TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

VOLUME XXIII.

1898-99.

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Clann nan Gaidheal an Guaillean a' Cheile

Inverness:
GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS

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INTRODUCTION.

As in the case of the last volume of the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, this—the 23rd—volume records only one year's work—Session 1898-99 ; and for it, too, the Council has to make the usual apology for delay. The Council, however, has fully determined to hurry up with the publication of the material which it has in hand for the last three sessions, and which may perhaps be condensed into one large volume. The present volume, as will be seen, presents in its papers the general characteristics of the former volumes, and reflects nearly all the aspects of the work that the Gaelic Society professes to undertake.

It has already been more than once noted in the introductions to former volumes that a Society with such a small annual subscription from ordinary members as 5s could not possibly publish volumes such as these, practically annual and practically coming up to the subscription in actual cost, unless the Society had been backed by enthusiastic moneyed friends. This time the Council has to thank most cordially its present Chief, Mr Bignold of Lochrosque, for his two gifts of £25 each, the first given in February, 1901, the second in January, 1902. Several gifts have also been made to the Library of the Society, details of which will be found in the end of this volume in the Catalogue, which, it will be observed, is now entirely recast and put in a more serviceable form.

We have this time, since the publication of our last volume in January of last year, to mourn the loss of two of our Honorary Chieftains—a case hitherto unexampled in the thirty years' life of the Society. Just as Vol. XXII. was issued from the press, Dr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh passed away in his 73rd year. We cannot better characterise him and his life-work than has been done on the tablet erected to his memory in the Inverness High Church :—

"In memory of Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, LL.D., D.L., of Drummond, Inverness, Member of Parliament for the Inverness Burghs from 1874 to 1885, and for the County of Inverness from 1885 to 1892. Born at Dochnalurg, Dochgarroch, 25th June,

1828 ; died at Bournemouth, 25th January, 1901. An ardent and patriotic Highlander, his public life was devoted to the advancement of the social well-being of his fellow-countrymen. Possessed of refined tastes, and deeply versed in the history and traditions of the Highlands, he added by his published writings many valuable contributions to this department of literature. In all the private relationships of life he was a man highly respected and esteemed."

Since its commencement, he was a hearty supporter of the Society, several times its Chief, and always a learned contributor to its volumes. A year later—11th January, 1902—died Dr Fraser-Mackintosh's great protagonist in Clan Chattan origins—Alexander Macpherson, solicitor and banker, Kingussie. He was born at Belleville, "Ossian" Macpherson's seat in Badenoch, in 1839, and studied law and banking in Edinburgh, where he resided for fully twenty years, taking an active and latterly a leading part in Gaelic matters there ; and he then in 1875 settled finally at the British Linen Bank in Kingussie. He was a constant and valued contributor to the Transactions of this Society. In 1893 he collected his many stray papers, and with new material published them in a handsome volume, under the title of "Glimpses of Church and Social Life in the Highlands in Olden Times." It is hoped that what he has published since then and what he has left written may also be placed before the public in book form. We iterate the same wish in regard to Dr Fraser-Mackintosh also, and further draw attention to the fact that both authors have papers in this volume.

The output of Highland literature, both in Gaelic and English, during the last year and a-half has been over the usual average. Mr John MacFadyen's "Sgeulaiche nan Caol" takes an easy first place ; it is a set of stories interluded with songs bearing on life in the West Highlands, old and new. Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair has published his second volume of "Maclean Bards," and he has further made a collection of poetry entitled "Filidh na Coille." Two works of Gaelic songs, with accompaniments, have also been issued : "Orain Gaidhlig—Twelve Gaelic Songs with Pianoforte Accompaniments," by Charles Baptie ; and an especially sumptuous volume from Messrs Logan, entitled "Songs of the Highlands," fifty in number, music by Mr Whitehead, and exceedingly happy

translations by Mr Malcolm Macfarlane. Following the example of the late Dr Clerk, Dr Henderson has issued a second series of Macleod Gaelic with the same title of "Caraid nan Gaidheal." It is a companion volume to the reprint of the original work issued two years ago by the same publisher (Norman Macleod). A new Gaelic Dictionary has been started in parts, published by E. Macdonald & Co., Lyminge, Kent, the title being "Faclair Gaidhlig, le Dealbhan." There are to be about two dozen sixpenny parts, and what has been published shows good promise. An important reprint has also taken place: MacEchen's pocket Dictionary has been reissued under the editorial care of Dr Macbain and Mr John Whyte, and the same gentlemen have issued a third and improved edition of their excellent and practical work "How to Learn Gaelic." A "Gaelic Hymnary," consisting of over two hundred translations, mainly from the Church Hymnary, has been submitted in draft to the Church of Scotland Presbyteries concerned for approval; and we are momentarily expecting the publication of the latest pulpit edition of the Gaelic Bible, revised in translation and matter.

Of English works on Highland subjects, only one Clan history has appeared. This is Dr Hugh Macmillan's "Clan Macmillan, a racily written piece of work. A second edition of Mackenzie's "History of the Mathesons" has appeared, greatly enlarged and re-written by Dr Macbain; and the same scholar has issued a second edition of Skene's "Highlanders," with copious corrective notes, forming an important addition to the elucidation of general Clan origins and Highland history. Mr W. L. Manson has published an interesting history of the "Highland Bagpipe," and the Hon. Stuart R. Erskine has done a similar service for the Kilt, under the title of the "Kilt and How to Wear It." Although it is unusual to notice guide books, yet the Gaelic student would do well to read Rev. Mr Macneill's New Guide to Islay, where he will meet with a remarkably scientific elucidation of the place-names of an island which shows such a mixture of old Gaelic and Norse names. The April number of the Caledonian Medical Journal is almost entirely devoted to a treatise by Dr H. C. Gillies on a "Gaelic Medical MS. of 1563," a MS. which was in the possession of one of the M'Beths, the "Ollamhs" of

Islay. Dr Gillies has reproduced a good part of the Irish text in photograph, with extended transliteration. The money left by Dr Kelly M'Callum (£3000) to Glasgow University for lectures in Celtic became available in 1900, and two courses of ten lectures each have been delivered during the last two years by Dr Magnus Maclean; and he proposes to publish them this autumn, under the title of the "Literature of the Celts." A new periodical, entirely Gaelic, has come into existence; it is entitled "Am Bard," the Hon. S. Erskine being editor. Seven numbers are now published, and it deserves success. The weekly press is keeping up its usual supply of things Gaelic, with the usual plentiful lack of accuracy and with the usual enthusiasm. "Fiona Macleod" has left the Highlands alone for two years, but Mr Andrew Lang still dilates on the "Celts" as the pathetic failure of European peoples.

The great event of 1901 in the Celtic world was the first Pan-Celtic Congress held in Dublin for four days in August. Representatives from all the five Celtic-speaking nationalities were there—Brittany, Wales, Isle of Man, Scotland, and Ireland. The proceedings throughout were enthusiastic and practical. The most important paper delivered was Prof. Kuno Meyer's capable resumé of the "Present State of Celtic Studies." In it the Professor spoke of Scotland as being behind-hand in language matters compared to the other four nations. The next Congress will be held in Ireland in 1904. Otherwise, in regard to general Celtic literature and studies, we have to record the constant flow of papers in the various foreign and Irish periodicals, but nothing of special popular interest, unless it be Prof. Zimmer's remarkable treatise on the Celtic Church published in a German Cyclopædia, a translation of which in book form is promised by Mr Nutt. The most important point which the Professor makes is that Patrick and Palladius were one and the same person. In the present volume the same point is discussed in the paper on the "Culdees."

The position of Gaelic under the New Code came a month or two ago under discussion in the House of Commons, when the Lord Advocate pointed out that 1s extra was given for bilingual instruction for scholars under 10, a pupil teacher might be employed for such extra to the staff otherwise necessary, and, thirdly, 80 marks extra were allotted to Gaelic at the King's Scholarship Examination. Gaelic-speaking P.T.'s should really try to avail themselves of this last and most substantial privilege.

INVERNESS, *July*, 1902.

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

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CO-SHUIDHEACHADH.

1. 'S e ainm a' Chomuinn "COMUNN GAILIG INBHIR-NIS."

2. 'S e tha an rùn a' Chomuinn :—Na buill a dheanamh iomlan 's a' Ghailig; cinneas Canaine, Bardachd agus Ciuil na Gaidhealtachd; Bardachd, Seanachas, Sgeulachd, Leabhraichean agus Sgriobhanna 's a' chanain sin a thearnadh o dhearmad; Leabhar-lann a chur suas ann am baile Inbhir-Nis de leabhraichibh agus sgriobhannaibh—ann an canain sam bith—a bhuineas do Chaileachd, Ionnsachadh, Eachdraidheachd agus Sheanachasaibh nan Gaidheal, no do thairbhe na Gaidhealtachd; còir agus cliu nan Gaidheal a dhion; agus na Gaidheil a shoirbheachadh a ghna ge b'e ait' am bi iad.

3. 'S iad a bhitheas 'nam buill, cuideachd a tha gabhail suim do runtaibh a' Chomuinn; agus so mar gheibh iad a staigh :—Tairgidh aon bhall an t-iarradair, daingnichidh ball eile an tairgse, agus, aig an ath choinneamh, ma roghnaicheas a' mhor-chuid le crannchur, nithear ball dhith-se no dheth-san cho luath 's a phaidhear an comh-thoirt; cuirear crainn le ponair dhubh agus gheal, ach, gu so bhi dligheach, feumaidh tri buill dheug an crainn a chur. Feudaidh an Comunn Urram Cheannardan a thoirt do urrad 'us seachd daoine cliuiteach.

4. Paidhidh Ball Urramach, 's a' bhliadhna .	£0	10	6
Ball Cumanta	0	5	0
Foghlainte	0	1	0
Agus ni Ball-beatha aon chomh-thoirt de .	7	7	0

5. 'S a' cheud-mhios, gach bliadhna, roghnaichear, le crainn, Co-chomhairle a riaghlas gnothuichean a' Chomuinn, 's e sin—aon

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The Society shall be called the "GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS."

2. The objects of the Society are the perfecting of the Members in the use of the Gaelic language; the cultivation of the language, poetry, and music of the Scottish Highlands; the rescuing from oblivion of Celtic Poetry, traditions, legends, books, and manuscripts; the establishing in Inverness of a library, to consist of books and manuscripts, in whatever language, bearing upon the genius, the literature, the history, the antiquities, and the material interests of the Highlands and Highland people; the vindication of the rights and character of the Gaelic people; and, generally, the furtherance of their interests whether at home or abroad.

