradition says Macpherson withdrew from the field without fighting, *i. e.*, he mutinied on a point of precedence between him and Mackintosh.

II. Donald More Macpherson fought along with Marr at Harlaw, *against* Donald of the Isles with *Mackintosh* on his side, the two chiefs being then on different sides (1411).

III. Donald Oig Macpherson fought on the side of Huntly at the battle of Corrichie, and was killed; Mackintosh fought on the other side (1562).

IV. Andrew Macpherson of Cluny held the Castle of Ruthven, A.D. 1594, against Argyll, Mackintosh fighting on the side of Argyll.⁸

This tends to show that when the Macphersons joined with the Mackintoshes, it was (they alleged) *voluntarily*, and not on account of their being bound to follow Mackintosh as chief.

In a loose way, no doubt, Mackintosh may sometimes have been called *Chief of Clan Chattan*, but *Captain* is the title generally given in deeds of all kinds. He was chief of the Mackintoshes, as Cluny was chief of the Macphersons—by *right of blood*; but by agreement amongst the Shaws, Macgillivrays, Clarkes, (Clerach), Clan Dai, &c., renewed from time to time, Mackintosh was recognised as *Captain of Clan Chattan*.

We cannot forbear adding as a fit moral to this part of the subject, the conclusion come to by the writer of the MS. already quoted:—"After what I have said upon this angry point, I cannot but be of opinion, that in our day, when the right of chieftainrie is so little regarded, when the power of the chiefs is so much abridged, when armed convocations of the lieges are discharged by law, and when a clan are not obliged to obey their chief unless he bears a royal commission,—when matters are so, 'tis my opinion that questions about chieftainrie and debates about precedency of that kind, are equally idle and unprofitable,

⁸ Mr Mackintosh Shaw says that, in 1591, Huntly obtained a bond of manrent from Andrew Macpherson and his immediate family, the majority of the Macphersons remaining faithful to Mackintosh. Statements II. and III. are founded *only* on the Macpherson MS.

and that gentlemen should live in strict friendship as they are connected by blood, by affinity, or by the vicinity of their dwellings and the interest of their families."

The elan Chattan of history, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond,⁹ was composed of the following clans, who were either allied to the Mackintoshes and Macphersons by genealogy, or who, for their own protection or other reasons, had joined the confederacy:—The Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Macgillivrays, Shaws, Farquharsons, Macbeans, Macphails, elan Tarril, Gows (said to be descended from Henry the Smith, of North Inch fame), Clarks, Macqueens, Davidsons, Cattanaechs, elan Ay, Nobles, Gillespies. "In addition to the above sixteen tribes, the Macleans of Dochgarroch or elan Tearleach, the Dallases of Cantray, and others, generally followed the captain of elan Chattan as his friends." Of some of these little or nothing is known except the name; but others, as the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Shaws, Farquharsons, &c., have on the whole a complete and well-detailed history.

MACKINTOSH.



BADGE—According to some, Boxwood, others, Red Whortleberry.

According to the Mackintosh MS. Histories (the first of which was compiled about 1500, other two dated in the 16th century, all of which were embodied in a Latin MS. by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara about 1680), the

progenitor of the family was Shaw or Seach, a son of Maeduff, Earl of Fife, who, for his assistance in quelling a rebellion among the inhabitants of Moray, was presented by King Malcolm IV. with the lands of Petty and Breachly and the forestry of Strathearn, being made also constable of the castle at Inverness. From the high position and power of his father, he was styled by the Gaelic-speaking population *Mac-an-Toisich*, *i. e.*, "son of the principal or foremost." *Tus, tos*, or *tosich*, is "the beginning or first part of anything," whence "foremost" or "principal." Mr Skene says the *tosich* was the oldest cadet of a elan, and that Mackintosh's ancestor was oldest cadet of elan Chattan. Professor Cosmo Innes says the *tosich* was the administrator of the crown lands, the head man of a little district, who became under the Saxon title of Thane hereditary tenant, and it is worthy of note that these functions were performed by the successor of the above mentioned Shaw, who, the family history says, "was made chamberlain of the king's revenues in those parts for life." It is scarcely likely, however, that the name Mackintosh arose either in this manner or in the manner stated by Mr Skene, as there would be many *tosachs*, and in every elan an oldest cadet. The name seems to imply some peculiar circumstances, and these are found in the son of the great Thane or Earl of Fife.

Little is known of the immediate successors of Shaw Maeduff. They appear to have made their residence in the castle of Inverness, which they defended on several occasions against the marauding bands from the west. Some of them added considerably to the possessions of the family, which soon took firm root in the north. Towards the close of the 13th century, during the minority of Angus MacFerquhard, 6th chief, the Comyns seized the castle of Inverness, and the lands of Geddes and Rait belonging to the Mackintoshes, and these were not recovered for more than a century. It was this chief who in 1291–2 married Eva, the heiress of elan Chattan, and who acquired with her the lands occupied by that elan, together with the station of leader of her father's clansmen. He appears to have been a chief of great activity, and a staunch supporter of Robert Bruce, with whom he took

⁹ *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 358.

part in the battle of Bannockburn. He is placed second in the list of chiefs given by General Stewart of Garth as present in this battle. In the time of his son William the sanguinary feud with the Camerons broke out, which continued up to the middle of the 17th century. The dispute arose concerning the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig, which Angus Mackintosh had acquired with Eva, and which in his absence had been occupied by the Camerons. William fought several battles for the recovery of these lands, to which in 1337 he acquired a charter from the Lord of the Isles, confirmed in 1357 by David II., but his efforts were unavailing to dislodge the Camerons. The feud was continued by his successor, Lauchlan, 8th chief, each side occasionally making raids into the other's country. In one of these is said to have occurred the well-known dispute as to precedency between two of the septs of clan Chattan, the Macphersons and the Davidsons. According to tradition, the Camerons had entered Badenoch, where Mackintosh was then residing, and had seized a large "spreagh." Mackintosh's force, which followed them, was composed chiefly of these two septs, the Macphersons, however, considerably exceeding the rest. A dispute arising between the respective leaders of the Macphersons and Davidsons as to who should lead the right wing, the chief of Mackintosh, as superior to both, was appealed to, and decided in favour of Davidson. Offended at this, the Macphersons, who, if all accounts are true, had undoubtedly the better right to the post of honour, withdrew from the field of battle, thus enabling the Camerons to secure a victory. When, however, they saw that their friends were defeated, the Macphersons are said to have returned to the field, and turned the victory of the Camerons into a defeat, killing their leader, Charles MacGillonie. The date of this affair, which took place at Invernahavon, is variously fixed at 1370 and 1384, and some writers make it the cause which led to the famous battle on the North Inch of Perth twenty-six years later.

As is well known, great controversies have raged as to the clans who took part in the Perth fight, and those writers just referred to

decide the question by making the Macphersons and Davidsons the combatant clans.¹

Wyntoun's words are—

"They three score ware clannys twa,
Clahynnhe Qwhewyl and Clachinyha,
Of thir twa kynnyis war thay men,
Thretty again thretty then,
And thare thay had thair chiftanys twa,
SCHA FARQWHARIS SONE wes ane of thay,
The tother CHRISTY JOHNESENE."

On this the Rev. W. G. Shaw of Forfar remarks,—“One writer (Dr Macpherson) tries to make out that the clan Yha or Ha was the clan Shaw. Another makes them to be the clan Dhai or Davidsons. Another (with Skene) makes them Macphersons. As to the clan Quhele, Colonel Robertson (author of ‘Historical Proofs of the Highlanders,’) supposes that the clan Quhele was the clan Shaw, partly from the fact that in the Scots Act of Parliament of 1392 (vol. i. p. 217), whereby several clans were forfeited for their share in the raid of Angus [described in vol. i.], there is mention made of Slurach, or, (as it is supposed it ought to have been written) Sheach² *et omnes clan Quhele*. Then others again suppose that the clan Quhele was the clan Mackintosh. Others that it was the clan Cameron, whilst the clan Yha was the Clan-na-Chait or clan Chattau.

“From the fact that, after the clan Battle on the Inch, the star of the Mackintoshes was decidedly in the ascendant, there can be little doubt but that they formed at least a section of the winning side, whether that side were the clan Yha or the clan Quhele.

“Wyntoun declines to say on which side the victory lay. He writes—

‘Wha had the waur fare at the last,
I will nocht say.’

It is not very likely that subsequent writers knew more of the subject than he did, so that after all, we are left very much to the traditions of the families themselves for information. The Camerons, Davidsons, Mackintoshes, and Macphersons, all say that they took part in

¹ For details as to this celebrated combat, see vol. i. ch. v. The present remarks are supplementary to the former, and will serve to correct several inaccuracies.

² Every one acquainted with the subject, knows what havoc Lowland scribes have all along made of Gaelic names in legal and public documents.

the fray. The Shaws' tradition is, that their ancestor, being a relative of the Mackintoshes, took the place of the aged chief of that section of the clan, on the day of battle. The chroniclers vary as to the names of the clans, but they all agree as to the name of *one* of the leaders, viz., that it was Shaw. Tradition and history are agreed on this *one point*.

"One thing emerges clearly from the confusion as to the clans who fought, and as to which of the modern names of the contending clans was represented by the clans Yha and Quhele,—*one thing emerges*, a Shaw leading the victorious party, and a race of Shaws springing from him as their great—if not their first—founder, a race, who for ages afterwards, lived in the district and fought under the banner of the Laird of Mackintosh."³

As to the Davidsons, the tradition which vouches for the particulars of the fight at Invernahavon expressly says that the Davidsons were almost to a man cut off, and it is scarcely likely that they would, within so short a time, be able to muster sufficient men either seriously to disturb the peace of the country or to provide thirty champions. Mr Skene solves the question by making the Mackintoshes and Macphersons the combatant clans, and the cause of quarrel the right to the headship of clan Chattan. But the traditions of both families place them on the winning side, and there is no trace whatever of any dispute at this time, or previous to the 16th century, as to the chiefship. The most probable solution of this difficulty is, that the clans who fought at Perth were the clan Chattan (*i. e.*, Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and others) and the Camerons. Mr Skene, indeed, says that the only clans who have a tradition of their ancestors having been engaged are the Mackintoshes, Macphersons, and *Camerons*, though he endeavours to account for the presence of the last named clan by making them assist the Macphersons against the Mackintoshes.⁴ The editor of the *Memoirs of Lochiel*, mentioning this tradition of the Camerons, as well as the opinion of Skene, says,—“It may be observed, that the side allotted to the

Camerons (*viz.* the *unsuccessful* side) affords the strongest internal evidence of its correctness. Had the Camerons been described as victors it would have been very different.”

The author of the recently discovered MS. account of the clan Chattan already referred to, says that by this conflict Cluny's right to lead the van was established; and in the meetings of clan Chattan he sat on Mackintosh's right hand, and when absent that seat was kept empty for him. Henry Wynde likewise associated with the clan Chattan, and his descendants assumed the name of Smith, and were commonly called Sliochd a Gow Chroim.

Lauchlan, chief of Mackintosh, in whose time these events happened, died in 1407, at a good old age. In consequence of his age and infirmity, his kinsman, Shaw Mackintosh, had headed the thirty clan Chattan champions at Perth, and for his success was rewarded with the possession of the lands of Rothiemurehus in Badenoch. The next chief, Ferquhard, was compelled by his clansmen to resign his post in consequence of his mild, inactive disposition, and his uncle Malcolm (son of William Mac-Angus by a second marriage) succeeded as 10th chief of Mackintosh, and 5th captain of clan Chattan. Malcolm was one of the most warlike and successful of the Mackintosh chiefs. During his long chiefship of nearly fifty years, he made frequent incursions into the Cameron territories, and waged a sanguinary war with the Comyns, in which he recovered the lands taken from his ancestor. In 1411 he was one of the principal commanders in the army of Donald, Lord of the Isles, in the battle of Harlaw, where he is by some stated incorrectly to have been killed. In 1429, when Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, broke out into rebellion at the head of 10,000 men, on the advance of the king into Lochaber, the clan Chattan and the clan Cameron deserted the earl's banners, went over to the royal army, and fought on the royal side, the rebels being defeated. In 1431, Malcolm Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, received a grant of the lands of Alexander of Lochaber, uncle of the Earl of Ross, that chieftain having been forfeited

³ The Mackintosh MS. of 1500 states that Lauchlan, the Mackintosh chief, gave Shaw a grant of Rothiemurehus “for his valour on the Inch that day.”

⁴ Vol. ii. pp. 175-178.

THE MACKINTOSH'S LAMENT.*

Arranged for the Bagpipes by PIPE-MAJOR A. M'LENNAN, Highland Light Infantry Militia, Inverness.

* THE MACKINTOSH'S LAMENT.—For the copy of the Mackintosh's Lament here given, the editor and publishers are indebted to the kindness of The Mackintosh. In a note which accompanied it that gentleman gives the following interesting particulars :—

VARIATION 1st.

DOUBLING OF VARIATION 1ST.

"The tune is as old as 1550 or thereabouts. Angus Mackay in his *Pipe Music Book* gives it 1526, and says it was composed on the death of Lauchlan, the 14th Laird; but we believe that it was composed by the famous family bard Macintyre, upon the death of William, who was murdered by the Countess of Huntly, in 1550. This bard had seen within the space of 40 years, four captains of the Clan Chattan meet with violent deaths, and his deep feelings found vent in the refrain,

"Mackintosh, the excellent
They have lifted;

They have laid thee
Low, they have laid thee."