3. The Society shall consist of persons who take a lively interest in its objects. Admission to be as follows:—The candidate shall be proposed by one member, seconded by another, balloted for at the next meeting, and, if he or she have a majority of votes and have paid the subscription, be declared a member. The ballot shall be taken with black beans and white; and no election shall be valid unless thirteen members vote. The Society has power to elect distinguished men as Honorary Chieftains to the number of seven.

4. The Annual Subscription shall be, for—

Honorary Members	£0 10 6
Ordinary Members	0 5 0
Apprentices	0 1 0
A Life Member shall make one payment of .	7 7 0

5. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council, chosen annually, by ballot, in the month of

Cheann, tri Iar-chinn, Cleireach Urramach, Rùnaire, Ionmhasair, agus coig buill eile—feumaidh iad uile Gailig a thuigsinn 's a bhruidhinn; agus ni coigear dhiubh coinneamh.

6. Cumar coinneamhan a' Chomuinn gach seachduin o thoiseach an Deicheamh mios gu deireadh Mhàirt, agus gach ceithir-la-deug o thoiseach Ghiblein gu deireadh an Naothamh-mios. 'S i a' Ghailig a labhrar gach oidhche mu'n seach aig a' chuid a's lugha.

7. Cuiridh a' Cho-chomhairle la air leth anns an t-Seachdamh-mios air-son Coinneamh Bhliadhnail aig an cumar Co-dheuchainn agus air an toirear duaisean air-son Piobaireachd 'us ciuil Ghaidhealach eile; anns an fheasgar bithidh co-dheuchainn air Leughadh agus aithris Bardachd agus Rosg nuadh agus taghta; an deigh sin cumar Cuirm chuideachdail aig am faigh nithe Gaidhealach roghainn 'san uirghioll, ach gun roinn a dhiultadh dhaibh-san nach tuig Gailig. Giulainear cosdas na co-dheuchainne le trusadh sonraichte a dheanamh agus cuideachadh iarraidh o 'n t-sluagh.

8. Cha deanar atharrachadh sam bith air coimh-dhealbhadh a' Chomuinn gun aontachadh dha thrian de na'm bheil de luchd-bruidhinn Gailig air a' chlar-ainm. Ma 's miann atharrachadh a dheanamh is eiginn sin a chur an ceill do gach ball, mios, aig a' chuid a's lugha, roimh'n choinneamh a dh'fheudas an t-atharrachadh a dheanamh Feudaidh ball nach bi a lathair roghnachadh le lamh-àithne.

9. Taghaidh an Comunn Bard, Piobaire, agus Fear-leabharlann.

Ullaichear gach Paipear agus Leughadh, agus giulainear gach Deasboireachd le run fosgailte, duineil, durachdach air-son na firinn, agus cuirear gach ni air aghaidh ann an spiorad caomh, glan, agus a reir riaghailtean dearbhta.

January, to consist of a Chief, three Chieftains, an Honorary Secretary, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and five other Members of the Society, all of whom shall understand and speak Gaelic; five to form a quorum.

6. The Society shall hold its meetings weekly from the beginning of October to the end of March, and fortnightly from the beginning of April to the end of September. The business shall be carried on in Gaelic on every alternate night at least.

7. There shall be an Annual Meeting in the month of July, the day to be named by the Committee for the time being, when Competitions for Prizes shall take place in Pipe and other Highland Music. In the evening there shall be Competitions in Reading and Reciting Gaelic Poetry and Prose, both original and select. After which there will be a Social Meeting, at which Gaelic subjects shall have the preference, but not to such an extent as entirely to preclude participation by persons who do not understand Gaelic. The expenses of the competitions shall be defrayed out of a special fund, to which the general public shall be invited to subscribe.

8. It is a fundamental rule of the Society that no part of the Constitution shall be altered without the assent of two-thirds of the Gaelic-speaking Members on the roll; but if any alterations be required, due notice of the same must be given to each member, at least one month before the meeting takes place at which the alteration is proposed to be made. Absent Members may vote by mandates.

9. The Society shall elect a Bard, a Piper, and a Librarian.

All Papers and Lectures shall be prepared, and all Discussions carried on, with an honest, earnest, and manful desire for truth; and all proceedings shall be conducted in a pure and gentle spirit, and according to the usually recognised rules.

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TRANSACTIONS.

ANNUAL ASSEMBLY.

14th July, 1898.

The annual Wool Market Assembly under the auspices of the Society was held in the Music Hall, Inverness, on Thursday evening, and proved, as in former years, a highly successful function. There was a crowded attendance, including members and others from all parts of the Highlands. The Chief of the Society, Lord Lovat, presided, and was supported right and left by Lochiel, Convener of Inverness-shire, and the Provost of Inverness. Others on the platform were—Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff, Dr Alex. Ross, Mr E. H. Macmillan, Caledonian Bank; Mr Kenneth Macdonald, town-clerk; Mr Wm. Mackay, solicitor; Rev. Angus J. Macdonald, Killearnan; Rev. Archibald Macdonald, Kiltarlity; Father Bisset, Nairn; Father Macqueen, Inverness; Mr Thomas Mackay, banker; Mr Steele, banker; Capt. Wimberley, Mr Shaw, Gordonbush; Mr H. Graham, solicitor; Brigade-Surgeon Grant, Cameron Barracks; Mr Andrew Mackintosh, H.M. Customs; Mr Duncan Mackintosh, and Mr Alex. Macdonald. These gentlemen were played to the platform by Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie, piper to the Society. Apologies for unavoidable absence were received from J. E. B. Baillie of Dochfour, M.P.; Sir Alan R. Mackenzie, Bart. of Kintail; J. D. Fletcher of Rosehaugh; Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch; Fitzroy C. Fletcher of Letnam Grange; Lachlan Macdonald of Skeabost; Æneas Mackintosh, the Doune; Reginald Macleod, Edinburgh; John Mackay, J.P., Hereford; Major Jackson of Swordale; Charles Innes, solicitor; Sheriff Campbell, Stornoway; Alex. Macpherson, solicitor, Kingussie; A. Burgess, banker, Gairloch; P. Burgess, banker, Fortrose; A. D. Mackenzie of Farr; and Angus Mackintosh of Holme.

Lord Lovat, on rising to introduce the evening's programme, was received with loud cheers. After alluding to the pleasure it gave him to preside over such an interesting meeting, he observed that no doubt there were many new faces in the hall on this as on other occasions, and he hoped the older members of the Society would pardon him if he went over one or two points in connection with the Society for the information of those who did not know its objects, in order that they might enlist some new members. The Gaelic Society of Inverness was started in 1871, and they had still with them a good many of the original members, one of whom was Mr William Mackay, a very popular and well-known man, who was the original secretary, and still held the post of honorary secretary, in which office he celebrated his silver jubilee some two years ago. The Society numbered 430 members, but they still hoped to add to the number—(hear, hear). The objects of the Society were primarily to give an opportunity to people of literary tastes to add to the store of literature in the language of their forefathers. They not only cultivated the language and the music of the Highlands, but also gathered and treasured up many facts regarding the folklore of the country, which were apt to be forgotten. The Society had a library which was open to the members, and they would be glad to receive contributions to it in the form of volumes on the Gaelic language or on Highland subjects generally. Since their last annual assembly the death-roll of the members, he regretted to say, had been a heavy one; and especially had it been heavy among the prominent members of the Society. The late Mr Mackenzie, who was well known to them all as "The Clach," was one of their greatest contributors. Few years passed without his giving some paper or other for the Transactions of the Society, and all his papers, as well as his books, were of lasting interest—(hear, hear). Other prominent figures that had passed away were Captain Chisholm, one of the judges of pipe music, and Sheriff Blair, who was so well known in Inverness. During the current year fourteen most interesting papers had been added to their published matter. Their worthy secretary said the volume would be ready very shortly, and he might remind them that it was given away free to all members of the Society. Those fourteen papers would be an addition of considerable value to the literature of the Highlands. That was the first time he had held the distinguished position of Chief of the Society, and he proposed to celebrate his occupation of the chair by making a new departure; but he would not apologise, because the few words he was about to say were on a subject which fell

inside the range of the objects of the Society. They joined together as a Society in the interests of Highland-speaking people, and he wished to refer in that connection to the army reservemen. Since the earliest days war had been one of the chief subjects of interest in the Highlands. They were always at war, he might say—(laughter). Ossian, and even earlier writers, told them of stirring deeds that had taken place in the remote past. In those days, before the time of a standing army, war was quite different from what it is at the present time. The fiery cross went round, the gathering sounded in the glen, and the clansmen swarmed round the castle of their Chief, who led them to a tribal battle in the glens, or, if he took part in the politics of the South, he and they betook themselves by the Great Glen, through the Pass of Killiecrankie, to the South. Whether it was an inter-clan battle or a fight with a southern foe, the men returned after a short interval, either covered with glory, and no doubt carrying away many cattle from the Sassenach—(laughter)—or beating a rapid retreat homewards. They nevertheless received a welcome when they came back to their own country. Now they had come to the days of standing armies, and men who served their country were away from home for a number of years, and on their return they were apt to find that many of their friends had forgotten them, or had a curious feeling towards them because they had been in the army. They had a great interest in the Highland regiments. They owed it, indeed, to the men who had fought for them, and had made the magnificent names which the Highland regiments had at the present time—(applause). Surely, then, they ought to do for those men what they could to help them to earn a livelihood after they had returned to their homes—(applause). It was the opinon in and out of Parliament that they must find employment for their Reservemen. He did not wish it to appear to be an act of charity. What he wished to point out was that the County Council of Inverness-shire had been the first to move in the matter. It showed that the Highland sentiment was not extinct when the subject was taken up so keenly. The Gaelic Society represented the thought and feeling of the Highland people, and, therefore, it was right that the Society should impress its views on the public of the North, and help them to come to the conclusion that it was necessary to help them to find employment for men who had so well served their country. No doubt there was a feeling of objection against some of the men on leaving the colours. It was, no doubt, due to the fact that in

former times the men returned afer 21 years' absence, and they were found to be of little or no use. This, of course, was not the case with men who had enlisted for 3, 5, 7, or 12 years. Nobody could gainsay that if a man spent three years in the army, say from 17 to 20 years of age, when he would be a hobbledehoy, he would be smartened up, and would be far more likely to do well as a citizen. He thought the whole subject appealed to them as Highlanders, and he had mentioned it, he added, in the interests of Gaelic-speaking men, and in the vast and paramount interests of their Empire. His Lordship concluded by calling upon Mr R. Macleod to introduce the musical events of the evening.