These are the only words in existence which I can hear of.'

for engaging in the rebellion of Donald Baloach. Having afterwards contrived to make his peace with the Lord of the Isles, he received from him, between 1443 and 1447, a confirmation of his lands in Lochaber, with a grant of the office of bailiary of that district. His son, Duncan, styled captain of the clan Chattan in 1467, was in great favour with John, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, whose sister, Flora, he married, and who bestowed on him the office of steward of Lochaber, which had been held by his father. He also received the lands of Keppoch and others included in that lordship.

On the forfeiture of his brother-in-law in 1475, James III. granted to the same Duncan Mackintosh a charter, of date July 4th, 1476, of the lands of Moymore, and various others, in Lochaber. When the king in 1493 proceeded in person to the West Highlands, Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, was one of the chiefs, formerly among the vassals of the Lord of the Isles, who went to meet him and make their submission to him. These chiefs received in return royal charters of the lands they had previously held under the Lord of the Isles, and Mackintosh obtained a charter of the lands of Keppoch, Innerorgan, and others, with the office of bailiary of the same. In 1495, Farquhar Mackintosh, his son, and Kenneth Oig Mackenzie of Kintail, were imprisoned by the king in Edinburgh castle. Two years thereafter, Farquhar, who seems about this time to have succeeded his father as captain of the clan Chattan, and Mackenzie, made their escape from Edinburgh castle, but, on their way to the Highlands, they were seized at Torwood by the laird of Buchanan. Mackenzie, having offered resistance, was slain, but Mackintosh was taken alive, and confined at Dunbar, where he remained till after the battle of Flodden.

Farquhar was succeeded by his cousin, William Mackintosh, who had married Isabel M'Niven, heiress of Dunnachtan: but John Roy Mackintosh, the head of another branch of the family, attempted by force to get himself recognised as captain of the clan Chattan, and failing in his design, he assassinated his rival at Inverness in 1515. Being closely pursued, however, he was overtaken and slain at Glen-

esk. Lanchlan Mackintosh, the brother of the murdered chief, was then placed at the head of the clan. He is described by Bishop Lesley^a as "a verrie honest and wyse gentleman, an barronn of gude rent, quha keipit hes hole ken, friendes and tenmentis in honest and guid rewill." The strictness with which he ruled his clan raised him up many enemies among them, and, like his brother, he was cut off by the hand of an assassin. "Some wicked persons," says Lesley, "being impatient of virtuous living, stirred up one of his own principal kinsmen, called James Malcolmson, who cruelly and treacherously slew his chief." This was in the year 1526. To avoid the vengeance of that portion of the clan by whom the chief was beloved, Malcolmson and his followers took refuge in the island in the loch of Rothiemurchus, but they were pursued to their hiding place, and slain there.

Lanchlan had married the sister of the Earl of Moray, and by her had a son, William, who on his father's death was but a child. The clan therefore made choice of Hector Mackintosh, a bastard son of Farquhar, the chief who had been imprisoned in 1495, to act as captain till the young chief should come of age. The consequences of this act have already been narrated in their proper place in the General History. On attaining the age of manhood William duly became head of the clan, and having been well brought up by the Earls of Moray and Cassilis, both his near relatives, was, according to Lesley, "honoured as a perfect pattern of virtue by all the leading men of the Highlands." During the life of his uncle, the Earl of Moray, his affairs prospered; but shortly after that noble's death, he became involved in a feud with the Earl of Huntly. He was charged with the heinous offence of conspiring against Huntly, the queen's lieutenant, and at a court held by Huntly at Aberdeen, on the 2d August 1550, was tried and convicted by a jury, and sentenced to lose his life and lands. Being immediately carried to Strathbogie, he was beheaded soon after by Huntly's countess, the earl himself having given a pledge that his life should be spared. The story is told, though with grave errors, by Sir

^a *History of Scotland*, p. 137.

Walter Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*.⁶ By Act of Parliament of 14th December 1557, the sentence was reversed as illegal, and the son of Mackintosh was restored to all his father's lands, to which Huntly added others as assythment for the blood. But this act of atonement on Huntly's part was not sufficient to efface the deep grudge owed him by the clan Chattan on account of the execution of their chief, and he was accordingly thwarted by them in many of his designs.

In the time of this earl's grandson, the clan Chattan again came into collision with the powerful Gordons, and for four years a deadly feud raged between them. In consequence of certain of Huntly's proceedings, especially the murder of the Earl of Moray, a strong faction was formed against him, Lauchlan, 16th chief of Mackintosh, taking a prominent part. A full account of these disturbances in 1624 has already been given in its place in the General History.

In this feud Huntly succeeded in detaching the Macphersons belonging to the Cluny branch from the rest of clan Chattan, but the majority of that sept, according to the MS. history of the Mackintoshes, remained true to the chief of Mackintosh. These allies, however, were deserted by Huntly when he became reconciled to Mackintosh, and in 1609 Andrew Macpherson of Cluny, with all the other principal men of clan Chattan, signed a bond of union, in which they all acknowledged the chief of Mackintosh as *captain and chief* of clan Chattan. The clan Chattan were in Argyll's army at the battle of Glenlivet in 1595, and with the Macleans formed the right wing, which made the best resistance to the Catholic cars, and was the last to quit the field.

Cameron of Lochiel had been forfeited in 1598 for not producing his title deeds, when Mackintosh claimed the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, of which he had kept forcible possession. In 1618 Sir Lauchlan, 17th chief of Mackintosh, prepared to carry into effect the acts of outlawry against Lochiel, who, on his part, put himself under the protection of the Marquis of Huntly, Mackintosh's mortal foe. In July of the same year Sir

Lauchlan obtained a commission of fire and sword against the Macdonalds of Keppoch for laying waste his lands in Lochaber. As he conceived that he had a right to the services of all his clan, some of whom were tenants and dependents of the Marquis of Huntly, he ordered the latter to follow him, and compelled such of them as were refractory to accompany him into Lochaber. This proceeding gave great offence to Lord Gordon, Earl of Enzie, the marquis's son, who summoned Mackintosh before the Privy Council, for having, as he asserted, exceeded his commission. He was successful in obtaining the recall of Sir Lauchlan's commission, and obtaining a new one in his own favour. The consequences of this are told in vol. i. ch. x.

During the wars of the Covenant, William, 18th chief, was at the head of the clan, but owing to feebleness of constitution took no active part in the troubles of that period. He was, however, a decided loyalist, and among the Mackintosh papers are several letters, both from the unhappy Charles I. and his son Charles II., acknowledging his good affection and service. The Mackintoshes, as well as the Macphersons and Farquharsons, were with Montrose in considerable numbers, and, in fact, the great body of clan Chattan took part in nearly all that noble's battles and expeditions.

Shortly after the accession of Charles II., Lauchlan Mackintosh, to enforce his claims to the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig against Cameron of Lochiel, raised his clan, and, assisted by the Macphersons, marched to Lochaber with 1500 men. He was met by Lochiel with 1200 men, of whom 300 were Macgregors. About 300 were armed with bows. General Stewart says:—"When preparing to engage, the Earl of Breadalbane, who was nearly related to both chiefs, came in sight with 500 men, and sent them notice that if either of them refused to agree to the terms which he had to propose, he would throw his interest into the opposite scale. After some hesitation his offer of mediation was accepted, and the feud amicable and finally settled." This was in 1665, when the celebrated Sir Ewen Cameron was chief, and a satisfactory arrangement having been

⁶ Vol. ii. p. 7.

made, the Camcrons were at length left in undisputed possession of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, which their various branches still enjoy.

In 1672 Dunean Maepherston of Cluny, having resolved to throw off all connexion with Maekintosh, made application to the Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as laird of Cluny Maepherston, and "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the elan Chattan." This request was granted; and, soon afterwards, when the Privy Council required the Highland chiefs to give security for the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, Maepherston became bound for his clan under the designation of the lord of Cluny and chief of the Maepherstons; as he could only hold himself responsible for that portion of the clan Chattan which bore his own name and were more particularly under his own control. As soon as Mackintosh was informed of this circumstance, he applied to the privy council and the Lyon office to have his own title declared, and that which had been granted to Maepherston recalled and cancelled. An inquiry was accordingly instituted, and both parties were ordered to produce evidence of their respective assertions, when the council ordered Mackintosh to give bond for those of his *clan*, his vassals, those descended of his family, his men, tenants, and servants, and all dwelling upon his ground; and enjoined Cluny to give bond for those of his name of Maepherston, descended of his family, and his men, tenants, and servants, "without prejudice always to the laird of Maekintosh." In consequence of this decision, the armorial bearings granted to Maepherston were recalled, and they were again matriculated as those of Maepherston of Cluny.

Between the Mackintoshes and the Macdonalds of Keppoch, a feud had long existed, originating in the claim of the former to the lands occupied by the latter, on the Braes of Loehaber. The Macdonalds had no other right to their lands than what was founded on prescriptive possession, whilst the Mackintoshes had a feudal title to the property, originally granted by the lords of the Isles, and, on their forfeiture, confirmed by the crown. After various acts of hostility on both sides, the feud was at

length terminated by "the last considerable clan battle which was fought in the Highlands." To dispossess the Macdonalds by force, Maekintosh raised his clan, and, assisted by an independent company of soldiers, furnished by the government, marched towards Keppoch, but, on his arrival there, he found the place deserted. He was engaged in constructing a fort in Glenroy, to protect his rear, when he received intelligence that the Macdonalds, reinforced by their kinsmen of Glengarry and Glencoe, were posted in great force at Mulroy. He immediately marched against them, but was defeated and taken prisoner. At that critical moment, a large body of Maepherstons appeared on the ground, hastening to the relief of the Maekintoshes, and Keppoch, to avoid another battle, was obliged to release his prisoner. It is highly to the honour of the Maepherstons, that they came forward on the occasion so readily, to the assistance of the rival branch of the clan Chattan, and that so far from taking advantage of Maekintosh's misfortune, they escorted him safely to his own territories, and left him without exacting any conditions, or making any stipulations whatever as to the chiefship.⁷ From this time forth, the Mackintoshes and the Maepherstons continued separate and independent clans, although both were included under the general denomination of the elan Chattan.

At the Revolution, the Mackintoshes adhered to the new government, and as the chief refused to attend the Viscount Dundee, on that nobleman soliciting a friendly interview with him, the latter employed his old opponent, Macdonald of Keppoch, to carry off his cattle. In the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the Mackintoshes took a prominent part. Lauchlan, 20th chief, was actively engaged in the '15, and was at Preston on the Jacobite side. The exploits of Mackintosh of Borlum, in 1715, have been fully narrated in our account of the rebellion of that year.

Lauchlan died in 1731, without issue, when the male line of William, the 18th chief, became extinct. Lauchlan's successor, William Mackintosh, died in 1741. Angus, the brother of the latter, the next chief, married Anne,⁸ daughter of Farquharson of Invercauld, a lady

⁷ Skene's *Highlanders*, ii. 188-9.

⁸ For portrait of Lady Anne Mackintosh, v. vol. i. p. 637

who distinguished herself greatly in the rebellion of 1745. When her husband was appointed to one of the three new companies in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, raised in the beginning of that year, Lady Mackintosh traversed the country, and, in a very short time, enlisted 97 of the 100 men required for a captaincy. On the breaking out of the rebellion, she was equally energetic in favour of the Pretender, and, in the absence of Mackintosh, she raised two battalions of the clan for the prince, and placed them under the command of Colonel Macgillivray of Dunma-

glass. In 1715 the Maekintoshes mustered 1,500 men under Old Borlum, but in 1745 scarcely one half of that number joined the forces of the Pretender. She conducted her followers in person to the rebel army at Inverness, and soon after her husband was taken prisoner by the insurgents, when the prince delivered him over to his lady, saying that "he could not be in better security, or more honourably treated."

At the battle of Culloden, the Mackintoshes were on the right of the Highland army, and in their eagerness to engage, they were the first



Dalross Castle. From a photograph in the possession of The Mackintosh.

to attack the enemy's lines, losing their brave colonel and other officers in the impetuous charge. On the passing of the act for the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions of 1747, Maekintosh claimed £5000 as compensation for his hereditary office of steward of the lordship of Loehaber.

In 1812, Æneas, the 23d laird of Maekintosh, was created a baronet. On his death, without heirs male, Jan. 21, 1820, the baronetcy expired, and his cousin, Alexander whose immediate sires had settled in Canada, succeeded to the estate. Alexander dying without issue

was succeeded by his brother Angus, at whose death in 1833 Alexander, his son became Maekintosh of Mackintosh, and died in 1861, his son, Alexander Æneas, now of Mackintosh, succeeded him as 27th chief of Mackintosh, and 22nd captain of elan Chattan.

The funerals of the chiefs of Maekintosh were always conducted with great ceremony and solemnity. When Lauchlan Mackintosh, the 19th chief, died, in the end of 1703, his body lay in state from 9th December that year, till 18th January 1704, in Dalross Castle (which was built in 1620, and is a good

specimen of an old baronial Scotch mansion, and has been the residence of several chiefs), and 2000 of the clan Chattan attended his remains to the family vault at Petty. Kepoch was present with 220 of the Macdonalds. Across the coffins of the deceased chiefs are laid the sword of Williau, twenty-first of Mackintosh, and a highly finished claymore, presented by Charles I., before he came to the throne, to Sir Lauchlan Mackintosh, gentleman of the bedchamber.

The principal seat of The Mackintosh is Moy Hall, near Inverness. The original castle, now in ruins, stood on an island in Loch Moy.

The eldest branch of the clan Mackintosh was the family of Kellachy, a small estate in Inverness-shire, acquired by them in the 17th century. Of this branch was the celebrated Sir James Mackintosh. His father, Captain John Mackintosh, was the tenth in descent from Allan, third son of Malcolm, tenth chief of the clan. Mackintosh of Kellachy, as the eldest cadet of the family, invariably held the appointment of captain of the watch to the chief of the clan in all his wars.

MACPHERSON.



BADGE.—Boxwood.

The Macphersons, the other principal branch of the clan Chattan, are in Gaelic called the clan Vuirich or Muirich, from an ancestor of that name, who, in the Gaelic MS. of 1450, is said to have been the "son of Swen, son of Heth, son of Nachtan, son of Gillichattan, from whom came the clan Chattan." The word Gillichattan is supposed by some to mean

a votary or servant of St Kattan, a Scottish saint, as Gillichrist (Gilchrist) means a servant of Christ.

The Macphersons claim unbroken descent from the ancient chiefs of the clan Chattan, and tradition is in favour of their being the lineal representatives of the chiefs of the clan. However, this point has been sufficiently discussed in the history of the Mackintoshes, where we have given much of the history of the Macphersons.

It was from Muirich, who is said to have been chief in 1153, that the Macphersons derive the name of the clan Muirich or Vuirich. This Muirich was parson of Kingussie, in the lower part of Badenoch, and the surname was given to his descendants from his office. He was the great-grandson of Gillichattan Mor, the founder of the clan, who lived in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, and having married a daughter of the thane of Calder, had five sons. The eldest, Gillichattan, the third of the name, and chief of the clan in the reign of Alexander II., was father of Dougal Dall, the chief whose daughter Eva married Angus Mackintosh of Mackintosh. On Dougal Dall's death, as he had no sons, the representation of the family devolved on his cousin and heir-male, Kenneth, eldest son of Eoghen or Ewen Baan, second son of Muirich. Neill *Chrom*, so called from his stooping shoulders, Muirich's third son, was a great artificer in iron, and took the name of Smith from his trade. Farquhar Gilliriach, or the Swift, the fourth son, is said to have been the progenitor of the MacGillivrays, who followed the Mackintosh branch of the clan Chattan; and from David Dubh, or the Swarthy, the youngest of Muirich's sons, were descended the clan Dhai, or Davidsons of Invernahavon.²

One of the early chiefs is said to have received a commission to expel the Comyns from Badenoch, and on their forfeiture he obtained, for his services, a grant of lands. He was also allowed to add a hand holding a dagger to

² This is the genealogy given by Sir Aneas Macpherson. From another MS. genealogy of the Macphersons, and from the Mackintosh MS. history, we find that the son of Kenneth, the alleged *grandson* of Muirich, married a daughter of Ferquhard, ninth of Mackintosh, *cir.* 1410, so that it is probable Sir Aneas has placed Muirich and his family more than a century too early.

his armorial bearings. A MS. genealogy of the Macphersons makes Kenneth chief in 1386, when a battle took place at Invernavon between the clan Chattan and the Camerons, details of which and of the quarrel between the Macphersons and the Davidsons will be found in the general history, and in the account of the Mackintoshes.

In 1609 the chief of the Macphersons signed a bond, along with all the other branches of that extensive tribe, acknowledging Maekintosh as captain and chief of the clan Chattan; but in all the contentions and feuds in which the Mackintoshes were subsequently involved with the Camerons and other Lochaber clans, they were obliged to accept of the Macphersons' aid as allies rather than vassals.

Andrew Macpherson of Cluny, who succeeded as chief in 1647, suffered much on account of his sincere attachment to the cause of Charles I. His son, Ewen, was also a staunch royalist. In 1665, under Andrew, the then chief, when Mackintosh went on an expedition against the Camerons, for the recovery of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig, he solicited the assistance of the Macphersons, when a notarial deed was executed, wherein Mackintosh declares that it was of their mere good will and pleasure that they did so; and on his part it is added, "I bind and oblige myself and friends and followers to assist and fortify and join, with the said Andrew, Lauchlan, and John Macpherson, all their lawful and necessary adoes, being thereunto required." The same Andrew, Lauchlan, and John, heads of the three great branches of the Macphersons, had on the 19th of the preceding November given a bond acknowledging Mackintosh as their chief. In 1672 Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, Andrew's brother, made application to the Lyon office to have his arms matriculated as laird of Cluny Macpherson, and "the only and true representative of the ancient and honourable family of the clan Chattan." This application was successful; but as soon as Mackintosh heard of it, he raised a process before the privy council to have it determined as to which of them had the right to the proper armorial bearings. After a protracted inquiry, the council issued an order for the two chiefs to give security for

the peaceable behaviour of their respective clans, in the terms given in the account of Mackintosh. The same year Cluny entered into a contract of friendship with Æneas, Lord Macdonnell, and Aros, "for himself and taking burden upon him for the hail name of Macpherson, and some others, called *Old Clan-chattan*, as cheefe and principall man thereof."

It is worthy of note that this same Duncan made an attempt, which was happily frustrated by his clansmen, to have his son-in-law, a son of Campbell of Cawdor, declared his successor.

On the death, without male issue, of Duncan Macpherson, in 1721 or 1722, the chiefship devolved on Lauchlan Macpherson of Nuid, the next male heir, being lineally descended from John, youngest brother of Andrew, the above-named chief. One of the descendants of this John of Nuid was James Macpherson, the resuscitator of the Ossianic poetry. Lauchlan married Jean, daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. His eldest son, Ewen, was the chief at the time of the rebellion of 1745.



James Macpherson, Editor, &c. of the Ossianic Poetry.

In the previous rebellion of 1715, the Macphersons, under their then chief Duncan, had

taken a very active part on the side of the Pretender. On the arrival of Prince Charles in 1745, Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, who the same year had been appointed to a company in Lord Loudon's Highlanders, and had taken the oaths to government, threw up his commission, and, with 600 Macphersons, joined the rebel army after their victory at Prestonpans. The Macphersons were led to take an active part in the rebellion chiefly from a desire to revenge the fate of two of their clansmen, who were shot on account of the extraordinary mutiny of the Black Watch (now the 42d regiment) two years before, an account of which is given in the history of that Regiment.

Ewen Macpherson, the chief, at first hesitated to join the prince; and his wife, a daughter of Lord Lovat, although a staunch Jacobite, earnestly dissuaded him from breaking his oath to government, assuring him that nothing could end well that began with perjury. Her friends reproached her for interfering—and his clan urging him, Cluny unfortunately yielded.

At the battle of Falkirk, the Macphersons formed a portion of the first line. They were too late for the battle of Culloden, where their assistance might have turned the fortune of the day; they did not come up till after the retreat of Charles from that decisive field. In the subsequent devastation committed by the English army, Cluny's house was plundered and burnt to the ground. Every exertion was made by the government troops for his apprehension, but they never could lay their hands upon him. He escaped to France in 1755, and died at Dunkirk the following year.

Ewen's son, Duncan, was born in 1750, in a kiln for drying corn, in which his mother had taken refuge after the destruction of their house. During his minority, his uncle, Major John Macpherson of the 78th foot, acted as his guardian. He received back the estate which had been forfeited, and, entering the army, became lieutenant-colonel of the 3d foot guards. He married, 12th June 1798, Catherine, youngest daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Fassifern, baronet; and on his death, 1st August 1817, was succeeded by his eldest son, Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, the present chief.

In Cluny castle are preserved various relics of the rebellion of 1745; among the rest, the Prince's target and lace wrist ruffles, and an autograph letter from Charles, promising an ample reward to his devoted friend Cluny. There is also the black pipe chanter on which the prosperity of the house of Cluny is said to be dependent, and which all true members of the clan Vuirich firmly believe fell from heaven, in place of the one lost at the conflict on the North Inch of Perth.

The war-cry of the Macphersons was "Creag Dhu," the name of a rock in the neighbourhood of Cluny Castle. The chief is called in the Highlands "Mac Mhurich Chlanaidh," but everywhere else is better known as Cluny Macpherson.

Among the principal cadets of the Macpherson family were the Macphersons of Pitmcan, Invereshie, Strathmassie, Breachachie, Essie, &c. The Invereshie branch were chiefs of a large tribe called the *Siol Gillies*, the founder of which was Gillies or Elias Macpherson, the first of Invereshie, a younger son of Ewen Baan or Bane (so called from his fair complexion) above mentioned. Sir Eneas Macpherson, tutor of Invereshie, advocate, who lived in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., collected the materials for the history of the clan Macpherson, the MS. of which is still preserved in the family. He was appointed sheriff of Aberdeen in 1684.

George Macpherson of Invereshie married Grace, daughter of Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, and his elder son, William, dying, unmarried, in 1812, was succeeded by his nephew George, who, on the death of his maternal granduncle, General James Grant of Ballindalloch, 13th April 1806, inherited that estate, and in consequence assumed the name of Grant in addition to his own. He was MP. for the county of Sutherland for seventeen years, and was created a baronet 25th July 1838. He thus became Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Invereshie, Inverness-shire, and Ballindalloch, Elginshire. On his death in November 1846, his son, Sir John, sometime secretary of legation at Lisbon, succeeded as second baronet. Sir John died Dec. 2, 1850. His eldest son, Sir George Macpherson-Grant of Invereshie and Ballindalloch, born Aug. 12,

1839, became the third baronet of this family. He married, July 3, 1861, Frances Elizabeth, younger daughter of the Rev. Roger Pocklington, Vicar of Walesby, Nottinghamshire.

We can refer only with the greatest brevity to some of the minor clans which were included under the great confederacy of the clan Chattan.

MACGILLIVRAY.

The Macgillivrays were one of the oldest and most important of the septs of clan Chattan, and from 1626, when their head, Ferquhard MacAllister, acquired a right to the lands of Dunmaglass, frequent mention of them is found in extant documents, registers, etc. Their ancestor placed himself and his posterity under the protection of the Mackintoshes in the time of Ferquhard, fifth chief of Mackintosh, and the clan have ever distinguished themselves by their prowess and bravery. One of them is mentioned as having been killed in a battle with the Camerons about the year 1330, but perhaps the best known of the heads of this clan was Alexander, fourth in descent from the Ferquhard who acquired Dunmaglass. This gentleman was selected by Lady Mackintosh to head her husband's clan on the side of Prince Charlie in the '45. He acquitted himself with the greatest credit, but lost his life, as did all his officers except three, in the battle of Culloden. In the brave but rash charge made by his battalion against the English line, he fell, shot through the heart, in the centre of Barrel's regiment. His body, after lying for some weeks in a pit where it had been thrown with others by the English soldiers, was taken up by his friends and buried across the threshold of the kirk of Petty. His brother William was also a warrior, and gained the rank of captain in the old 89th regiment, raised about 1758. One of the three officers of the Mackintosh battalion who escaped from Culloden was a kinsman of these two brothers,—Farquhar of Dalcrombie, whose grandson, Niel John M'Gillivray of Dunmaglass, is the present head of the clan.

The M'Gillivrays possessed at various times, besides Dunmaglass, the lands of Aberchallader, Letterchallen, Largs, Faillie, Dalcrombie, and Daviot. It was in connection with the suc-

cession to Faillie that Lord Ardmillan's well-known decision was given in 1860 respecting the legal *status* of a clan.

In a Gaelic lament for the slain at Culloden the MacGillivrays are spoken of as

“ The warlike race,
The gentle, vigorous, flourishing,
Active, of great fame, beloved,
The race that will not wither, and has descended
Long from every side,
Excellent MacGillivrays of the Doune.”

SHAW.*

The origin of the Shaws, at one time a most important clan of the Chattan confederation, has been already referred to in connection with the Mackintoshes. The tradition of the Mackintoshes and Shaws is “unvaried,” says the Rev. W. G. Shaw of Forfar, that at least from and after 1396, a race of Shaws existed in Rothiemurchus, whose great progenitor was the Shaw Mor who commanded the section of the clan represented by the Mackintoshes on the Inch. The tradition of the Shaws is, that he was Shaw, the son of James, the son or descendant of Farquhar; the tradition of the Macintoshes—that he was Shaw-*mac-Gilchrist-mac-Ian-mac-Angus-mac-Farquhar*,—Farquhar being the ancestor according to *both* traditions, from whom he took the name (according to Wynthoun) of Sha Farquharis Son.⁴ The tradition of a James Shaw who ‘had bloody contests with the Comyns,’ which tradition is fortified by that of the Comyns, may very likely refer to the James, who, according to the genealogies both of the Shaws and Mackintoshes, was the son of Shaw Mor.

Mr Shaw of Forfar, who is well entitled to speak with authority on the subject, maintains “that prior to 1396, the clan now represented

³ The Shaw arms are the same as those of the Farquharsons following, except that the former have not the banner of Scotland in bend displayed in the second and third quarters.