Rev. Angus Macdonald, minister of Killearnan, delivered the address in Gaelic, by which the second part of the programme is always introduced. The rev. gentleman, who was cordially received, spoke as follows:—Fhir na Cathrach, a mnathan uaisle, agus a dhaoin uaisle,—'S e mo dleasdanas anns a' cheud aite mo thaingealachd a nochdadh air son an onoir mhòr a chuir luchd riaghlaidh Comunn Gailig Inbhirnis orm ann a bhi ga m' chur air leth chum oraid a thoirt seachad anns a' chainnt mhathaireil aig a' choinneamh bhliadhnail so. Tha mi da rireadh a' toirt dhaibh moran taing; ach feumaidh mi aideachadh aig an am cheudna gur ann le eagal agus le ballchrith a tha mi nis a' seasamh an lathair comh-chruinneachadh cho lionmhor agus cho maiseach air gach doigh 'sa tha anns an talla so a nochd fo sgiath Mhic Shimidh —an Gaidheal uasal treun, gum a fada beo e! B' e duan agus gearan gach aon a chaidh romham anns an dleasdanas so, gu robh e gun cheann-teagaisg, ach cha 'n 'eil e cur bruaillean sam bith ormsa bhi gun cheann-teagaisg. Is furasda ceann-teagaisg fhaotainn, ach 's e tha sin rud eile searmon a dheanamh, agus da rireadh, coltach ri Mòd Mhic an Toisich, cha 'n ann a h-uile latha gheibh mise co'thional cho mòr so. Is maith an ni dhuinn, a dhaoin uaisle, a bhi cruinn o am gu am, mar tha sinn an nochd, gu bhi 'cumail cuimhne air seann ghnathan nan aithrichean. An taobh a mach is Leathanaich, no Leodaich, no Frisealaich sinn ach an taobh a stigh an talla so is Gàidheil sinn, cruinn ann an ceann a' cheile, gun eadar-dhealachadh, gun leth-bhreith, gu bhi cumail suas bàrdachd, ceòl, cleachdaidhean, agus cainnt nan Gàidheal. The e fior nach robh urrad riamh roimhe air a dheanamh air son nan seann chleachdaidhean a chumail suas, agus gach ni eile bhuineas dhuinn, gu sonraichte mar Ghaidheil, agus a tha air a dheanamh nar latha féin. Tha comunn anns gach baile anns a bheil Gaidheil a' gabhail comhnuidh, cha 'n e mhain

nar duthaich fein ach mar an ceudna ann an tiribh cein, agus is e 's crioch do gach aon dhiubh so a bhi cumail suas, le mor eud, gnathan nan Gaidheil. Tha na treubhan mar bu nòs a dluthachadh ri cheile fo sgiathaibh an cinn-chinnidh, cha 'n ann mar anns na laithibh a dh' fhalbh chum stri, na gu bhi togail creiche, ach gu bhi dion, gun lann a thoirt a truaill, nan coirichean a bhuineas gu sonraichte do gach cinneadh. Ach os cionn gach comuinn, tha Comunn Gàilig Inbhirnis airidh air a chliu is mo. Cha Chomunn gun toradh an Comunn so. Cha'n aithne dhomh gu bheil comunn eile 's an rioghachd, o na ghineadh iad o thùs, mar chomunn a bha aon chuid cho saotharach, na cho soirbheach. Anns an fhichead leabhar a chaidh a chlo-bhualadh ann an ainm a' Chomuinn tha againn dileab mhor agus luachmhor de chanan, bàrdachd, litreachas, agus beul-aithris luchd-aiteachaidh nam beann. Ach mu thruaighe! Fhir na Cathrach, na dheigh so uile, agus a dh'aindeoin gach oidhirp a chaidh a thoirt gus a cumail beo, tha sinn a' cluinntinn air gach laimh gu bheil a' Ghailig a' faighinn a bhàis. Agus ma tha so fior, a dhaoine uaisle, ann an cuid a dh' àitibh, gu h-araidh air Tìr Mòr na Gàidhealtachd, an ioghnadh leibh ged a bhiodh sin mar sin? 'Nuair a tha sgireachdan air am fàsachadh agus Clannaibh nan Gaidheal air an ruagadh a dh' ionnsuidh nam bailtean mora, 's duthchannaibh cein, cionnas a dh' fheudas cùisean a bhi ach mar a tha iad? Is ann mar sin a chaidh a' Ghailig a chur gu bàs ann an iomadh sgireachd. Ach nan robh an luchd-riaghlaidh a' deanamh an dleasdanais 'oirleam gun rachadh aca air cùisean a chur air steidh a b' fhearr. Cha 'n aon mise aig a bheil facal ann an comhairle luchd-riaghlaidh na rioghachd, agus cha mho na sin a bhuineas e da mo dhreuchd a bhi réiteach nan nithe sin, ach tha mi cinnteach na 'n robh iadsan a tha ann an ughdarras air son ceartas a dheanamh, nach 'eil aon chnap-starra a tha 's an rathad nach gabhadh cur a thaobh, agus nach b' fhada gus am faiceamaid na gabhalaichean mora air am bristeadh sios, agus Clanna nan Gaidheal, mar anns na laithibh a dh' fhalbh, a' sealbhachadh fearann an aithrichean. Tha mi cinnteach gu 'n tig an latha sin, agus mar is luaithe 's e 's fearr. Ach, Fhir na Cathrach, cha bu leor so. Dh' aindeoin na chaidh cheana dheanamh, 's na theid a ris a dheanamh, is e 'n aon dòigh is fearr gus a' Ghailig a chumail beo a' chainnt sin a theagasg do 'n chloinn ann an sgoilean na Gaidhealtachd. Agus nan cuireadh àrd is iosal an guaillibh ri 'cheile, mar bu choir do Ghaidheil a chur ann an aobhar cho maith, cha b' fhada gus am bitheadh an t-seann chanan air a teagasg anns gach sgoil 's a' Ghaidhealtachd

o cheann gu ceann. Ach 's ann a their moran, c'arson a bhitheadh oigridh na Gaidhealtachd a' caitheamh an tim a' foghlum cainnt nach dean cuideachadh sam bith leo air son faighinn air aghart anns an t-saoghal agus greim a dheanamh air saibhreas, mar gu'm b' e sin os cionn gach ni eile an cuspair a b' airde, agus mar gu 'm b' e seilbh fhaotainn air maoin an t-saoghail so crioch araid an duine. Tha mi làn chinnteach, Fhir na Cathrach, ma gheibh an giollan og Gaidhealach fhoghlum ann an nithe eile nach misde ach gur feaird e anns an reis eolas bhi aige air a' Ghailig. Air mo shon fein cha mhòr nach b' fhearr leam gun a bhi beo idir na bhi as a h-eugmhais. Deanadh gach Gaidheal gu duineal, eudmhor, a dhleasdanas, 's cho fad s a shiubhlas allt le gleann, 's a bhuaileas tonn ri traigh, cha 'n fhaigh a' Ghailig bàs. Ach mu thruaighe! a dhaoin uaisle, tha cuid ann a tha air tuiteam a dh' ionnsuidh inbhe cho iosal agus gur ann tha nàire orra aideachadh gur aithne dhaibh Gailig a labhairt, na gu 'm buin iad idir do Thir nam Beann. Tha na siochairean leibideach so a' saoilsinn gur e bhi Gallda bhi fasanta, agus is fada bho chuala sinn gur fearr a bhi dhith chinn na bhi dhith 'n fhasain. Is tric leis na Goill fein a bhi togail tuaileas air na Gaidheil agus anns na laithibh deireannach so fein chunnacas a nochdadh ann an gorm astar nan speur, air do 'n fheasgar ciaradh, rionnag bheag bhideach, a chuir ioghnadh air gach aon co i, na co as a thainig i. Tha fios agam gu bheil sibh a' tuigsinn gu maith co uime tha mi labhairt fo 'n t-samhla so. Cha 'n aon sam bith eile sin ach Andra Lang. Rinn e sbairn chruaidh gu droch alla thogail gu h-araidh air na Gaidheil a dh' eirich le Prionnsa Tearlach. Thagair e moran, ach cha do dhearbh e dad. Cha 'n e so aon chuid an t-am na'n t-aite gu bhi ga fhreagairt mar a thoill e; ach air mo laimh fein, Fhir na Cathrach, mu 'n cluinnear deireadh na cuise, 's mu 'm b' i 'n cù mu dheireadh air a chrochadh, mur faigh, esan sgailc a chuireas bas a sheanamha'ir as a chuimhne. Tha mi cheana air labhairt tuilleadh agus fada, agus bho nach do cheadaich tìm e cha 'n fhaod mi 'n cor a radh aig an am so. Guidheam gach uile shoirbheachadh do Chomunn Gàilig Inbhirnis, agus dhuibhse, agus do na Gaidheil ghasda anns gach cearn, thall 's a bhos, a tha cumail suas gnathan agus cainnt nan Ard-bheann—

Chlanna nan Gaidheal, bithibh cuimhneach
Air 'ur cainnt a chur an cleachdadh;
Cha 'n iarr i iasad air canain
'S bheir i fein do chàch am pailteas.

The audience learned with disappointment that Mrs Munro, Strathpeffer, was unable to fulfil her engagement, but Miss Agnes M. Cameron, Waterloo Place, Inverness, kindly took her place and her songs, and the presence of Miss Maclachlan, Glasgow, was an attraction in itself. She was very cordially received, and, singing in splendid voice, was repeatedly encored. Her Gaelic songs, with harp accompaniment, were especially appreciated. The other performers were Mr R. Macleod and Mr D. Miller, and Strathspey and reel parties otherwise entertained the company.

A cordial vote of thanks to Lord Lovat, proposed by Provost Macbean, and a similar compliment to the performers terminated a successful meeting. Mr R. Buchanan—Miss Maclachlan's husband—played the accompaniments with much professional skill.

We subjoin a copy of the programme:—

PART. I.