⁴ The date of part of the Mackintosh MS. is 1490. It states that Lauchlan the chief gave Shaw a grant of Rothiemurchus “for his valour on the Inch that day.” It also states that the “Farquhar” above-mentioned was a man of great parts and remarkable fortitude, and that he fought with his clan at the battle of Largs in 1263. More than this, it states that Duncan, his uncle, was his tutor during his minority, and that Duncan and his posterity held Rothiemurchus till 1396, when Malcolm, the last of his race, fell at the fight at Perth—after which the lands (as above stated) were given to Shaw Mor.

by the Mackintoshes, had been (as was common amongst the clans) sometimes designated as the clan Shaw, after the successive chiefs of that name, especially the first, and sometimes as the clan of the Mae-an-Toisheach, *i.e.*, of the Thane's son. Thus, from its first founder, the great clan of the Isles was originally called the clan Cuin, or race of Constantine. Afterwards, it was called the clan Colla, from his son Coll, and latterly the clan Donald, after one of his descendants of that name. So the Macleans are often called clan Gilleon after their founder and first chief; and the Macphersons, the clan Muirich, after one of the most distinguished in their line of chiefs. The Farquharsons are called clan Fhiunla, after their great ancestor, Finlay Mor. There is nothing more probable, therefore—I should say more certain—than that the race in after times known as Mackintoshes, should at first have been as frequently designated as Na Si'ach, 'The Shaws,' after the Christian name of their first chief, as Mackintoshes after his *appellative description* or designation. It is worthy of remark, that the race of Shaws is never spoken of in Gaelic as the 'clan Shaw,' but as 'Na Si'ach'—The Shaws, or as we would say Shawites. We never hear of Mac-Shaws—sons of Shaw, but of 'Na Si'ach—The Shaws.' Hence prior to 1396, when a Shaw so distinguished himself as to found a family, under the wing of his chief, the undivided race, so to speak, would sometimes be called 'Mackintoshes,' or followers of the Thane's sons, sometimes the clan Chattan, the generic name of the race, sometimes 'clan Dhugaill,' (Quehele) after Dougall-Dall, and sometimes 'Na Si'ach,' the Shaws or Shawites, after the numerous chiefs who bore the name of Shaw in the line of descent. Hence the claim of both Shaws and Mackintoshes to the occupancy of Rothiemurehus. After 1396, the term Na Si'ach was restricted, as all are agreed, to the clan developed out of the other, through the prowess of Shaw Mór."

Shaw "Mor" Mackintosh, who fought at Perth in 1396, was succeeded by his son James, who fell at Harlaw in 1411. Both Shaw and James had held Rothiemurehus only as tenants of the chief of Mackintosh, but James's son and successor, Alister "Ciar" (*i. e.*, brown),

obtained from Duncan, 11th of Mackintosh, in 1463-4, his right of possession and tack. In the deed by which David Stuart, Bishop of Moray, superior of the lands, confirms this disposition of Duncan, and gives Alister the feu, Alister is called "Allister Kier Mackintosh." This deed is dated 24th September 1464. All the deeds in which Alister is mentioned call him Mackintosh, not Shaw, thus showing the descent of the Shaws from the Mackintoshes, and that they did not acquire their name of Shaw until after Alister's time.

Alister's grandson, Alan, in 1539, disposed his right to Rothiemurehus to Edom Gordou, reserving only his son's liferent. Alan's grandson of the same name was outlawed for the murder of his stepfather, some fifty years later, and compelled to leave the country. Numerous Shaws are, however, still to be found in the neighbourhood of Rothiemurehus, or who can trace their descent from Alister Kier.

Besides the Shaws of Rothiemurehus, the Shaws of TORDARROCH in Strathnairn, descended from Adam, younger brother of Alister Kier, were a considerable family; but, like their cousins, they no longer occupy their original patrimony. Tordarroch was held in wadset of the chiefs of Mackintosh, and was given up to Sir Æneas Mackintosh in the end of last century by its holder at the time, Colonel Alexander Shaw, seventh in descent from Adam.

Angus MacBean vic Robert of Tordarroch signed the Bond of 1609 already mentioned. His great-grandsons, Robert and Æneas, took part during their father's life in the rebellion of 1715; both were taken prisoners at Preston, and were confined in Newgate, the elder brother dying during his imprisonment. The younger, Æneas, succeeded his father, and in consideration of his taking no part in the '45, was made a magistrate, and received commissions for his three sons, the second of whom, Æneas, rose to the rank of major-general in the army. Margaret, daughter of Æneas of Tordarroch, was wife of Farquhar Macgillivray of Dalcrombie, one of the three officers of the Mackintosh regiment who escaped from Culloden.

Æneas was succeeded by his eldest son, Colonel Alexander Shaw, lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Man under the crown. He gave up the wadset of Tordarroch to Sir Æneas Mackintosh, and died in 1811.

From the four younger sons of Alister Kier descended respectively the Shaws of DELL (the family of the historian of Moray, the Rev. Lachlan Shaw); of DALNIVERT, the representation of it devolved in the last century on a female, who married ——— Clark; the FARQUHARSONS, who in time acquired more importance than the Shaws; and the SHAWs OF HARRIS, who still retain a tradition of their ancestor, Iver MacAlister Ciar.

FARQUHARSON.



Badge—Red Whortleberry.

The immediate ancestor of the Farquharsons of Invercauld, the main branch, was Farquhar or Fearchard, a son of Alister "Keir" Mackintosh or Shaw of Rothiemurchus, grandson of Shaw Mor. Farquhar, who lived in the reign of James III., settled in the Braes of Mar, and was appointed baillie or hereditary chamberlain thereof. His sons were called Farquharson, the first of the name in Scotland. His eldest son, Donald, married a daughter of Duncan Stewart, commonly called Duncan Downa Dona, of the family of Mar, and obtained a considerable addition to his paternal inheritance, for faithful services rendered to the crown.

Donald's son and successor, Findla or Findlay, commonly called from his great size and strength, Findla Mhor, or great Findla,

lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century. His descendants were called MacIanla or Mackinlay. Before his time the Farquharsons were called in the Gaelic, clan Erachar or Earachar, the Gaelic for Farquhar, and most of the branches of the family, especially those who settled in Athole, were called Mac-Earachar. Those of the descendants of Findla Mhor who settled in the Lowlands had their name of Mackinlay changed into Finlayson.⁵

Findla Mhor, by his first wife, a daughter of the Baron Reid of Kincardine Stewart, had four sons, the descendants of whom settled on the borders of the counties of Perth and Angus, south of Braemar, and some of them in the district of Athole.

His eldest son, William, who died in the reign of James VI., had four sons. The eldest, John, had an only son, Robert, who succeeded him. He died in the reign of Charles II.

Robert's son, Alexander Farquharson of Invercauld, married Isabella, daughter of William Mackintosh of that ilk, captain of the clan Chattan, and had three sons.

William, the eldest son, dying unmarried, was succeeded by the second son, John, who carried on the line of the family. Alexander, the third son, got the lands of Monaltrie, and married Anne, daughter of Francis Farquharson, Esq. of Finzean.

The above-mentioned John Farquharson of Invercauld, the ninth from Farquhar the founder of the family, was four times married. His children by his first two wives died young. By his third wife, Margaret, daughter of Lord James Murray, son of the first Marquis of Athole, he had two sons and two daughters. His elder daughter, Anne, married Eneas Mackintosh of that ilk, and was the celebrated Lady Mackintosh, who, in 1745, defeated the design of the Earl of Loudon to make prisoner Prince Charles at Moy castle. By his fourth wife, a daughter of Forbes of Waterton, he had a son and two daughters, and died in 1750.

His eldest son, James Farquharson of Invercauld, greatly improved his estates, both in appearance and product. He married Amelia, the widow of the eighth Lord Sinclair, and

⁵ Family MS. quoted by Douglas in his *Baronage*.

daughter of Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general of Prince Charles's army, and had a large family, who all died except the youngest, a daughter, Catherine. On his death, in 1806, this lady succeeded to the estates. She married, 16th June 1798, Captain James Ross, R.N. (who took the name of Farquharson, and died in 1810), second son of Sir John Lockhart Ross of Balnagowan, Baronet, and by him had a son, James Farquharson, a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Aberdeenshire, representative of the family.

There are several branches of this clan, of which we shall mention the Farquharsons of WHITEHOUSE, who are descended from Donald Farquharson of Castleton of Braemar and Monaltrie, living in 1580, eldest son, by his second wife, of Findla Mhor, above mentioned.

Farquharson of FINZEAN is the heir male of the clan, and claims the chieftainship, the heir of line being Farquharson of Invercauld. His estate forms nearly the half of the parish of Birse, Aberdeenshire. The family, of which he is representative, came originally from Braemar, but they have held property in the parish for many generations. On the death of Archibald Farquharson, Esq. of Finzean, in 1841, that estate came into the possession of his uncle, John Farquharson, Esq., residing in London, who died in 1849, and was succeeded by his third cousin, Dr Francis Farquharson. This gentleman, before succeeding to Finzean, represented the family of Farquharson of Balfour, a small property in the same parish and county, sold by his grandfather.

The Farquharsons, according to Duncan Forbes "the only clan family in Aberdeenshire," and the estimated strength of which was 500 men, were among the most faithful adherents of the house of Stuart, and throughout all the struggles in its behalf constantly acted up to their motto, "*Fide et Fortitudine.*" The old motto of the clan was, "We forco nae friend, we fear nae foe." They fought under Montrose, and formed part of the Scottish army under Charles II. at Worcester in 1651. They also joined the forces under the Viscount of Dundee in 1689, and at the outbreak of the rebellion of 1715 they were the first to muster at the summons of the Earl of Mar.

In 1745, the Farquharsons joined Prince

Charles, and formed two battalions, the one under the command of Farquharson of Monaltrie, and the other of Farquharson of Balmoral; but they did not accompany the Prince in his expedition into England. Farquharson of Invercauld was treated by government with considerable leniency for his share in the rebellion, but his kinsman, Farquharson of Balmoral, was specially excepted from mercy in the act of indemnity passed in June 1747.

The MACBEANS, Macbanes, or Macbains, derive their name from the fair complexion of their progenitor, or, according to some, from their living in a high country, *beann* being the Gaelic name for a mountain, hence Ben Nevis, Ben Lomond, &c. The distinctive badge of the Macbeans, like that of the Macleods, was the red whortleberry. Of the Mackintosh clan they are considered an offshoot, although some of themselves believe that they are Camerons. It is true that a division of the MacBeans fought under Lochiel in 1745, but a number of them fought under Golice or Gillies MacBanc, of the house of Kinchoil, in the Mackintosh battalion. This gigantic Highlander, who was six feet four and a-half inches in height, displayed remarkable prowess at the battle of Culloden.⁶

"In the time of William, first of the name, and sixth of Mackintosh, William Mhor, son to Bean-Mac Domhnuill-Mhor and his four sons, Paul, Gillies, William-Mhor, and Farquhar, after they had slain the Red Comyn's steward at Innerlochic, came, according to the history, to William Mackintosh, to Connage, where he then resided, and for themselves and their posterity, took protection of him and his. No tribe of Clan Chattan, the history relates, suffered so severely at Harlaw as Clan Veau."⁷

The MACPHAILS are descended from one "Paul Macphail, goodsir to that Sir Andrew Macphail, parson of Croy, who wrote the history of the Mackintoshes. Paul lived in the time of Duncan, first of the name, and eleventh of Mackintosh, who died in 1496. The head of the tribe had his residence at Inverarnie, on the water of Nairn."⁸

⁶ See vol. i. p. 666.

⁷ Fraser-Mackintosh's *Antiquarian Notes*, p. 360.

⁸ *Ibid.*

According to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, there is a tradition that the Gows are descended from Henry, the smith who fought at the North Inch battle, he having accompanied the remnant of the Mackintoshes, and settled in Strathnairn. Being bandy-legged, he was called "Gow Chrom." At any rate, this branch of clan Chattan has long been known as "Slichd an Gow Chrom." *Gow* is a "smith," and thus a section of the multitudinous tribe of Smiths may claim connection with the great clan Chattan.

The head of the MACQUEENS was Macqueen of Corrybrough, Inverness-shire. The founder of this tribe is said to have been Roderick Dhu Revan MacSweyn or Macqueen, who, about the beginning of the 15th century, received a grant of territory in the county of Inverness. He belonged to the family of the Lord of the Isles, and his descendants from him were called the clan Revan.

The Macqueens fought, under the standard of Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, at the battle of Harlaw in 1411. On 4th April 1609, Donald Macqueen of Corrybrough signed the bond of manrent, with the chiefs of the other tribes composing the clan Chattan, whereby they bound themselves to support Angus Mackintosh of that ilk as their captain and leader. At this period, we are told, the tribe of Macqueen comprehended twelve distinct families, all landowners in the counties of Inverness and Nairn.

In 1778, Lord Macdonald of Sleat, who had been created an Irish peer by that title two years before, having raised a Highland regiment, conferred a lieutenancy in it on a son of Donald Macqueen, then of Corrybrough, and in the letter, dated 26th January of that year, in which he intimated the appointment, he says, "It does me great honour to have the sons of chieftains in the regiment, and as the Macqueens have been invariably attached to our family, to whom we believe we owe our existence, I am proud of the nomination." Thus were the Macqueens acknowledged to have been of Macdonald origin, although they ranged themselves among the tribes of the clan Chattan. The name of the clan does not appear in the Acts of Parliament of 1587 and 1594, in which the earliest reliable lists of clans appear.

The CATTANACHS, for a long period few in number, are, according to Mr Fraser-Mackintosh, perhaps better entitled to be held descendants of Gillichattan Mor than most of the clan.

The force of the clan Chattan was, in 1704, 1400; in 1715, 1020; and in 1745, 1700.

CHAPTER VI.

Camerons—Macleans of Dowart, Lochbuy, Coll, Ard-gour, Torloisk, Kinlochaline, Ardtornish, Drimnin, Tapul, Scalladale, Muck, Borrera, Treshinish, Penneyross—Macnaughton—Maenricks—Mac-knights—Maenayers—Macbraynes—Maccols—Siol O'Cain—Munroes—Macmillans.

CAMERON.



BADGE—Oak (or, according to others, Crowberry).²

ANOTHER clan belonging to the district comprehended under the old Maormordom of Moray, is that of the Camerons or clan Chameron. According to John Major,² the clan Cameron and the clan Chattan had a common origin, and for a certain time followed one chief; but for this statement there appears to be no foundation. Allan, surnamed Mac-Oehtry, or the son of Uchtred, is mentioned by tradition as the chief of the Camerons in the reign of Robert II.; and, according to the same authority, the clan Cameron and the clan Chattan were the two hostile tribes between whose champions, thirty against thirty, was

¹ These are the arms registered in the Lyon King-at-Arms office in 1794, by Donald Cameron of Lochiel, and no alteration having since been registered, are therefore, by the Act of Parliament of 1672, still the only arms which that family can legally bear.

² Gregory's *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 75.

fought the celebrated combat at Perth, in the year 1396, before King Robert III. with his nobility and court. The Camerons, says a manuscript history of the clan, have an old tradition amongst them that they were originally descended from a younger son of the royal family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of Fergus II. in 404; and that their progenitor was called Cameron from his crooked nose, a name which was afterwards adopted by his descendants. "But it is more probable," adds the chronicler, "that they are the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country;" a statement which proves that the writer of the history understood neither the meaning of the language he employed, nor the subject in regard to which he pronounced an opinion.

As far back as can distinctly be traced, this tribe had its seat in Lochaber, and appears to have been first connected with the house of Isla in the reign of Robert Bruce, from whom, as formerly stated, Angus Og received a grant of Lochaber. Their more modern possessions of Lochiel and Locharkaig,² situated upon the western side of the Lochy, were originally granted by the Lord of the Isles to the founder of the clan Ranald, from whose descendants they passed to the Camerons. This clan originally consisted of three septs,—the Camerons or MacMartins of Letterfinlay, the Camerons or MacGillonies of Strone, and the Camerons or MacSorlies of Glennevis; and from the genealogy of one of these septs, which is to be found in the manuscript of 1450, it has been inferred that the Lochiel family belonged to the second, or Camerons of Strone, and that being thus the oldest cadets, they assumed the title of Captain of the clan Cameron.³ Mr Skene conjectures that, after the victory at Perth, the MacMartins, or oldest branch, adhered to the successful party, whilst the great body of the clan, headed by the Lochiel family, declared themselves independent; and that in this way the latter were placed in that position which they have ever since retained. But however this may be, Donald Dhu, who was pro-

bably the grandson of Allan MacOchtry, headed the clan at the battle of Harlaw, in 1411, and afterwards united with the captain of the clan Chattan in supporting James I. when that king was employed in reducing to obedience Alexander, Lord of the Isles. Yet these rival clans, though agreed in this matter, continued to pursue their private quarrels without intermission; and the same year in which they deserted the Lord of the Isles, and joined the royal banner, viz. 1429, a desperate encounter took place, in which both suffered severely, more especially the Camerons. Donald Dhu, however, was present with the royal forces at the battle of Inverlochy, in the year 1431, where victory declared in favour of the Islanders, under Donald Balloch; and immediately afterwards his lands were ravaged by the victorious chief, in revenge for his desertion of the Lord of the Isles, and he was himself obliged to retire to Ireland, whilst the rest of the clan were glad to take refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains. It is probably from this Donald Dhu that the Camerons derived their patronymic appellation of MacDhonnill Duibh, otherwise MacConnel Dui, "son of Black Donald."

But their misfortunes did not terminate here. The Lord of the Isles, on his return from captivity, resolved to humble a clan which he conceived had so basely deserted him; and with this view, he bestowed the lands of the Camerons on John Garbh Maclean of Coll, who had remained faithful to him in every vicissitude of fortune. This grant, however, did not prove effectual. The clan Cameron, being the actual occupants of the soil, offered a sturdy resistance to the intruder; John Maclean, the second laird of Coll, who had held the estate for some time by force, was at length slain by them in Lochaber; and Allan, the son of Donald Dhu, having acknowledged himself a vassal of the Lord of Lochalsh, received in return a promise of support against all who pretended to dispute his right, and was thus enabled to acquire the estates of Locharkaig and Lochiel, from the latter of which his descendants have taken their territorial denomination. By a lady of the family of Keppoch, this Allan, who was surnamed MacCoildy, had a son, named Ewen, who was captain of the clan

² A view of Locharkaig will be found at p. 709, vol. i.

³ As to Mr Skene's theory of the captainship of a clan, see the account of clan Chattan.

Cameron in 1493, and afterwards became a chief of mark and distinction. Allan, however, was the most renowned of all the chiefs of the Camerons, excepting, perhaps, his descendant Sir Ewen. He had the character of being one of the bravest leaders of his time, and he is stated to have made no less than thirty-five expeditions into the territories of his enemies. But his life was too adventurous to last long. In the thirty-second year of his age he was slain in one of the numerous conflicts with the Mackintoshes, and was succeeded by his son Ewen, who acquired almost the whole estates which had belonged to the chief of clan Ranald; and to the lands of Loehiel, Glenluy, and Locharkaig, added those of Glennevis, Mamore, and others in Loehaber. After the forfeiture of the last Lord of the Isles, he also obtained a feudal title to all his possessions, as well those which he had inherited from his father, as those which he had wrested from the neighbouring clans; and from this period the Camerons were enabled to assume that station among the Highland tribes which they have ever since maintained.

The Camerons having, as already stated, acquired nearly all the lands of the clan Ranald, Ewen Allanson, who was then at their head, supported John Moydertach, in his usurpation of the chiefship, and thus brought upon himself the resentment of the Earl of Huntly, who was at that time all-powerful in the north. Huntly, assisted by Fraser of Lovat, marched to dispossess the usurper by force, and when their object was effected they retired, each taking a different route. Profiting by this imprudence, the Camerons and Maedonalds pursued Lovat, against whom their vengeance was chiefly directed, and having overtaken him near Kinloch-loehy, they attacked and slew him, together with his son and about three hundred of his clan. Huntly, on learning the defeat and death of his ally, immediately returned to Loehaber, and with the assistance of William Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, seized Ewen Allanson of Loehiel, captain of the clan Cameron, and Ranald Maedonald Glas of Keppoch, whom he carried to the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch. Here they were de-

tained for some time in prison; but being soon afterwards removed to Elgin, they were there tried for high treason, and being found guilty by a jury of landed gentlemen, were beheaded, whilst several of their followers, who had been apprehended along with them, were hanged. This event, which took place in the year 1546, appears to have had a salutary effect in disposing the turbulent Highlanders to submission, the decapitation of a chief being an act of energy for which they were by no means prepared.

The subsequent history of the clan Chameron, until we come to the time of Sir Ewen, the hero of the race, is only diversified by the feuds in which they were engaged with other clans, particularly the Mackintoshes, and by those incidents peculiar to the times and the state of society in the Highlands. Towards the end of Queen Mary's reign, a violent dispute having broken out amongst the clan themselves, the chief, Donald Dhu, patronymically styled Maedonald Mhic Ewen, was murdered by some of his own kinsmen; and, during the minority of his successor, the Mackintoshes, taking advantage of the dissensions which prevailed in the clan, invaded their territories, and forced the grand-uncles of the young chief, who ruled in his name, to conclude a treaty respecting the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig. But this arrangement being resented by the clan, proved ineffectual; no surrender was made of the lands in question; and the inheritance of the chief was preserved undiminished by the patriotic devotion of his clansmen. Early in 1621, Allan Cameron of Loehiel, and his son John, were outlawed for not appearing to give security for their future obedience, and a commission was issued to Lord Gordon against him and his clan; but this commission was not rigorously acted on, and served rather to protect Loehiel against the interference of Mackintosh and others, who were very much disposed to push matters to extremity against the clan Chameron. The following year, however, Loehiel was induced to submit his disputes with the family of Mackintosh to the decision of mutual friends; and by these arbitrators, the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig were adjudged to belong to Mackintosh, who, however, was ordained to pay

certain sums of money by way of compensation to Loehiel. But, as usually happens in similar cases, this decision satisfied neither party. Loehiel, however, pretended to acquiesce, but delayed the completion of the transaction in such a way that the dispute was not finally settled until the time of his grandson, the celebrated Sir Ewen Cameron. About the year 1664, the latter, having made a satisfactory arrangement of the long-standing feud with the Mackintoshes, was at length left in undisputed possession of the lands of Glenluy and Locharkaig; and, with some trifling exceptions, the various branches of the Camerons still enjoy their ancient inheritances. The family of Loehiel, like many others, was constrained to hold its lands of the Marquis of Argyll and his successors.

Sir Ewen Cameron, commonly called Ewan Dhu of Loehiel, was a chief alike distinguished for his chivalrous character, his intrepid loyalty, his undaunted courage, and the ability as well as heroism with which he conducted himself in circumstances of uncommon difficulty and peril. This remarkable man was born in the year 1629, and educated at Inverary Castle, under the guardianship of his kinsman the Marquis of Argyll, who, having taken charge of him in his tenth year, endeavoured to instil into his mind the political principles of the Covenanters and the Puritans, and to induce the boy to attach himself to that party. But the spirit of the youthful chief was not attempered by nature to receive the impressions of a morose fanaticism. At the age of eighteen, he broke loose from Argyll, with the declared intention of joining the Marquis of Montrose, a hero more congenial to his own character. He was too late, however, to be of service to that brave but unfortunate leader, whose reverses had commenced before Cameron left Inverary. But though the royal cause seemed lost he was not disheartened, and having kept his men in arms, completely protected his estate from the incursions of Cromwell's troops. In the year 1652, he joined the Earl of Glencairn, who had raised the royal standard in the Highlands, and greatly distinguished himself in a series of encounters with General Lilburne, Colonel Morgan, and others. In a sharp skirmish which took place between Glencairn and Lil-

burne, at Braemar, Loehiel, intrusted with the defence of a pass, maintained it gallantly until the royal army had retired, when Lilburne, making a detour, attacked him in flank. Loehiel kept his ground for some time; until at last finding himself unable to repel the enemy, who now brought up an additional force against him, he retreated slowly up the hill showing a front to the assailants, who durst not continue to follow him, the ground being steep and covered with snow. This vigorous stand saved Glencairn's army, which was, at that time, in a disorganised state; owing principally to the conflicting pretensions of a number of independent chiefs and gentlemen, who, in their anxiety to command, forgot the duty of obedience. Loehiel, however, kept clear of these cabals, and stationing himself at the outposts, harassed the enemy with continual skirmishes, in which he was commonly successful. How his services were appreciated by Glencairn we learn from a letter of Charles II. to Loehiel, dated at Chantilly, the 3d of November, 1653, in which the exiled king says, "We are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what courage, success, and affection to us, you have behaved yourself in this time of trial, when the honour and liberty of your country are at stake; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of this your courage, and return you our thanks for the same." The letter concludes with an assurance that "we are ready, as soon as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses you shall undergo for our service."

Acting in the same loyal spirit, Loehiel kept his men constantly on the alert, and ready to move wherever their service might be required. In 1654, he joined Glencairn with a strong body, to oppose Generals Monk and Morgan, who had marched into the Highlands. Loehiel being opposed to Morgan, a brave and enterprising officer, was often hard pressed, and sometimes nearly overpowered; but his courage and presence of mind, which never forsook him, enabled the intrepid chief to extricate himself from all difficulties. Monk tried several times to negotiate, and made the most favourable proposals to Loehiel on the part of Cromwell; but these were uniformly rejected with contempt. At length, finding it equally

impossible to subdue or to treat with him, Monk established a garrison at Inverlochy, raising a small fort, as a temporary defence against the musketry, swords, and arrows of the Highlanders. Details as to the tactics of Lochiel, as well as a portrait of the brave chief, will be found at p. 296 of vol. i.

General Middleton, who had been unsuccessful in a skirmish with General Morgan, invited Lochiel to come to his assistance. Upwards of 300 Camerons were immediately assembled, and he marched to join Middleton, who had retreated to Braemar. In this expedition, Lochiel had several encounters with Morgan; and, notwithstanding all the ability and enterprise of the latter, the judgment and promptitude with which the chief availed himself of the accidents of the ground, the activity of his men, and the consequent celerity of their movements, gave him a decided advantage in this *guerre de chicane*. With trifling loss to himself, he slew a considerable number of the enemy, who were often attacked both in flank and rear when they had no suspicion that an enemy was within many miles of them. An instance of this occurred at Lochgarry in August 1653, when Lochiel, in passing northwards, was joined by about sixty or seventy Athole-men, who went to accompany him through the hills. Anxious to revenge the defeat which his friends had, a short time previously, sustained upon the same spot, he planned and executed a surprise of two regiments of Cromwell's troops, which, on their way southward, had encamped upon the plain of Dalnaspidal; and although it would have been the height of folly to risk a mere handful of men, however brave, in close combat with so superior a force, yet he killed a number of the enemy, carried off several who had got entangled in the morass of Lochgarry, and completely effected the object of the enterprise.