Address.....CHAIRMAN.
Song (Gaelic)—"Mairi Bhan Og".....Mr R. MACLEOD.
Song.....Miss CAMERON.
Strathspey and Reel Selection.....STRATHSPEY AND REEL PARTY.
Song—"Maid of Athens".....Mr D. MILLER.
Song—"The Scottish Blue Bells".....Miss J. N. MACLACHLAN.
Song—"Macgregor's Gathering".....Mr R. MACLEOD.
Dance—Sword Dance.....YOUNG GAEL.
Song (Gaelic)—"Mo Dhachaidh".....Miss J. N. MACLACHLAN.
Dance—Scotch Reel.....——

Interval of Five Minutes.

Bagpipe Music by Pipe-Major RONALD MACKENZIE, Gordon Castle, Piper to the Society.

PART II.

Address (Gaelic).....Rev. A. J. MACDONALD.
Song.....Miss CAMERON.
Song—"Mary of Argyle".....Mr D. MILLER.
Songs (Gaelic)—(*a*) "Gun Chrodh gun Aighean" (*b*) "Thainig an Gille Dubh" (With Clarsach accompaniment).....Miss J. N. MACLACHLAN.
Song (Gaelic)—"An Cluinn thu Leannain".....Mr R. MACLEOD.
Song.....Miss CAMERON.
Dance—Reel of Tulloch.....OGANAICH GHAIDHEALACH.

"AULD LANG SYNE."

10th NOVEMBER, 1898.

At this meeting the Secretary announced the presentation to the Society, by Miss Yule, Tarradale, of a beautiful Turkish carpet for their room, and he was instructed to make suitable acknowledgment of the gift, and convey to the donor the best thanks of the Society.

It was then unanimously resolved to record a minute of condolence in respect of the death, some time previously, of Sir Henry C. Macandrew, for many years a distinguished member of the Society, and it was remitted to the secretaries to send a copy to Lady Macandrew.

Thereafter a paper, entitled "Bighouse Papers—No. III.," a further contribution by Captain Wimberley of the series of papers on this subject, was read. The paper is as follows:—

THE BIGHOUSE PAPERS—No. III.

NO. XLVIII.

LETTER from Baron Maule to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "Edinr., 20th Novr., 1752. Letter, Baron Maule."

"Edinr., 20 Novr., 1752.

"Sir,—I am favoured with yours of the ii., and has had opportunity of conversing with the D. of Argyll upon ye subject of it, who I assure you is as much convinced as you can be, of ye heavie charge your Brother's family must have been put to in prosecuting the murderers and bringing them to justice; and that it is for the honour of the Government that they should be reimbursed. I am persuaded his Grace will say everything he can when he goes to London to persuade the King's servants of it.

"I shall do everything I can to forward your Petition before ye Trustees wt. regard to the Spinning School, which I hope will do, provided our funds answer, which this year are very low.

"I mentioned James Campbell at Dunoon, but whether it will be remembered is more than I can answer for.—I am, with great truth and esteem, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Sd.) "JO. MAULE."

NO. XLIX.

LETTER from Lord Breadalbane to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "Edinr., 21st Novr., 1752. Letter, Lord Breadalbane."

"Edinr., 21st Novr., 1752.

"Sir,—After I had sent my letter to you on Saturday to the post, I received one from my Ld. Chr. in which he says that he would have answer'd my letter sooner but was desirous to make some enquiry relating to the subject of it. This agrees with what the Adv. told me lately, viz., That the Chr. had wrote to him to know by whom the expence of the prosecution had been paid. The Chr. goes on in his letter to me and says that he dares be confident that I am fully persuaded there has been no want of zeal and vigour in enforcing the prosecution of the murderers from London, and he is convinced it has been pursued in Scotland with great earnestness and with thorough diligence and attention.

"He wishes heartily that the principal actors, and more of the contrivers of that horrid fact, could be found out and brought to justice, that more examples might be made besides James Stewart. Then he says that as to the expences of the Prosecution, he is informed that it was always intended that the burden of it should be borne by the Government, and that there is no inclination to throw any charge upon the family which is proper for the Government to take upon themselves. He adds that he can not take upon himself to determine how far this intention may extend to any collateral expences occasioned by any particular personal enquiries made by the family of the deceased, but does not doubt but you will have no reason to complain of the usage you will receive, upon a proper application made to the officers of the Crown on this unfortunate occasion. I take the meaning of this to be that the Treasury will pay all the expences that really and strictly regard the prosecution, but possibly will scruple to pay some particular (tho' perhaps necessary) expences, such as persons sent privately by you for intelligence relating to the murder, and other expences of that nature. This is my notion of it, but upon the whole you see the Government is to bear the charges of it, and very likely wil pay every shilling laid out.

"In answer to another letter which I writt to him after the other, in which I advised taking proper methods to pursue this affair further while it is warm, he says that I am certainly in the

right in thinking that the utmost diligence and vigilance ought to be exerted in finding out the other persons concerned in this barbarous murder, not only in order to punish them for that crime, but to exterminate them out of the country, but that stronger orders can not be framed than those which have been sent from London to all the King's officers, civil and military in Scotland, for both those purposes, and he thinks they ought to be reminded of them.

"I have transcribed his own words as far as can be done in an extract.

"He says he has given a hint (as I writt to him) that enquiry should be made in France relating to Allan Breck's being come back to his regiment, that we may be able to judge if he is still in this country.

"I writt to him that Dr Cameron and Lochgarry were come over and had a meeting with young Glengarry: which he had not heard. Pray let me know what you learn relating to them, and whatever of that kind occurrs at any time; which information may be of use in many respects. The General says those two persons are not come over, but that some others are, whose names he had forgot, and I have not seen Stewart to ask him. I'm perswaded you'll do all you can to get particulars and true information and send them to me here and afterwards to London. I will most readily pay any expenses for procuring intelligence which may be depended upon, so pray do not stick at money.—Adieu, yrs., "B——."

Notes.—(1) Allan Breck Stewart was the son of Donald Stewart in Inverchomrie in Rannoch: he enlisted as a soldier in Colonel Lee's Regiment, and was taken prisoner at the Battle of Preston, when he transferred his services to Prince Charlie. After the Battle of Culloden he escaped to France and enlisted there; but from time to time he managed to get over to Scotland, generally landing at Leith, and staying with one Hugh Stewart in Edinburgh, and proceeded thence to Appin and Rannoch. There seems no doubt that he was the actual murderer of Glenure. He appears after a time to have got a commission in the French Service in Ogilvy's Regiment. See letter No. lviii. He lived till about the commencement of the French Revolution.

(2). The Lord-Advocate in 1752 was William Grant of Preston Grange.

(3). Archibald Cameron, known generally as Dr Archibald Cameron, a brother of Lochiel, was a Colonel of Infantry in the

Spanish Service. It was probably on information supplied to the English Secretary of State in a letter from "Pickle," the Spy, written in December, 1752, that Dr Cameron was watched and arrested, and in consequence executed.

Alexander Macdonell of Lochgarrie was a Lieut.-Colonel in Lord Ogilvy's Scots' Regiment in the Service of France. Dr Cameron and Lochgarrie were sent to Scotland by Prince Charlie to meet several Highland gentlemen at Crieff market, and Fassifern and Glennevis were, according to "Pickle's" account, to carry on the correspondence between Cluny Macpherson and the Southern Jacobites: it was probably part of the Doctor's mission to get and bring over to the Prince some more of the Locharkaig treasure.

NO. L.

LETTER from the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "Tongue, 25 Decr., 1752. Letter, Hugh Mackay."

"Tongue, 25 Decr., 1752.

"Dear Sir,—The post is now come on and by him I have the pleasure of yours of the 9th, some of my ffriends were so good as to be wt. me to-day, and to have so good accts. of you and all your ffamily wtout compliment gives us all joy, and you may believe so to me in Particular. Mrs Campbell writes me from Ardmore of ye 22, yt she was well then, but very bulky. Could I have helpt it, I did not at all incline she should have to winter there, but the bad weather got the better of me, but I am so far pleased at this happening that I find it to be agreeable to you, tho' you and I happened to differ a little as to how Mrs Campbell should be settled at ye time, I hope and I am sure in other things we must think one way, and we should have done so now could I manage my reason as to her, as well as in other things, and I know this to be the case as well as you, tho' not in my power to help it.

"But I hope sooner or later to make proper amends to you all for this ffault. How soon the present storm is of the ground, Mrs Mackay goes down to Ardmore, and much does she and the Daur. long to see one anoyr. You may believe some oyr. person will not be very easy so must soon follow. Jenny herself writes some of your family weekly, so I need say no more as to her, as for your neices their new quarters seem to agree very well wt.

ym., and they are in good health and spirits, and are fine children. Betty begins to speak ye English, and both turn out fine dancers. Every body wt. me agrees that the young girl is like you, and she daily promises to be more and more so.

"The story of the Coachman &c. could not surprise you more as it did me, I gave in an answer to ye declarations emitted by him, of which a coppy was sent Capt. Campbell, Balevolain, and he know how I used ym., so I need say no more to you, as to this part my letter to your broyr. at Stirling desired yt. the Coachman should be ready to go south or north, as Mrs Campbell determined, and that the Coachman should bring plenty of corn wt. him, the want of qch. distressed the horses, and they were bad of ym. selves, I don't value being obliged to pay some damages at all equal to my character suffering this way, which I must have cleared up by ye gentlemen present, as I hate Processes, I have submitted ye debate and have wrote to our friend Mr Campbell of ye Bank to be arbiter for me, and determine as he saw cause wt. any Mr Walker should chuse. I have not yet had Mr Campbell's return, and if he does not chuse to meddle, I'll be obliged to trouble you or Achadh Challader, or of you first goes to town, to hear all that can be said for and against this affair, and to determine accordingly. I don't value how money matters goes, but I want to have my character vindicate, qch. I think will be the case.

"This night also I have got Stewart's last speech under cover from Mr McVicar, but as ye Post must go of in a few hours, I have yet not time to read it. Some people believe him guilty and oyrs. that he died a Martyr: for my part, I am very glad that the sentence was properly execute agst. him.

"The Mackays are singularly obliged to you for the compliment you are Pleased to pay ym., such as are present desire wt. me to return you their hearty thanks, and to assure you that it will be a vast Pleasure to one, either or all of us, to have it in our Power, more ro less, to serve a Campbell.