But all his exertions proved unavailing. Middleton, being destitute of money and provisions, was at length obliged to submit, and the war was thus ended, excepting with Lochiel himself, who, firm in his allegiance, still held out, and continued to resist the encroachments of the garrison quartered in his neighbourhood. He surprised and cut off a foraging party, which, under the pretence of hunting, had set out to

make a sweep of his cattle and goats; and he succeeded in making prisoners of a number of Scotch and English officers, with their attendants, who had been sent to survey the estates of several loyalists in Argyleshire, with the intention of building forts there to keep down the king's friends. This last affair was planned with great skill, and, like almost all his enterprises, proved completely successful. But the termination of his resistance was now approaching. He treated his prisoners with the greatest kindness, and this brought on an intimacy, which ultimately led to a proposal of negotiation. Lochiel was naturally enough very anxious for an honourable treaty. His country was impoverished and his people were nearly ruined; the cause which he had so long and bravely supported seemed desperate; and all prospect of relief or assistance had by this time completely vanished. Yet the gallant chief resisted several attempts to induce him to yield, protesting that, rather than disarm himself and his clan, abjure his king, and take the oaths to an usurper, he would live as an outlaw, without regard to the consequences. To this it was answered, that, if he only evinced an inclination to submit, no oath would be required, and that he should have his own terms. Accordingly, General Monk, then commander-in-chief in Scotland, drew up certain conditions which he sent to Lochiel, and which, with some slight alterations, the latter accepted and returned by one of the prisoners lately taken, whom he released upon parole. And proudly might he accept the terms offered to him. No oath was required of Lochiel to Cromwell, but his word of honour to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Lochiel for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochy. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation, and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to his tenants for all the losses they had sustained from the troops. All tithes, cess, and public burdens which had not been paid, were to be remitted. This was in June 1654.

Lochiel with his brave Camerons lived in peace till the Restoration, and during the two succeeding reigns he remained in tranquil

possession of his property. But in 1689, he joined the standard of King James, which had been raised by Viscount Dundee. General Mackay had, by orders of King William, offered him a title and a considerable sum of money, apparently on the condition of his remaining neutral. The offer, however, was rejected with disdain; and at the battle of Killiecrankie, Sir Ewen had a conspicuous share in the success of the day. Before the battle, he spoke to each of his men, individually, and took their promise that they would conquer or die. At the commencement of the action, when General Mackay's army raised a kind of shout, Lochiel exclaimed, "Gentlemen, the day is our own; I am the oldest commander in the army, and I have always observed something ominous or fatal in such a dull, heavy, feeble noise as that which the enemy has just made in their shout." These words spread like wildfire through the ranks of the Highlanders. Electrified by the prognostication of the veteran chief, they rushed like furies on the enemy, and in half an hour the battle was finished. But Viscount Dundee had fallen early in the fight, and Lochiel, disgusted with the incapacity of Colonel Cannon, who succeeded him, retired to Lochaber, leaving the command of his men to his eldest son.⁴ This heroic and chivalrous chief survived till the year 1719, when he died at the age of ninety, leaving a name distinguished for bravery, honour, consistency, and disinterested devotion to the cause which he so long and ably supported.⁵

The character of Sir Ewen Cameron was worthily upheld by his grandson, the "gentle Lochiel," though with less auspicious fortune.

⁴ Although Sir Ewen, with his clan, had joined Lord Dundee in the service of the abdicated king, yet his second son was a captain in the Scots Fusileers, and served with Mackay on the side of the government. As the general was observing the Highland army drawn up on the face of a hill to the westward of the great pass, he turned round to young Cameron, who stood near him, and pointing to his clansmen, said, "There is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," replied Cameron, "what I would like; but I recommend it to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." And so indeed it happened.—Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 66.

⁵ For the foregoing account of the achievements of Sir Ewen Cameron we have been chiefly indebted to General Stewart's valuable work on the Highlanders and Highland Regiments.

The share which that gallant chief had in the ill-fated insurrection of 1745–1746 has already been fully told, and his conduct throughout was such as to gain him the esteem and admiration of all.⁶ The estates of Lochiel were of course included in the numerous forfeitures which followed the suppression of the insurrection; however, Charles Cameron, son of the Lochiel of the '45, was allowed to return to Britain, and lent his influence to the raising of the Lochiel men for the service of government. His son, Donald, was restored to his estates under the general act of amnesty of 1784. The eldest son of the latter, also named Donald, born 25th September 1796, obtained a commission in the Guards in 1814, and fought at Waterloo. He retired from the army in 1832, and died 14th December 1858, leaving two sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Donald, succeeded as chief of the clan Cameron.

The family of CAMERON of FASSIFERN, in Argyleshire, possesses a baronetcy of the United Kingdom, conferred in 1817 on Ewen Cameron of Fassifern, the father of Colonel John Cameron, of the 92d Highlanders, slain at the battle of Quatre Bras,⁷ 16th June 1815, while bravely leading on his men, for that officer's distinguished military services; at the same time, two Highlanders were added as supporters to his armorial bearings, and several heraldic distinctions indicating the particular services of Colonel Cameron. On the death of Sir Ewen in 1828, his second son, Sir Duncan, succeeded to the baronetcy.

MACLEAN.

The clan GILLEAN or the MACLEANS is another clan included by Mr. Skene under the head of Moray. The origin of the clan has been very much disputed; according to Buchanan and other authorities it is of Norman or Italian origin, descended from the Fitzgeralds of Ireland. "Speed and other English historians derive the genealogy of the Fitzgeralds from Seignior Giraldo, a principal officer under William the Conqueror." Their progenitor, however according to Cel-

⁶ The portrait of the "gentle Lochiel" will be found at p. 519, vol. i.

⁷ For details, see account of the 92d Regiment.

tic tradition, was one Gillean or Gill-eòin, a name signifying the young man, or the servant or follower of John, who lived so early as the beginning of the 5th century. He was called *Gillean-na-Tuaidhe*, i. e. Gillean with the axe, from the dexterous manner in which he wielded that weapon in battle, and his descendants bear a battle-axe in their crest. According to a history of the clan Maelcan published in 1838 by "a Sennachie," the clan is traced up to Fergus I. of Scotland, and from him back to an Aonghus Turmhi Teamhrach, "an ancient monarch of Ireland." As to which of these accounts of the origin of the clan is correct, we shall not pretend to decide. The clan can have no reason to be ashamed of either.

MACLEAN.



BADGE—Blackberry Heath.

The Macleans have been located in Mull since the 14th century. According to Mr Skene, they appear originally to have belonged to Moray. He says,—“The two oldest genealogies of the Macleans, of which one is the production of the Beaton, who were hereditary sennachies of the family, concur in deriving the clan Gillean from the same race from whom the clans belonging to the great Moray tribe are brought by the MS. of 1450. Of this clan the oldest seat seems to have been the district of Lorn, as they first appear in subjection to the lords of Lorn; and their situation being thus between the Camerons and Macnachts, who were undisputed branches of the Moray tribe, there can be little doubt that the Macleans belonged to

that tribe also. As their oldest seat was thus in Argyle, while they are unquestionably a part of the tribe of Moray, we may infer that they were one of those clans transplanted from North Moray by Malcolm IV., and it is not unlikely that Glen Urquhart was their original residence, as that district is said to have been in the possession of the Macleans when the Bissets came in.”

The first of the name on record, Gillean, lived in the reign of Alexander III. (1249–1286), and fought against the Norsemen at the battle of Largs. In the Ragman's Roll we find Gillimore Macilean described as del Counte de Perth, among those who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296. As the county of Perth at that period included Lorn, it is probable that he was the son of the above Gillean. In the reign of Robert the Bruce mention is made of three brothers, John, Nigel, and Dofuall, termed Macgillean or filii Gillean, who appear to have been sons of Gillimore, for we find John afterwards designated Macgillimore. The latter fought under Bruce at Bannockburn. A dispute having arisen with the Lord of Lorn, the brothers left him and took refuge in the Isles. Between them and the Mackinnons, upon whose lands they appear to have encroached, a bitter feud took place, which led to a most daring act on the part of the chief of the Macleans. When following, with the chief of the Mackinnons, the galley of the Lord of the Isles, he attacked the former and slew him, and immediately after, afraid of his vengeance, he seized the Maedonald himself, and carried him prisoner to Icolmkill, where Maclean detained him until he agreed to vow friendship to the Macleans, “upon certain stones where men were used to make solemn vows in those superstitious times,” and granted them the lands in Mull which they have ever since possessed. John Gillimore, surnamed Dhu from his dark complexion, appears to have settled in Mull about the year 1330. He died in the reign of Robert II., leaving two sons, Laehlan Lubanach, ancestor of the Macleans of Dowart, and Eachann or Hector Reganach, of the Macleans of Lochbuy.

Laehlan, the elder son, married in 1366, Margaret, daughter of John I., Lord of the Isles, by his wife, the princess Margaret Stewart.

and had a son Hector, which became a favourite name among the Macleans, as Kenneth was among the Mackenzies, Evan among the Camerons, and Hugh among the Mackays. Both Lachlan and his son, Hector, received extensive grants of land from John, the father-in-law of the former, and his successor, Donald. Altogether, their possession consisted of the isles of Mull, Tiree, and Coll, with Morvern on the mainland, Kingerloch and Ardgour; and the clan Gillean became one of the most important and powerful of the vassal tribes of the lords of the Isles.

Lachlan's son, Hector, called *Eachann Ruadh nan Cath*, that is, Red Hector of the Battles, commanded as lieutenant-general under his uncle, Donald, at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, when he and Sir Alexander Irving of Drum, seeking out each other by their armorial bearings, encountered hand to hand and slew each other; in commemoration of which circumstance, we are told, the Dowart and Drum families were long accustomed to exchange swords. Red Hector of the Battles married a daughter of the Earl of Douglas. His eldest son was taken prisoner at the battle of Harlaw, and detained in captivity a long time by the Earl of Mar. His brother, John, at the head of the Macleans, was in the expedition of Donald Balloch, cousin of the Lord of the Isles, in 1431, when the Islesmen ravaged Lochaber, and were encountered at Inverlochy, near Fortwilliam, by the royal forces under the Earls of Caithness and Mar, whom they defeated. In the dissensions which arose between John, the last Lord of the Isles, and his turbulent son, Angus, who, with the island chiefs descended from the original family, complained that his father had made improvident grants of lands to the Macleans and other tribes, Hector Maclean, chief of the clan, and great-grandson of Red Hector of the Battles, took part with the former, and commanded his fleet at the battle of Bloody Bay in 1480, where he was taken prisoner. This Hector was chief of his tribe at the date of the forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles in 1493, when the clan Gillean, or ClanLean as it came to be called, was divided into four independent branches, viz., the Macleans of Dowart, the Macleans of Lochbuy, the Macleans of Coll,

and the Macleans of Ardgour. Lachlan Maclean was chief of Dowart in 1502, and he and his kinsman, Maclean of Lochbuy, were among the leading men of the Western Isles whom that energetic monarch, James IV., entered into correspondence with, for the purpose of breaking up the confederacy of the Islanders. Nevertheless, on the breaking out of the insurrection under Donald Dubh, in 1503, they were both implicated in it. Lachlan Maclean was forfeited with Cameron of Lochiel, while Maclean of Lochbuy and several others were summoned before the parliament, to answer for their treasonable support given to the rebels. In 1505 Maclean of Dowart abandoned the cause of Donald Dubh and submitted to the government; his example was followed by Maclean of Lochbuy and other chiefs; and this had the effect, soon after, of putting an end to the rebellion.

Lachlan Maclean of Dowart was killed at Flodden. His successor, of the same name, was one of the principal supporters of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh, when, in November 1513, he brought forward his claims to the lordship of the Isles. In 1523 a feud of a most implacable character broke out between the Macleans and the Campbells, arising out of an occurrence connected with the "lady's cock," mentioned in our account of the Campbells. In 1529, however, the Macleans joined the Clandonald of Isla against the Earl of Argyll, and ravaged with fire and sword the lands of Roseneath, Craignish, and others belonging to the Campbells, killing many of the inhabitants. The Campbells, on their part, retaliated by laying waste great portion of the isles of Mull and Tiree and the lands of Morvern, belonging to the Macleans. In May 1530, Maclean of Dowart and Alexander of Isla made their personal submission to the sovereign at Stirling, and, with the other rebel island chiefs who followed their example, were pardoned, upon giving security for their after obedience.

In 1545, Maclean of Dowart acted a very prominent part in the intrigues with England, in furtherance of the project of Henry VIII., to force the Scottish nation to consent to a marriage between Prince Edward and the young Queen Mary. He and Maclean of Lochbuy

were among the barons of the Isles who accompanied Donald Dubh to Ireland, and at the command of the Earl of Lennox, claiming to be regent of Scotland, swore allegiance to the king of England.

The subsequent clan history consists chiefly of a record of feuds in which the Dowart Macleans were engaged with the Macleans of Coll, and the Macdonalds of Kintyre. The dispute with the former arose from Dowart, who was generally recognised as the head of the Clan-Iean, insisting on being followed as chief by Maclean of Coll, and the latter, who held his lands direct from the crown, declining to acknowledge him as such, on the ground that being a free baron, he owed no service but to his sovereign as his feudal superior. In consequence of this refusal, Dowart, in the year 1561, caused Coll's lands to be ravaged, and his tenants to be imprisoned. With some difficulty, and after the lapse of several years, Coll succeeded in bringing his case before the privy council, who ordered Dowart to make reparation to him for the injury done to his property and tenants, and likewise to refrain from molesting him in future. But on a renewal of the feud some years after, the Macleans of Coll were expelled from that island by the young laird of Dowart.

The quarrel between the Macleans and the Macdonalds of Isla and Kintyre was, at the outset, merely a dispute as to the right of occupancy of the crown lands called the Rhinns of Isla, but it soon involved these tribes in a long and bloody feud, and eventually led to the destruction nearly of them both. The Macleans, who were in possession, claimed to hold the lands in dispute as tenants of the crown, but the privy council decided that Macdonald of Isla was really the crown tenant. Lachlan Maclean of Dowart, called Lachlan Mor, was chief of the Macleans in 1578. Under him the feud with the Macdonalds assumed a most sanguinary and relentless character. Full details of this feud will be found in the former part of this work.

The mutual ravages committed by the hostile clans, in which the kindred and vassal tribes on both sides were involved, and the effects of which were felt throughout the whole of the Hebrides, attracted, in 1589, the serious atten-

tion of the king and council, and for the purpose of putting an end to them, the rival chiefs, with Macdonald of Sleat, on receiving remission, under the privy seal, for all the crimes committed by them, were induced to proceed to Edinburgh. On their arrival, they were committed prisoners to the castle, and, after some time, Maclean and Angus Macdonald were brought to trial, in spite of the remissions granted to them; one of the principal charges against them being their treasonable hiring of Spanish and English soldiers to fight in their private quarrels. Both chiefs submitted themselves to the king's mercy, and placed their lives and lands at his disposal. On payment each of a small fine they were allowed to return to the Isles, Macdonald of Sleat being released at the same time. Besides certain conditions being imposed upon them, they were taken bound to return to their confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, whenever they should be summoned, on twenty days' warning. Not fulfilling the conditions, they were, on 14th July 1593, cited to appear before the privy council, and as they disobeyed the summons, both Lachlan Mòr and Angus Macdonald were, in 1594, forfeited by parliament.

At the battle of Glenlivet, in that year, fought between the Catholic Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, on the one side, and the king's forces, under the Earl of Argyll, on the other, Lachlan Mòr, at the head of the Macleans, particularly distinguished himself. Argyll lost the battle, but, says Mr Gregory,⁴ "the conduct of Lachlan Maclean of Dowart, who was one of Argyll's officers, in this action, would, if imitated by the other leaders, have converted the defeat into a victory."

In 1596 Lachlan Mòr repaired to court, and on making his submission to the king, the act of forfeiture was removed. He also received from the crown a lease of the Rhinns of Isla, so long in dispute between him and Macdonald of Dunyveg. While thus at the head of favour, however, his unjust and oppressive conduct to the family of the Macleans of Coll, whose castle and island he had seized some years before, on the death of Hector Maclean, proprietor thereof, was brought before the privy council by Lachlan Maclean, then of Coll, Hector's son.

⁴ *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 259.

and the same year he was ordered to deliver up not only the castle of Coll, but all his own castles and strongholds, to the lieutenant of the Isles, on twenty-four hours' warning, also, to restore to Coll, within thirty days, all the lands of which he had deprived him, under a penalty of 10,000 merks. In 1598, Lachlan Mòr, with the view of expelling the Macdonalds from Isla, loyced his vassals and proceeded to that island, and after an ineffectual attempt at an adjustment of their differences, was encountered, on 5th August, at the head of Lochgreinord, by Sir James Macdonald, son of Angus, at the head of his clan, when the Macleans were defeated, and their chief killed, with 80 of his principal men and 200 common soldiers. Lachlan Barrach Maclean, a son of Sir Lachlan, was dangerously wounded, but escaped.

Hector Maclean, the son and successor of Sir Lachlan, at the head of a numerous force, afterwards invaded Isla, and attacked and defeated the Macdonalds at a place called Bern Bige, and then ravaged the whole island. In the conditions imposed upon the chiefs for the pacification of the Isles in 1616, we find that Maclean of Dowart was not to use in his house more than four tun of wine, and Coll and Lochbuy one tun each.

Sir Lachlan Maclean of Morvern, a younger brother of Hector Maclean of Dowart, was in 1631 created a baronet of Nova Scotia by Charles I., and on the death of his elder brother he succeeded to the estate of Dowart. In the civil wars the Macleans took arms under Montrose, and fought valiantly for the royal cause. At the battle of Inverlochy, 2d February 1645, Sir Lachlan commanded his clan. He engaged in the subsequent battles of the royalist general. Sir Hector Maclean, his son, with 800 of his followers, was at the battle of Inverkeithing, 20th July 1651, when the royalists were opposed to the troops of Oliver Cromwell. On this occasion an instance of devoted attachment to the chief was shown on the part of the Macleans. In the heat of the battle, Sir Hector was covered from the enemy's attacks by seven brothers of his clan, all whom successively sacrificed their lives in his defence. Each brother, as he fell, exclaimed, "*Fear eile air son Each'inn,*" 'Another for Eachann,' or Hec-

tor, and a fresh one stepping in, answered, "*Bàs air son Eachainn,*" 'Death for Eachann.' The former phrase, says General Stewart, has continued ever since to be a proverb or watchword, when a man encounters any sudden danger that requires instant succour. Sir Hector, however, was left among the slain, with about 500 of his followers.

The Dowart estates had become deeply involved in debt, and the Marquis of Argyll, by purchasing them up, had acquired a claim against the lands of Maclean, which ultimately led to the greater portion of them becoming the property of that accumulating family. In 1674, after the execution of the marquis, payment was insisted upon by his son, the earl. The tutor of Maclean, the chief, his nephew, being a minor, evaded the demand for a considerable time, and at length showed a disposition to resist it by force. Argyll had recourse to legal proceedings, and supported by a body of 2,000 Campbells, he crossed into Mull, where he took possession of the castle of Dowart, and placed a garrison in it. The Macleans, however, refused to pay their rents to the earl, and in consequence he prepared for a second invasion of Mull. To resist it, the Macdonalds came to the aid of the Macleans, but Argyll's ships were driven back by a storm, when he applied to government, and even went to London, to ask assistance from the king. Lord Macdonald and other friends of the Macleans followed him, and laid a statement of the dispute before Charles, who, in February 1676, remitted the matter to three lords of the Scottish privy council. No decision, however, was come to by them, and Argyll was allowed to take possession of the island of Mull without resistance in 1680. At the battle of Killiecrankie, Sir John Maclean, with his regiment, was placed on Dundee's right, and among the troops on his left was a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. The Macleans were amongst the Highlanders surprised and defeated at Cromdale in 1690. In the rebellion of 1715, the Macleans ranged themselves under the standard of the Earl of Mar, and were present at the battle of Sheriffmuir. For his share in the insurrection Sir John Maclean, the chief, was forfeited, but the estates were afterwards restored to the family. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745

Sir John's son, Sir Hector Maclean, the fifth baronet, was apprehended, with his servant, at Edinburgh, and conveyed to London. He was set at liberty in June 1747. At Culloden, however, 500 of his clan fought for Prince Charles, under Maclean of Drimnin, who was slain while leading them on. Sir Hector died, unmarried, at Paris, in 1750, when the title devolved upon his third cousin, the remainder being to heirs male whatsoever. This third cousin, Sir Allan Maclean, was great-grandson of Donald Maclean of Brolas, eldest son, by his second marriage, of Hector Maclean of Dowart, the father

told by Boswell, it would appear that the feeling of devotion to the chief had survived the abolition act of 1747. "The MacInnises are said to be a branch of the clan of Maclean. Sir Allan had been told that one of the name had refused to send him some rum, at which the knight was in great indignation. 'You rascal!' said he, 'don't you know that I can hang you, if I please? Refuse to send rum to me, you rascal! Don't you know that if I order you to go and cut a man's throat, you are to do it?' 'Yes, an't please your honour, and my own too, and hang myself too!' The

poor fellow denied that he had refused to send the rum. His making these professions was not merely a pretence in presence of his chief, for, after he and I were out of Sir Allan's hearing, he told me, 'Ifad he sent his dog for the rum, I would have given it: I would cut my bones for him.' Sir Allan, by the way of upbraiding the fellow, said, 'I believe you are a *Campbell!*'"

Dying without male issue in 1783, Sir Allan was succeeded by his kinsman, Sir Hector, 7th baronet; on whose death, Nov. 2, 1818, his brother, Lieut.-general Sir Fitzroy Jefferies Grafton Maclean, became the 8th baronet. He died July 5, 1847, leaving two sons, Sir Charles Fitzroy Grafton Maclean of Morvern, and Donald Maclean, of the chancery bar. Sir Charles, 9th baronet, married a daughter of the Hon. and Rev. Jacob Marsham, uncle of the Earl of Romney, and has issue, a son, Fitzroy Donald, major 13th dragoons, and four



Sir Allan Maclean. From the original painting in possession of John Maclean Mackenzie Grieves, Esq. of Hutton Hall, Berwickshire.

of the first baronet. Sir Allan married Anne, daughter of Hector Maclean of Coll, and had three daughters, the eldest of whom, Maria, became the wife of Maclean of Kinlochaline, and the second, Sibella, of Maclean of Invereadell. In 1773, when Johnson and Boswell visited the Hebrides, Sir Allan was chief of the clan. He resided at that time on Inch Kenneth, one of his smaller islands, in the district of Mull, where he entertained his visitors very hospitably. From the following anecdote

daughters, one of whom, Louisa, became the wife of Hon. Ralph Pelham Neville, son of the Earl of Abergavenny.

The first of the LOCHBUY branch of the Macleans was Hector Reganaeh, brother of Lachlan Lubanaeh above mentioned. He had a son named John, or Murchard, whose great-grandson, John Og Maclean of Lochbuy, received from King James IV. several charters of the lands and baronies which had been held by his progenitors. He was killed, with his two elde

sous, in a family feud with the Macleans of Dowart. His only surviving son, Murdoch, was obliged, in consequence of the same feud, to retire to Ireland, where he married a daughter of the Earl of Antrim. By the mediation of his father-in-law, his differences with Dowart were satisfactorily adjusted, and he returned to the isles, where he spent his latter years in peace. The house of Lochbuy has always maintained that of the two brothers, Lachlan Lubanach and Hector Reganach, the latter was the senior, and that, consequently, the chiefship of the Macleans is vested in its head; "but this," says Mr Gregory, "is a point on which there is no certain evidence." The whole clan, at different periods, have followed the head of both families to the field, and fought under their command. The Lochbuy family now spells its name Maclaîne.

The COLL branch of the Macleans, like that of Dowart, descended from Lachlan Lubanach, said to have been grandfather of the fourth laird of Dowart and first laird of Coll, who were brothers. John Maclean, surnamed Garbh, son of Lachlan of Dowart, obtained the isle of Coll and the lands of Quinish in Mull from Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, and afterwards, on the forfeiture of Cameron, the lands of Lochiel. The latter grant engendered, as we have seen, a deadly feud between the Camerons and the Macleans. At one time the son and successor of John Garbh occupied Lochiel by force, but was killed in a conflict with the Camerons at Corpach, in the reign of James III. His infant son would also have been put to death, had the boy not been saved by the Maegillonies or Macalonychs, a tribe of Lochaber that generally followed the clan Cameron. This youth, subsequently known as John Abrach Maclean of Coll, was the representative of the family in 1493, and from him was adopted the patronymic appellation of Maclean Abrach, by which the lairds of Coll were ever after distinguished.

The tradition concerning this heir of Coll is thus related by Dr Johnson, in his *Tour to the Hebrides*.—"On the wall of old Coll Castle was, not long ago, a stone with an inscription, importing, 'That if any man of the clan of Macalonych shall appear before this castle, though he come at midnight with a man's

head in his hand, he shall there find safety and protection against all but the king.' This is an old Highland treaty made upon a memorable occasion. Maclean, the son of John Garbh, had obtained, it is said, from James II., a grant of the lands of Lochiel. Forfeited estates were not in those days quietly resigned: Maclean, therefore, went with an armed force to seize his new possessions, and, I know not for what reason, took his wife with him. The Camerons rose in defence of their chief, and a battle was fought at the head of Loehness, near the place where Fort Augustus now stands, in which Lochiel obtained the victory, and Maclean, with his followers, was defeated and destroyed. The lady fell into the hands of the conquerors, and being pregnant, was placed in the custody of Macalonych, one of a tribe or family branched from Cameron, with orders, if she brought a boy, to destroy him, if a girl, to spare her. Macalonych's wife had a girl about the same time at which Lady M'Lean brought a boy; and Macalonych, with more generosity to his captive than fidelity to his trust, contrived that the children should be changed. Maclean in time recovered his original patrimony, and in gratitude to his friend, made his castle a place of refuge to any of the clan that should think himself in danger; and Maclean took upon himself and his posterity the care of educating the heir of Macalonych. The power of protection subsists no longer; but Maclean of Coll now educates the heir of Macalonych."

The account of the conversion of the simple islanders of Coll from Popery to Protestantism is curious. The laird had imbibed the principles of the Reformation, but found his people reluctant to abandon the religion of their fathers. To compel them to do so, he took his station one Sunday in the path which led to the Roman Catholic church, and as his clansmen approached he drove them back with his cane. They at once made their way to the Protestant place of worship, and from this persuasive mode of conversion his vassals ever after called it the religion of the gold-headed stick. Lachlan, the seventh proprietor of Coll, went over to Holland with some of his own men, in the reign of Charles II., and obtained the command of a company in General Mackay's regiment, in the service of the Prince of Orange. He

afterwards returned to Scotland, and was drowned in the water of Lochy, in Lochaber, in 1687.

Colouel Hugh Maclean, London, the last laird of Coll, of that name, was the 15th in regular descent from John Garbh, son of Lachlan Lubanach.