"Mrs Mackay desires to return your compliments, and please offer mine to Lady Barcaldine, ye young Ladies, and all the family.—I am, wt. the greatest regard, affection, and sincerity to them all as well as to you, Dr. Sir, your most obedt., faithful, humble servt., "Hugh Mackay.

"We have been drinking some hearty Bumpers to all your good healths, and to many good new years to you all, my friend, Miss Peggy, has not been forgot amongst us."

NO. LI.

LETTER from Lieut. Archibald Campbell to his brother, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted on cover, "Limmerick, 4th Jan. 1753. Letter, Archd. Campbell."

"Limmerick, Jan. 4th, 1753.

"Dr. Br.,—I received yours of the 9th of Dec. I find you then had not received my last letter: our poor Brother's ffate was so cruell and uncommon that I make no doubt the Black actor and accomplices, by some means or other, will cast up, as is almost constantly the case of those who are concerned in the dreadfull crime of murder. Your letter was the only account I had from my Brothers of this affair, which I own has given me some concern, I shall make no reflections on this behaviour of theirs, as it is not in my power to make good natured ones, it makes me very unhappy that I can't make one among you on this melancholy occasion, in which we are so much concerned in particular, and, indeed, all honest men. I hope some of our Friends are appointed to the ffactory of that estate, or at least have aplyed for it, were I in the countrie I'm shure I would, I think it shou'd not be given up to those masked villains, but as you are on the spott you can best discern what is to be done, as you have a thorough knowledge of the state of the countrie.

"I am much in the same state of health I was in when I wrote you last but rather better, at least have lost no ground; I proposed waiting then for your answer, but a ship sailing to-morrow or next day out of this river for Lisbon and having obtained leave from the Government determines me to set out with her. I wish I had gone sooner, however that's past by getting four months' pay in advance from the agent for which Doctor Young or Surgeon and Lieut. David Maitland of Sutrie are joint with me. If no accident happens me before the first of June I shall be clear with all mankind in Ireland and have a ballance of 8 shillings and 10 pence, and one half-year's arears due against the 1st of June next besides a claim of £11 15s 10d on Captain Willson, which with others belonging to the officers of this Regiment are put into the hands of an agent in London by Major James, we shall get some of it, how much God knows: this is my situation in Ireland at present. I have no other debts but the ballance I owe Robinson, merchant, in London, on account

of Wilkie and Mackintosh. I believe Robie has as much of mine in his hands as will clear that which I wish he may doe and gett up my note; I have left an order with Davie Maitland to receive my pay here and arears after the first of June and give Robie creditt for it with Mr Stewart, his father-in-law, att Edinburgh, tho' my situation will apear as it is poor to you yett where yr. is one better among subalterns yr. are at least speaking within bounds twentie worse. I carrie with me aboard after paying passage and every shilling I owe in Ireland twentie pounds in Portugall money, before this is gone I ffancy my health will be much better or much worse att any rate as I have no fund to draw on of my own but what you risk on me, I shall be very tender in (?) backing my friends in case I tip off as I never had it in my power to be of any service to them yett tho' my inclinations are as much disposed that way as any of them. If I doe recover I hope something may be done for me that I may not always be a beggar, tho' writing hurts me I could not help this long scrawle that my whole situation might apear to you. I have sent Robie a regular state of my account with the agent shou'd I die in my passage, the money I carrie with me will indemnifie Maitland and Young besides my oyr. things are worth something. I shall now conclude with begging you'l gett me recommended to Main or some of the merchants at Lisbon for credit as soon as possible. My best wishes attend you, my sister, and ffamily, and all other friends.—I ever am, my dear Brother, your loving and affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

"ARCHD. CAMPBELL.

"P.S.—I have ordered any letters that come here after I'm gone to be given enclosed to an officer of the Highlanders that is here who will carrie them to Allan. This has been wrote two days. I go on board to-morrow. Major James who is just come in to see me tells me he had received a letter from Col. Kennedy now telling him that I might draw upon him for money in case I wanted it. This civilitie I did not expect tho' all along he has hurried my leave as much as possible tho' I find now I shan't have to ask £20 I make no oyr use of his friendship than writing him a letter of thanks I hope you'l doe ye same."

NOTE.—I cannot find out what regiment Archibald Campbell was in at this time, or that he became fit for further service.

NO. LII.

LETTER from John Campbell of Achalader to [his brother-in-law] "John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., at Edinburgh," so addressed, and docqueted "Achmore, 16th Febry., 1753. Letter, Achalader."

"Achmore, 16th Feby., 1753.

"Dr. Br.,—I hope this will find you safe in Edinburgh if you did not get there before the great fall of snow on tuesday ev'ning you would have very difficult riding. What at present engages our atention here is a report of your sister-in-law Glenuris being deliver'd of a daughter: the beginning of last week we were told 'twas of a son, which last I do sincerely wish may be true, tho' I fear the first is the case, as we had it by a more probable conveyance than the other came to us. If 'tis a daughter she and her sisters are but poorly provided. As I'm to go early next week to Taymouth I'll make what enquiry I can to find out Brecks haunts, if he is within reach this is a favourable season to entrap him.

"I think I told you at Crieff that Ld. Breadalbane seem'd inclinable to give £2000 for Benmore, which I dare say you will think full price for it. The treaty with the Laird is at a stand at present, I can easyly foresee he will be no less out of the way than the others.

"I saw your brother Archy's first letter to you in which he mentioned his purpose of going to Lisbon or the south of France. It will be very welcome news to hear of his recovery: you have indeed done your part in furnishing him with the means of going to either of these places. I reckon he has chose Lisbon, tho' 'tis very expensive living there, as he can talk a little Spanish which is of a kin with the Portugize jargon.

"Are the Trustees for executing the Annexation Act appointed or known? or is it thought that that law is to be alter'd before a tryal is to be made of it? Here we are told that Ramsay is dismissed from his charge of Ranoch and that Ensign Small is appointed to succeed him. I can't think the Barons would make any change as their own powers over the Forfeited Estates are very near a period. Pray let me know how Monzie does, I hope he will disapoint all our fears for him. I think I've question'd you sufficiently for once.—I am, Dr. Br., yours,

"J. CAMPBELL."

NOTE.—Allan Breck about this time left Scotland: he is said to have landed in France in March of this year.

It was shortly after this that the management of the Forfeited Estates was transferred from the Barons of Exchequer to Parliamentary Trustees or Commissioners, under an Act George II. Anno XXV.

NO. LIII.

LETTER from John Campbell of Achalader to his brother-in-law, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Achmore, 5th May, 1753. Letter, Achalader."

"Achmore, 5th May, 1753.

"Dear Brother,—I daresay you will have heard before now that Fassfern, Glenevis and Chs. Stuart were taken up this day eight days on suspicion of holding treasonable correspondence with persons attainted or excepted. If I remember the first and last told me the warrands against them did run in these terms, Fassfern had not seen the warrand against him, I suppose it will be in the same style: I dined with them at Tynluib on Wednesday; they were escorted by a Capt. two subalterns and 50 or 60 men. The conjectures on this occasion are various. Some say that Fass. is taken up on some secret intelligence given of him by Glenevis, and that the taking up Glenevis and Chs. Stuart is only in order to their being evidence against him; and what supports this suspicion is that he is much more closely lookt to than they are by the Party. Others say they are all tak'n up in consequence of some discoverys made by Dr Cameron when examin'd before the Privy Council.

"Chs. Stuart was the only one who seem'd to be most concern'd for his situation. It will be well for all these Cashiers, who have been taken up, if they are only compell'd to make accounts of their intromissions. Fass. is positive nothing criminal can be made out against him, I wish it may be so.

"We hear from Ballquidder that Robin Og is returned in good plight to that country well mounted. It looks as if he had been plying on the Highway in England. He gives out, at least 'tis given out in his name, that he saw Breck in France, who got there in March, and who says 'twas Allan beg that actually committed the murder; and that Breck is to publish a vindication of himself.

"'Tis scarce worth noticing what is said since a grip is not got of him, but 'tis worth enquiring if Bk. has got to France.

"The Sheriff is somewhat better within these two days, he has got a lot of Drugs from Edinr., but as the Directions are not signed by Dr McFarlane, who is ill of a fever, but by one whom the Sheriff supposes to be only his apprentice, he will not taste them.

"We have now really summer weather. Your sister joins in compliments to Lady Barcaldine and to you, and I am, Dr. Br., yours, "J. CAMPBELL."

NOTES.—The Fassfern here mentioned seems to be John Cameron of Fassafern, brother of Donald of Lochiel and of Dr Archibald: the latter, however, is frequently spoken of as "of Fassafern," though younger than John. Fassfern, Glenevis, and Charles Stuart were probably all really arrested on suspicion of being connected with a proposed enterprise in favour of the exiled Stuarts, and had probably been receiving rents from Lochiel's tenants to transmit to France.

They had been denounced in an information given to the Government dated "Decr. 1752." Dr Cameron had been arrested near Inversnaid on 20th March, 1753, probably on information given by "Pickle" the Spy. He was condemned to suffer death upon his former sentence passed after the '45. According to a Memorandum, dated 11th Novr., 1753, apparently also furnished by "Pickle"—but James Mor Drummond perhaps on that occasion posed as "Pickle"—it was at the house of Duncan Stewart of Glenbuckie that Dr Cameron was arrested.

Allan beg, I presume, means Allan, son of James Stewart of Acharn. It is probable enough that Allan Breck thought it safe to accuse him.

The Sheriff may perhaps be Duncan C., Barcaldine's brother.

NO. LIV.

LETTER from John Campbell, Achalder, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted, "Letter, Achalader." It has no date except "Thursday night," but was probably written in May, 1753.

"Thursday Night.

"Dr. Br.,—I'm glad to hear you have once more the use of your feet, I believe you are but seldom attacked in the summer season, so that you have at least a good half-year's reprieve.

"The madman from Balwhidder was this day sent from Killen to Perth, he begins to recover his senses again.

"I believe I can tell you but little about Fassfern but what you know already. He is charged with accession to forging a claim in the name of the present Stron on the Estate of Lochiel. In which he avers to have no other hand than the carrying it from Alex. More (who it seems was then Factor or Sutor to Stron) to his agent at Edinr. But he is accused of advising and directing John McCuil vic Cuil to adhibite Stron's subscription to it: this 'tis said John has declar'd in the Precognition. I saw Alex., John's brother, who it seems is to be conductor of the evidence against Fassfern: he says his brother made no such declaration in the Precognition, he only confest that if he remember'd well that 'twas Fassfern or Alex. More that advised him, but he thinks 'twas the last.