The ARDGOUR branch of the Macleans, which held its lands directly from the Lord of the Isles, is descended from Donald, another son of Lachlan, third laird of Dowart. The estate of Ardgor, which is in Argyleshire, had previously belonged to a different tribe (the Macmasters), but it was conferred upon Donald, either by Alexander, Earl of Ross, or by his son and successor, John. In 1463, Ewen or Eugene, son of Donald, held the office of senechal of the household to the latter earl; and in 1493, Lachlan Macewen Maclean was laird of Ardgor. Alexander Maclean, Esq., the present laird of Ardgor, is the 14th from father to son.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Macleans of Lochbuy, Coll, and Ardgor, more fortunate than the Dowart branch of the clan, contrived to preserve their estates nearly entire, although compelled by the Marquis of Argyll to renounce their holdings *in capite* of the crown, and to become vassals of that nobleman. They continued zealous partizans of the Stuarts, in whose cause they suffered severely.

From Lachlan Og Maclean, a younger son of Lachlan Mòr of Dowart, sprung the family of TORLOISK in Mull.

Of the numerous flourishing cadots of the different branches, the principal were the Macleans of KINLOCHALINE, ARDTORNISH, and DRIMNIN, descended from the family of Dowart; of TAPUL and SOALLASDALE, in the island of Mull, from that of Lochbuy; of ISLE OF MUCK, from that of Coll; and of BORRERA, in North Uist and TRESHINISH, from that of Ardgor. The family of Borrera are represented by Donald Maclean, Esq., and General Archibald Maclean. From the Isle of Muck and Treshinish Macleans is descended A. C. Maclean, Esq. of Haremere Hall, Sussex.

The Macleans of PENNYCROSS, island of Mull, represented by Alexander Maclean, Esq., derives from John Dubh, the first Maclean of

Morvern. General Allan Maclean of Penny cross, colonel of the 13th light dragoons, charged with them at Waterloo.

The force of the Macleans was at one time 800; in 1745 it was 500.

MACNAUGHTON.



BADGE—Heath.

Another clan, supposed by Mr Skene to have originally belonged to Meray, is the clan Nachtan or Maenaughton.

The MS. of 1450 deduces the descent of the heads of this clan from Nachtan Mor, who is supposed to have lived in the 10th century. The Gaelic name Neachtain is the same as the Pictish Nectan, celebrated in the *Pictish Chronicle* as one of the great Celtic divisions in Scotland, and the appellation is among the most ancient in the north of Ireland, the original seat of the Cruithen Picts. According to Buchanan of Auchmar,¹ the heads of this clan were for ages thans of Loch Tay, and possessed all the country between the south side of Loch-Fyne and Lochawe, parts of which were Glenira, Glenshira, Glenfine, and other places, while their principal seat was Dunderraw on Loch-Fyne.

In the reign of Robert III., Maurice or Morice Maenaughton had a charter from Colin Campbell of Lochoy of sundry lands in Over Lochoy, but their first settlement in Argyleshire, in the central parts of which their lands latterly wholly lay, took place long before this. When Malcolm the Maiden attempted

¹ *History of the Origin of the Clans*, p. 84.

to civilise the ancient province of Moray, by introducing Norman and Saxon families, such as the Bissets, the Comyns, &c., in the place of the rude Celtic natives whom he had expatriated to the south, he gave lands in or near Strathtay or Strathspey, to Nachtan of Moray, for those he had held in that province. He had there a residence called Dunnachtan castle. Nesbit² describes this Nachtan as "an eminent man in the time of Malcolm IV.," and says that he "was in great esteem with the family of Lochawe, to whom he was very assistant in their wars with the Macdougals, for which he was rewarded with sundry lands." The family of Lochawe here mentioned were the Campbells.

The Macnaughtons appear to have been fairly and finally settled in Argyleshire previous to the reign of Alexander III., as Gilchrist Macnaughton, styled of that ilk, was by that monarch appointed, in 1287, heritable keeper of his castle and island of Frechelan (Fraoch Ellan) on Lochawe, on condition that he should be properly entertained when he should pass that way; whence a castle embattled was assumed as the crest of the family. This Gilchrist was father or grandfather of Donald Macnaughton of that ilk, who, being nearly connected with the Macdougals of Lorn, joined that powerful chief with his clan against Robert the Bruce, and fought against the latter at the battle of Dalree in 1306, in consequence of which he lost a great part of his estates. In Abercromby's *Martial Achievements*,³ it is related that the extraordinary courage shown by the king in having, in a narrow pass, slain with his own hand several of his pursuers, and amongst the rest three brothers, so greatly excited the admiration of the chief of the Macnaughtons that he became thenceforth one of his firmest adherents.⁴

His son and successor, Duncan Macnaughton of that ilk, was a steady and loyal subject to King David II., who, as a reward for his fidelity, conferred on his son, Alexander, lands in the island of Lewis, a portion of the forfeited possessions of John of the Isles, which the chiefs of the clan Naughton held for a

time. The ruins of their castle of Macnaughton are still pointed out on that island.

Donald Macnaughton, a younger son of the family, was, in 1436, elected bishop of Dunkeld, in the reign of James I.

Alexander Macnaughton of that ilk, who lived in the beginning of the 16th century, was knighted by James IV., whom he accompanied to the disastrous field of Flodden, where he was slain, with nearly the whole chivalry of Scotland. His son, John, was succeeded by his second son, Malcolm Macnaughton of Glenshira, his eldest son having predeceased him. Malcolm died in the end of the reign of James VI., and was succeeded by his eldest son, Alexander.

John, the second son of Malcolm, being of a handsome appearance, attracted the notice of King James VI., who appointed him one of his pages of honour, on his accession to the English crown. He became rich, and purchased lands in Kintyre. His elder brother, Alexander Macnaughton of that ilk, adhered firmly to the cause of Charles I., and in his service sustained many severe losses. At the Restoration, as some sort of compensation, he was knighted by Charles II., and, unlike many others, received from that monarch a liberal pension for life. Sir Alexander Macnaughton spent his later days in London, where he died. His son and successor, John Macnaughton of that ilk, succeeded to an estate greatly burdened with debt, but did not hesitate in his adherence to the fallen fortunes of the Stuarts. At the head of a considerable body of his own clan, he joined Viscount Dundee, and was with him at Killiecrankie. James VII. signed a deed in his favour, restoring to his family all its old lands and hereditary rights, but, as it never passed the seals in Scotland, it was of no value. His lands were taken from him, not by forfeiture, but "the estate," says Buchanan of Auchmar, "was evicted by creditors for sums noways equivalent to its value, and, there being no diligence used for relief thereof, it went out of the hands of the family." His son, Alexander, a captain in Queen Anne's guards, was killed in the expedition to Vigo in 1702. His brother, John, at the beginning of the last century was for many years collector of customs at Anstruther

² *Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 419.

³ Vol. i. p. 577.

⁴ See account of the Macdougals

in life, and subsequently was appointed inspector-general in the same department. The direct male line of the Maenaughton chiefs became extinct at his death.

"The Mackouricks are ascribed to the Maenaughton line, as also families of Macknights (or Macneits), Maenayers, Macbraynes, and Maccools." The present head of the Macbraynes is John Burns Macbrayne, Esq. of Glenbranter, Cowal, Argyshire, grandson of Donald Macbrayne, merchant in Glasgow, who was great-grandson, on the female side, of Alexander Maenaughton of that ilk, and heir of line of John Maenaughton, inspector-general of customs in Scotland. On this account the present representative of the Macbraynes is entitled to quarter his arms with those of the Maenaughtons.

There are still in Athole families of the Maenaughton name, proving so far what has been stated respecting their early possession of lands in that district. Stewart of Garth makes most honourable mention of one of the sept, who was in the service of Menzies of Culldares in the year 1745. That gentleman had been "out" in 1715, and was pardoned. Grateful so far, he did not join Prince Charles, but sent a fine charger to him as he entered England. The servant, Maenaughton, who conveyed the present, was taken and tried at Carlisle. The errand on which he had come was clearly proved, and he was offered pardon and life if he would reveal the name of the sender of the horse. He asked with indignation if they supposed that he could be such a villain. They repeated the offer to him on the scaffold, but he died firm to his notion of fidelity. His life was nothing to that of his master, he said. The brother of this Maenaughton was known to Garth, and was one of the Gael who always carried a weapon about him to his dying day.⁵

Under the subordinate head of Siol O'Cain, other two clans are included in the Maormorism of Moray, viz., clan Roiech or Munro, and clan Gillehmaol or Maemillan.

MUNRO.

The possessions of the clan Monro or Munro,

⁵ Smibert's *Clans*.

situated on the north side of Cromarty Firth, were generally known in the Highlands by the name of Fearrann Donull or Donald's country, being so called, it is said, from the progenitor of the clan, Donald the son of O'Ceann, who lived in the time of Macbeth. The Munros were vassals of the Earls of Ross, and may be regarded as a portion of the native Scottish Gael. According to Sir George Mackenzie, they came originally from the north of Ireland with the Maedonalds, on which great clan "they had constantly a depending." Their name he states to have been derived from "a mount on the river Roe," county Derry. Clan tradition, probably not more to be relied upon than tradition generally, holds that they formed a branch of the natives of Scotland who, about 357, being driven out by the Romans, and forced to take refuge in Ireland, were located for several centuries on the stream of the Roe, and among the adjacent mountains. In the time of Malcolm II., or beginning of the 11th century, the ancestors of the Munros are said to have come over to Scotland to aid in expelling the Danes, under the above named Donald, son of O'Ceann, who, for his services, received the lands of East Dingwall in Ross-shire. These lands, erected into a barony, were denominated Foulis, from Loch Foylo in Ireland, and the chief of the clan was designated of Foulis, his residence in the parish of Kiltarn, near the mountain called Ben Uaish or Ben Wyvis. So says tradition.

MUNRO OF FOULIS.



BADGE—According to some, Eagle's Feathers, others, Common Club Moss.

Another conjecture as to the origin of the name of Munro is that, from having acted as bailiffs or stewards to the Lords of the Isles in the earldom of Ross, they were called "Munrosses." Skene, as we have said, ranks the clan as members of a great family called the Siol O'Cain, and makes them out to be a branch of the clan Chattan, by ingeniously converting O'Cain into O'Cathan, and thus forming Chattan. Sir George Mackenzie says the name originally was Bunroe.

Hugh Munro, the first of the family authentically designated of Foulis, died in 1126. He seems to have been the grandson of Donald, the son of O'Ceann above mentioned. Robert, reckoned the second baron of Foulis, was actively engaged in the wars of David I. and Malcolm IV. Donald, heir of Robert, built the old tower of Foulis. His successor, Robert, married a daughter of the Earl of Sutherland. George, fifth baron of Foulis, obtained charters from Alexander II. Soon after the accession of Alexander III., an insurrection broke out against the Earl of Ross, the feudal superior of the Munrocs, by the clans Ivor, Talvigh, and Laiwe, and other people of the province. The earl having apprehended their leader, and imprisoned him at Dingwall, the insurgents seized upon his second son at Balnagowan, and detained him as a hostage till their leader should be released. The Munrocs and the Dingwalls immediately took up arms, and setting off in pursuit, overtook the insurgents at Bealligh-ne-Broig, between Ferrandonald and Loch-Broom, where a sanguinary conflict took place. "The clan Iver, clan Talvigh, and clan Laiwe," says Sir Robert Gordon, "wer almost uterlie extinguished and slain." The earl's son was rescued, and to requite the service performed he made various grants of land to the Munrocs and Dingwalls.

Sir Robert Munro, the sixth of his house, fought in the army of Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn. His only son, George, fell there, leaving an heir, who succeeded his grandfather. This George Munro of Foulis was slain at Halidonhill in 1333. The same year, according to Sir Robert Gordon, although Shaw makes the date 1454, occurred the remarkable event which led to a feud between

the Munrocs and Mackintoshes, and of which an account is given under the former date in the General History.

Robert, the eighth baron of Foulis, married a niece of Eupheme, daughter of the Earl of Ross, and queen of Robert II. He was killed in an obscure skirmish in 1369, and was succeeded by his son, Hugh, ninth baron of Foulis, who joined Donald, second Lord of the Isles, when he claimed the earldom of Ross in right of his wife.

The forfeiture of the earldom of Ross in 1476, made the Munrocs and other vassal families independent of any superior but the crown. In the charters which the family of Foulis obtained from the Scottish kings, at various times, they were declared to hold their lands on the singular tenure of furnishing a ball of snow at Midsummer if required, which the hollows in their mountain property could at all times supply; and it is said that when the Duke of Cumberland proceeded north against the Pretender in 1746, the Munrocs actually sent him some snow to cool his wines. In one charter, the addendum was a pair of white gloves or three pennies.

Robert, the 14th baron, fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547. Robert More Munro, the 15th chief, was a faithful friend of Mary, queen of Scots. Buchanan states, that when that unfortunate princess went to Inverness in 1562, "as soon as they heard of their sovereign's danger, a great number of the most eminent Scots poured in around her, especially the Frasers and Munrocs, who were esteemed the most valiant of the clans inhabiting those countries." These two clans took for the Queen Inverness castle, which had refused her admission.

With the Mackenzies the Munrocs were often at feud, and Andrew Munro of Milntown defended, for three years, the castle of the canoury of Ross, which he had received from the Regent Moray in 1569, against the clan Kenzie, at the expense of many lives on both sides. It was, however, afterwards delivered up to the Mackenzies under the act of pacification.

The chief, Robert More Munro, became a Protestant at an early period of the Scottish Reformation. He died in 1588. His son,

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