"Whether he has had any concern in this unhallowed affair or not, he has drawn I may say forced his present misfortune upon himself, but as I want not to aggravat but to clear him if I could, there is one circumstance which you, who knew him, will allow to be very favourable for him; it is that he never choosed to have an active hand or give himself much trouble in anything that did not visibly tend to promote his Interest. Now it does not appear that the event of this claim affected him, whatever it was.

"Glenuir went for Argyllshire yesterday: he had had great joy in a late promotion of Commissary James Campbell's, which is a commission to survey the D. of A.'s woods in Mull, &c., and to report the state of them. He said a gentleman who has had some concern in this is much alarm'd and is apprehensive that he shall follow his quondam brethren.

"I fear we shall not be able to get Mr Douglass a better living at this bout. The D. of Ath. chooses rather to run the race of Popularity by falling in with the humour of the people than gratify his neighbour. I offer my kind Compts. to Mrs Campbell and am, Dr. Br., yours, "J. Campbell."

Notes.—Robin Og was apprehended by a party of soldiers sent from Inversnaid, at the foot of Gartmore, and conveyed to Edinburgh, 26th May, 1753.

Cameron of Strone's property was on the Lochy, not far from Erracht.

Glenure fell to Duncan Campbell, as Colin left no son.

NO. LV.

LETTER from John Campbell, Achalader, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, dated only "Saturday morng.," docqueted "Letter Achalador," and addressed to "John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., at Crieff"—[probable date, May, 1753.]

"Saturday morning.

"Dr. Br.,—I'm hopefull Dunky has escaped the small pox whether natural or artificial. Howsoer justly unhappy Dr Cameron may deserve his fate, I'm inexpressibly concerned for him. You know what a blameless and undesigning person he was in private life: and I have often heard that his brother in 1745 compell'd him to enter into his measures. The weather is so hot here there is no looking out of doors. Will you ask Mr Robertson if he has done Lay. Shians business. Compts. to all your family.—Dr. Br., yrs., "J. CAMPBELL."

NO. LVI.

LETTER from Colonel John Crawfurd, apparently to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Berwick, 20th May, 1753. Letter Coll. John Crawfurd."

"Dear Sir,—I wrote you a few lines by last Post to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter and to tell you what I knew of Sandie's affair. As I imagine Mungo will call upon you in his way to Lochaber, I beg you will recommend circumspection, as there will be people enough ready to take hold of any wrong steps. He writes me from London that McVicar is desirous of having more farms than that of Corpach, and seems to alledge that I had promis'd my assistance for that purpose. You know very well the motives that induced me to give McVicar a footing on the North side of Lochy, as I knew nothing would more effectually lessen Fassifern's influence, besides that I thought the man's services deserv'd some favour from the Government, but he ought not to risque the loosing of everything by the grasping at too much, for nothing can be more contrary to the Intentions of Government, than that any one person shou'd engross too much of the forfeited Lands, for which reason the powers of subsetting is taken away, and the valuation any one person may enjoy limited. Therefor it would be wrong to do anything that won't have the aprobation of the Commissioners when they come to act.

" He astonishes me with Fassifern's plea for not removing, and more in saying that it puzzles Baron Maule: can it be sustained as a good defence that he is willing to give as much or more than another person, and therefor won't remove. If I have a mind to let my lands at half the value what is that to any one, at this rate the King will be on a worse footing than any private gentleman, and every one keep possession that pleases. Sure the Factor while he has the power of acting cannot be found fault with if he does not give the lands but for one year, and adheres to the Rental that is establish'd.

" I hope that Donald Ban Lean's exit in Ranoch will do no harm: I did not know before your telling me that his associates were in the braes of Monteith. I am told it is intended to try Sergt. More as a Deserter, if the Desertion can be prov'd. We imagine him a Deserter from our Regt. betwixt 13 and 14 years ago, when we lay in this very town. I sent a Sergt. and private man a few days ago to Perth to look at him. I have just now receiv'd a line from the Sergt. who says he is certainly the man, tho' he denies his knowing anything of us. You may believe we will be very sure before we try him, but it will be singular enough, if he is brought back at such a distance of time to the very place from whence he deserted, and that this should be the only time of our being here since he deserted.

" I am sorry to hear that villain Breck is got out of the country, and really his escaping has lessen'd my opinion of those that call'd themselves our friends. As to the people's opinion about James Stewart's trial you may be sure that differ'd according to the Prejudices they had receiv'd about that affair: sensible People, who had no prejudices saw guilt very strong, among others Ld. Willoughby of Brook's observation was no bad one, viz., That he saw plainly by the Tryal above Twenty Five people must have known of the murder, and that only one had been hang'd. Indeed if you ask my opinion about the Printed tryal, I can't help finding fault with many things. In the first place, I think there has not been due attention to correcting some of the speeches, wch. M'Intoshes speech shows plainly enough, 2nd, I don't think it was published in the order it ought to have been, and in which the man was try'd, I mean the proof ought to have follow'd the libel and debates upon it, which would have given strangers a much clearer idea than by bringing in the proof by way of apendix, 3rd, I don't aprove of Mr Brown's getting the Advocates speech for two months to study, he ought to have had no assistances but what occurr'd from the Proof, 4th, It was monstrous to insert or

allow to be inserted a speech for Stewart which he never made. We all know who were present that the previous knowledge was what he mention'd, and that he never said any such thing as his being ignorant of the murder as the child unborn, but all those things are calculated to mislead. In short there does not seem to have been that caution to guard against their artifices, which ought to have been.

"I have long wish'd and expected an opportunity of seeing you, but whether it will take place this summer is more than I can tell. If I go to see my brother at Errol, you may be sure I will take Crief in my way. I am sorry Ld. Breadalbane went through this town without giving me an oportunity of waiting upon him. I very little think or trouble myself about Highland affairs at this time, but a thought struck me on hearing of Dr Cameron's being taken up, which I don't know whether I am well founded in or not, viz.—That they cou'd never have manag'd that affair in Balquidder without the engineership of James or some of his friends to make court on his acct. You can probably tell me, whether I am right.

"I endeavour'd when in London to get John of Achnaba made an Ensign in Ld. Home's, but I cou'd not stay long enough to see it ended: I have just seen Ld. Home, since his coming to this country, he tells me it could not be got done before he left London, and I'm afraid will not be done till he goes himself to Ireland in the latter end of the summer, I shall, however, soon know what can be done, as I have promis'd his Losp. to go out and stay a few days with him, I shall then write Mr Campbell the particulars, and in the meantime must beg you'll write him a few lines letting him know what I have wrote on this subject. I have almost wrote myself blind, and how you will make out this scrawl I know not.

"My compts. and good wishes attends Mrs Campbell and all your family.—I am, with great truth, Dear Sir, your very faithful and obedt. hum. servant, "JOHN CRAWFURD.

"Berwick, 20th May, 1753.

"What I know of the late measures about taking up certain people is all guess work, as I have heard nothing from London about Highland affairs since I left it. I met the Doctor on the Road, who thanked me for the care of Duncan."

NOTES.—(1). Col. John Craufurd was Lieut.-Col. of General Pulteney's Regiment of Foot, the 13th, and in command of the Fort and Garrison at Fort-William at the time of Glenure's

murder. He witnessed some of the depositions taken there before the trial of James Stewart, and was one of the witnesses at his trial to identify a letter produced.

(2). McVicar, probably Duncan McVicar, Collector of Customs at Fort-William in 1752.

(3). Mungo: See Letter No. lix. I presume this is the Mungo Campbell, writer in Edinburgh, who accompanied Glenure, his uncle, in his expedition to Lochaber and return journey homewards, during which he was murdered: Mungo afterwards got a Commission, and in time became Lieut.-Col. 52nd Regiment, and was killed in action at Fort Montgomerie.

(4). The Sergt. More here mentioned is evidently John Dhu Cameron, who in later life became a noted freebooter, and was apprehended by a party of Lieut. Hector Munro's detachment in Rannoch in 1753, and executed at Perth for the slaughter of a man who had been killed in a creagh under his leadership at Braemar some time before, and for various acts of theft and cattle lifting. General Stewart of Garth says that he had been a sergeant in the French service, and came over to Scotland in 1745, and tells an interesting story showing his generosity to an officer of the army, escorting treasure, who trusted him.

(5). James Stewart in Acharn was said to be a natural son of John Stewart of Ardshiel, whose lawful son, lately of Ardshiel, was now under forfeiture; and apparently Alex. Stewart of Invernahyle was another son; of John's daughters, Helen was married to Allan Cameron of Callart, who was also attainted, and Isobel was the second wife of Alex. Macdonald of Glencoe.

James Stewart seems to have been at first tacksman in Auchindarroch, in Duror, and also of Lettermore, on the estate of Ardshiel (Lettermore was the scene of Glenure's murder), but to have removed at the request of Glenure in 1751, about two years after the latter's appointment as factor on 23rd Feb., 1749: at the same time, Alex. Stewart of Invernahyle, brother of Ardshiel and James's half-brother, was removed from Glenduror, and the whole Glen let to John Campbell of Baleveolan, though Glenure aided in stocking the half of it.

James then became tacksman of Aucharn under Donald Campbell of Airds. He was allowed for a time to continue as sub-factor under Glenure on the Ardshiel estate, and to collect the rents from the tenants, accounting for such sums as had been fixed as valuation by the Barons of Exchequer, and handing over any excess paid by the tenants to the children of his brother,

Charles, until the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury stopped this, and Glenure, under instructions, had to remove James Stewart from his farm. This was alleged at James' trial to be the motive for his being art and part in Glenure's murder.

After a careful perusal of the whole of the printed Report of Acharn's Trial, I think the evidence was sufficient to convict Allan Breck as the murderer, had he been put on his trial, but only warranted a verdict of "Not proven" against James Stewart. The speech of Mr George Brown was a sufficient answer to the Lord Advocate, whose speech throughout assumed Stewart to be guilty, and on that supposition made out that certain portions of evidence told against him; but Mr Brown showed that, assuming Stewart was not privy to the murder, the same evidence was quite consistent with his innocence. Again, the Lord Advocate, wherever evidence had been adduced in favour of Stewart, tried to discredit the witnesses, and, with a jury consisting of 11 Campbells out of 15, and the whole chosen according to the custom of the time by the Judges, and the Duke of Argyll presiding as Justice-General, he secured a conviction. Thirty-four persons were summoned to serve on the jury from Argyllshire (of whom 25 were Campbells and 9 of other surnames), and 11 from Bute (none of whom were Campbells). The jurors selected were all from Argyll, and the names other than Campbell were Duncanson, Gillespie, Macdougal, and Macneil. It was certainly quite clear and admitted that Stewart helped Allan Breck to effect his escape after the murder, though he suspected him of that crime, by arranging to send him money, and Stewart's wife sent Allan clothes he had left at Acharn, but there is no proof either of Stewart's knowing anything of the murder until after it was committed, or of arranging to send Breck money until 36 hours after it, on receipt of a message from him. He was not charged with being accessory after the murder to Breck's escape.

(6). Mr George Brown of Colstoun and Mr Robert Mackintosh were Counsel for James Stewart. Mr William Grant of Preston Grange was H.M.'s Advocate. Mr Brown complained of the prisoner having only 15 days to prepare his defence.

(7). James Mor or Drummond, having escaped from prison in Edinburgh Castle in November, was probably in hiding in Ireland up to about the time of Dr Cameron's arrest. It is more likely that a communication from "Pickle" brought about that arrest, but was "Pickle" James Mor? James may have usurped that name occasionally, though adopted by another spy.

NO. LVII.

MEMORANDUM or part of a Letter, docqueted "London, 7th June, 1753, account of Dr Cameron's Execution." The handwriting of this paper appears to be that of Col. John Craufurd, though somewhat smaller than that of the preceding letter.

"London, 7th June, 1753.

"This day I saw Dr Cameron executed at Tyburn. He was dress'd in a light colour'd Coat, scarlet waistcoat and Breeches, white silk stockings and a new bagwig. He was drawn from the Tower to the place of execution in a Sledge by four horses with a plume of black feathers on the head of each, and the Executioner sitting before him with a naked knife. His hands were tied together and his arms pinion'd. All the way he took great notice of the streets and people and behaved himself with great composure and decency. At Tyburn he put on a manly resolution and died with a resignation becoming a man of learning. As to prayers, which are usual at such places, he had none—indeed there was a Gentleman attended him there, when he got into a cart to be tied, with whom he talked for some short time, and the person read a prayer for about two minutes, but the Dr by his behaviour seem'd to bid him put up his book (for I was not near enought to hear, tho' I saw everything very plain), the man that attended him was tall and lame, having one leg shorter than the other. The Doctor talked about a quarter of an hour with the Sheriff, but on what subject I cannot yet learn, and after being at the Gallows about three quarters of an hour he was tied up, and upon the Carts going away he made a sort of jump from it. He hung near 30 minutes, and was then cut down and carried to a small scaffold near the fatal Tree, and there stript naked. The Executioner then cut open his Belly and took out his heart, which he held up to shew the Populace and then threw it into the fire, which was burning all the time in view of the Dr. His head was then cut off, and his body put into a fine Coffin with a large Plate and a long inscription on it. I cannot say whether his head was put with his body, but it is reported and with great probability that it is to be put up at Temple Bar to accompany the two that are there.

"What faith he died in I cannot take upon me to say, but think the man before mention'd was a Presbyterian Minister tho' somebody near me said he was a Non-juror. The number of spectators was almost incredible, the streets and the place of

execution being throng'd with all sorts of people. He gave a purse with some money in it to the Hangman, and after he was hang'd in searching his pockets about half a sheet of paper was found in a Letter-case with some writing on it, which the Sheriff read and put up again. Upon the whole his death was absolutely necessary, nor could his friends say otherwise, the only plea in his behalf was his great family and the necessity they were in. I have seen men die who appear'd undaunted at their fate, but they shew'd false courage, and it could be easily seen that their behavior was quite inconsistent with the thoughts of futurity. The Doctor seem'd quite the reverse, he was composed and undaunted, and his actions shew'd that he came to the Tree fully reconciled to his fate: and I must own that if a person does not settle his peace with God before he comes there, the place of Execution is an improper place to do it. The Doctor was a very lusty, comely man, and by the view I had of him seem'd to be between 50 or 60, perhaps he is not so much. I never heard or saw a man behave with more decency, composure, and resolution. He was executed about a quarter after one o'clock and was near four Hours coming to the place of Execution."

NOTE.—The Paper ends abruptly as above.

NO. LVIII.

LETTER, docqueted on wrapper, "Dunkirk, 12 June, 1753, an anonymous letter anent Breck Stewart." There is hardly room for any doubt that the writer was James Mor Drummond or Macgregor, and the letter addressed to John Campbell of Barcaldine.

"Dunkirk, 12th June, 1753.

"Dr. Sir,—I presume to give you this trouble as its vary necessary for me to let you know of Mr Breack Stewart who landed in this country in March last and went to Lyle [Lisle] to Ogelvie's Regiment with whom he was formerly, but now I understand they give him no countenance unless in a private manner, yet as he stayes about Lyle I suspect he may be supported privitely.

"I was awctwaly inform'd that he was sent over to murder your Brother and money given him for that purpose. You may judge I'll endeavour to be at the bottom of this, and shall let you know about it.

"It's my opinion if you applay and procur a warrant proper to apprehend him I shall fall upon a method of bringing him within the bounds of Holland, and as there are some English Campbells in Holland they are the onely people to be applayed too you may depend I shall go any lenth to serve you in this affair, but as I am but poor it cannot be suposed I can go throw with this unless I get some cash or a Bill to suport the carrying on of this affair. I have no manner of doubt of geting the affair done to your satisfaction, if anything is sent me let it be sent as if it were from my Brother-in-law, Nicol, by the hands of Capt. Duncan Campbell of the City Guard, Edinburgh, who knows my direction. You may belive that I have the gretist dificulty on earth to stand my ground here as our friends the Stewarts was at the pains to send a misrepresentation of me to the Court of France and to both this place and Lyle.

"I was obliged latly to draw my sourd in my own defence and in defence of your Brother's caracter and with a countryman, who I belive will give no further trouble for some time comming. I firmly declair to the gentlemen who are here of the Scots that no advantage was taken at Jas. Stewart's tryall and at the same time my own opinion which has alter'd the [?] ffenesses of maney here, and now begins to consider and read Stewart's trall and explain it after ane other method which they did not formerly but conform'd to the sentiments of ffactions.

"I beg the favour of you how soon this comes to your hands yt. you'll be so kind as to write to my Brother-in-law to take proper care of my poor wife and children, for I left her nothing but at the mercy of her friends and at the same time left her beg with chiald, which no doubt was a very chocking affair to me or any Christian. I hope you'll let me here of your friendship in this as I know it's of the outmost consequence to her and her poor baby. I beg, if you are to do anything in the affair mention'd, let it be done with precaution, so as I may correspond with the English Campbell to whom you are to applay with certain Directions and credit by them so as they may know me, a Divided Card with a Seal upon each half of the same kind is needfull, the one half sent me and the other sent to the English Campbell with orders to send me a party when the card is sent them with Directions where to come. I hope in God to get this managed with security if its soon gone about the Regiment is to move from Lyle in September. I do not know but they may be removed further from the fruntears of Holland, which will make it more difficult unless its done sooner than that time.

"I am inform'd that poor Rob is taken up. I am much affraid unless your friends will interpose they will endeavour to Reach at his life. Its hard unless you write to Breadalbine to Interpose in his favours. If he cou'd procure Banishment for him it wou'd be a grate favour done one and all of us, for he has nothing to support his Tryall, and this wou'd save the Court the Expense of a Tryall—this can be done by some interest which we have not but that we have to expect from your own ffamily. I have no further to say but leave it Intirely to yourself, but that I am and ever shall continue, Dr. Sir, Yours to Command.

"Excuse my not subscribing."

NOTES.—Below the words "Yours to Command" there is a scrawl bearing some resemblance to a Capital letter C with a curl at bottom, having a smaller Capital C within it; but this had probably no signification, and the scrawl may not denote any letters.

James Mor Campbell or Drummond or Macgregor was the 2nd son of Robert Macgregor (Rob Roy): along with his cousin, Macgregor of Glengyle, and 12 men, he took the fort of Inversnaid in 1745, making prisoners 9 soldiers who were in the fort and a large working party employed in making roads, and marched 89 prisoners to Doune Castle. He commanded a Company of the Macgregor Regiment at Preston, where he was severely wounded, and is said to have been also at Culloden. Being attainted in 1746 he made his escape to France. Much has been written lately as to his extraordinary career as a spy, his communications with the English Government, and his share in the abduction of Jean Kay. Having been arrested in consequence, he made his escape from Edinburgh Castle, 16th Nov., 1752, and got over to Ireland and thence to France, probably not till some months afterwards: on 22 May, 1753, he appears to have written a letter to Edgar, craving assistance. At the time the above letter was written, 12 June, 1753, he is believed to have been employed by some one in an attempt to inveigle Allan Breck to the sea coast and bring him over to England, a view confirmed by this curious letter, where he tried to induce Barcaldine to send him money. He died in great poverty in Paris early in October, 1754.

That this letter was written by James Mor Macgregor is confirmed both by information I have received from Mr ——, W.S., Edinburgh, and by a letter signed Jas. Drummond, which is to be found among the Newcastle Papers, Addl. MSS., in

the British Museum, of which a copy will be given below, the hand-writing of which I hold to be unquestionably the same as that of the unsigned letter dated Dunkirk, 12 June, 1753.

My friend Mr —— wrote me from Edinr. as to James Mor. "He escaped from Edinr. on 16 Nov. 1752. He dates letters from Dunkirk in 1754, in one of which, dated 1 May, 1754, he refers to his 14 children, and says 'Captain Duncan Campbell, who is nephew to Glengyle, and my near relation, wrote me in June last about Allan Breck Stewart, and begged therein, if there was any possibility of getting him delivered in any part of England,' &c. Doubtless this is the same Capt. Duncan Campbell referred to in the letter of which you sent me a tracing. James Mor married Annabel M'Nicoll, and you will observe the writer refers to his brother-in-law Nicol. At the trial of Rob Oig a letter dated at Dunkirk, 30 June, 1753 (18 days after the present one, viz., that of 12 June, unsigned), is said to be from James Mor. I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of Rob Oig's arrest, but he was brought to trial on 24 Decr., 1753." The date of his arrest was on or about 26 May, 1753—see note at end of Letter No. liv. James Mor's letters of 6 Apr. and 6 May, 1754, are given in Blackw. Mag. for December, 1817.

The following is a copy of the letter signed Jas. Drummond to be found among the Newcastle Papers, Addl. MSS. 32753, fo. 55, and said to have been addressed to Lord Albemarle, and a copy thereof sent to Lord Holderness:—

"Paris, 12th October, 1753.

"My Lord,—Though I have not the honour to be much acquainted with your Losp. I presume to give you the trouble of this to acquaint your Losp. that by a false information I was taken prisoner in Scotland in November, 1751, and by the speat [spite] that a certain ffaction in Scotland had at me was trayed by the Justiciary Court at Edinburgh when I had brought plenty of exculpation which might free any person whatever of what was alleged against me, yet such a Jurie as was given me thought proper to give me a special verdict finding some parts of the layable proven, and in other parts not proven.

"It was thought by my friends that I would undergo the sentence of Banishment, which made me make my escape from Edinr. Castle in November, 1752, and since was forced to come to France for my safty. I always had in my vew, if possible, to be concern'd in Government's Service, and for that purpose thought it necessar ever since I came to France to be as much as possible in company with the pretenders' friends so far as now

that I think I can be ane useful subject to my king and country upon giving me proper Incouragement. In the first place I think it's in my power to bring Allan Breck Stewart, the supposed murderer of Colin Campbell of Glenouir, late factor of the forfit estate of Ardsheal, to England and to deliver him in safe custody so as he may be brought to Justice, and in that event I think the Delivering of the said murderer merits the getting of a Remission from his Majesty the King, especially as I was not guilty of any Acts of Treason since the year 1746, and providing your Losp. procures my Remission upon Delivering the said murderer, I hereby promise to Discover a very grand plott on footing against the government, which is more effectually carried on than ever since the ffamely of Stewart was put off the Throne of Britain, and besides do all the Services that lays in my power to the government.

"Onely with this provision that I shall be received into the government's service, and that I shall have such reward as my services shall meritt. I am willing if your Losp. shall think it agreeable to go to England privitly and carry the murderer alongst with me and deliver him at Dover to the Military, and after waite on such of the King's friends as your Losp. shall appoint. If your losp. think this agreeable I should wish General Campbell wou'd be on of those present as he knows me and my famely, and besides that I think to have some credit with the General which I cannot expect with those whom I never had the honour to know, either the General or Lieutt. Coll. John Crawfurd of Poulteny's Regiment wou'd be very agreeable to me, as I know both of these wou'd trust me much, and at the same time I could be more free to them than to any others there your losp. my [sic.] Depend the motive that Induces me to make this offer at present to you in the government's name is both Honourable and Just, so that I hope no other constructions will be put on it, and for your Losps. satisfaction I say nothing in this letter but what I am determined to perform and as much more as in my power layes with that and that all I have said is Trweth as I shall answer to God.

"Jas. Drummond."

Notes.—In the original of the above letter, the word "Lordship" is contracted into Losp., the old-fashioned long "s" being used: Col. Crawfurd uses the same contraction. In two places where the words "a certain faction" and "such a jurie as was given me" occurs, the original has the said words underlined, and written above (apparently by the receiver of the letter) the name "Dundas."

Some months before the date of this letter James Mor wrote, on 22nd May, 1753, from Boulogne to Mr Edgar, Secy. to the Chevr. de St George, craving assistance for the support of a man who had always shown the strongest attachment to his Majesty's person and cause, and enclosing a certificate of same date from Lord Strathallan and others as to his bravery and his wounds, but Lord S., writing on 6th Septr. following to Mr Edgar, points out that he attested only his courage and personal bravery, for "as to anything else he would be very sorry to answer for him, as he has but an indifferent character as to real honesty." The authority for this, which I find in "Pickle the Spy," seems to be the "Stuart Papers." On 20th of same month James Mor sent a Petition to Prince Charles Edward pleading his services in the cause of the Stuarts, ascribing his exile to the persecution of the Hanoverian Government, but making no reference to the affairs of Jean Kay, or his outlawry by the Court of Justiciary. Nothing seems to have come of this, and by October we find him making the same offer to the British Government that he had made in June to Barcaldine to endeavour to get hold of Allan Breck and convey him to England, and also to enter their service and "discover a very grand plott."

Allan Breck evidently got forewarned, and escaped, and it was presumably on the failure of this project that James Mor came to England. It is evident from Lord Breadalbane's letters of 15 Dec., 1753, and 19 Jan., 1754, that James did come over to England, and must have had some interviews with some one on behalf of the British Government, and that they placed no confidence in him: he was apparently received by Lord Holderness and distrusted; he made a long statement in London on 6th Novr., 1753 (apparently the "Discovery of the very grand plott on footing against the Government"), and Lord Breadalbane accepted advice to refuse him an interview. James returned to France early in 1754, was accused by Lochgarry at Dunkirk of being a spy, and had to quit that town and make his way to Paris, where he remained in great poverty till his death in the following October.

NO. LIX.

LETTER from Lord Breadalbane to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted, "London, 15th Decr., 1753. Letter Lord Breadalbane."

"London, 15th Dec., 1753.

"Sir,—I've received your letter of the 29th past with the papers enclosed in it, and yours of the 6th came to hand yesterday.

"I've heard nothing farther about Js. More, except that he sent me a second letter expressing a desire to see me, which I shew'd to those to whom I communicated the first, and was advis'd by them not to see him: the reasons they gave were the same as before, that as he is a very worthless and a false artful fellow, 'tis impossible to guess what he may pretend afterwards to have pass'd in that Interview. Tho' I have no apprehensions of any consequences of that kind, yet I thought it right to follow their advice and I sent no answer to him. I don't know if he has been examined or not, but I will collect out of your hints some questions which I will mention to be put to him if they examine him.

"What you say about Mungo's affair is very extraordinary; and if the Clan carries it any further either by officiously picking new quarrels or by challenging again upon the former quarrel, he will be blamed by everybody if he takes any other notice of them than by putting them in prison as disturbers of him in his office, for I take that to be the real grudge. I think Mungo was imprudent in going to Lochaber, he might have caused Glendeshery to meet him halfway, but allowances are to be made to young blood, who are afraid to venture to do anything that may seem cool when their honour is concerned. I'm glad Mungo came off so well, and I hope he will not set himself up to be the Don Quixote of that countrey to fight all the windmills. Now that he has shew'd he can fight and is not afraid of them he should act as one in a public post employ'd by the Government.

"In consequence of what you mention relating to the Postmaster of Crief, I know no way of applying about him, as he depends upon the Postmaster General of Scotland, Mr Hamilton, but I've writt to Ly. Breadalbane to speak about it to Ly. Mary Hamilton to tell her husband that I had heard of such a design, but hoped he would not turn him out of his office, because I know him to be well affected to the Government and hated by the Jacobites: and as my family is the principal one whose letters come by the Crief bag, I think I may expect to have some share in recommending the person thro whose hands they pass. I remember a few years ago an attempt of this kind was made, and thru Ld. Menzie got him kept in.—Adieu, yrs., "B."

Note.—The appointment held by Mungo, which is here referred to, is, no doubt, that of a Government factor in Lochaber: see also Letter No. lvi. from Col. Crawfurd.

NO. LX.

LETTER from Lord Breadalbane to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "London, 19 Janr., 1754. Letter Lord Breadalbane."

"Sir,—I'm sorry to find by your letter of the 8th that you have been confined with the goute, but since the fit was over, I hope it will be the means of keeping you free from any more of it for a considerable time.

"I can say nothing about J. M., having heard no further concerning him. I know upon the whole that he has discover'd nothing which can entitle him to a pardon, but on the contrary the bad opinion which the Min——y had of him is increased by a letter which appeared at Robt.'s trial proved to have been writt by Js. after he went abroad, threatening a man tnat he should be murder'd if he appear'd as an evidence against Robt. They seem here at a loss what to do with him, and I believe wish he had not come over.

"I can give you no satisfactory account yet from the Treasury, Mr Pelham is entirely recover'd now and Business begins to go on as usual. I'll take the first opportunity of speaking again about the money.

"I'm very glad to hear Carwhin is in a way of being soon well again, he did wisely in staying at Achmore so long. The weather here has been very uncertain, sometimes hard frost, then snow, then rain, but I fear it has been worse in our country and I am extremely sorry the price of meal keep up so high, the people must have been greatly distress'd, if it were not for the great price they got for their cattle.

"'Tis an unfortunate situation of a country, climate and many other things are against us.—Adieu, yrs., "B."

NO. LXI.

PAPER, docqueted "Mionna Coitcheann Rioghachd Mhoir-Bhritinn, 1754."

"A-ta sinne na Foi-sgriobhoire gu fior agus gu neimh-chealgach ag Aidmheachadh, agus ag Dimhineachadh ag togbhail Fiadhnais, agus ag Foillseachadh ann ar Coguisibh, ann Labhair Dhe agus an t-Saoghail gur e ar n Aird-Thriath an Dara Righ Seoras, Righ laghail dligheach na Rioghachd-sa, agus gach gu neimh-chealgach a foillseachadh, gu'm bheil sinn ag creidsin ann ar Coguisibh nach

bheil Coir no Dlighe air-bith air Crun na Rioghachd-sa, no Tigh-earnais air-bith eile a bhuineas d'i, ag an Fhear a chuir roimh-e b'e Prionsa Wales re Linn Righ Seamais nach mairthean, agus o a Bhas-san a 'ta ag cur roimh-e gar e, agus a 'ta ag gabhail chuig-e fein Stoile agus Tiotal Righ Shasoin fo Ainm an Treasa Seamais, no Righ Alba fo Ainm on Ochta Seamais, no Stoile agus Tiotal Righ Mhoir-Bhritinn. Agus a ta sinn ag Aicheadh agus air ar Mionnaibh Seanaidh ag Diulltadh gach Geill agus Umhlachd dh 'a. Agus a ta sinn ag Mionnachadh gu'n toir sinn Fior-umhlachd aghaidh gach Coimh-cheangail chealgaich agus gach Ionnsuigh air-bith, a bhitheas ann Aghaidh a Phearsa, a Chruin no Fhiuntais. Agus Gnathaichidh sinn ar n Uile-dhithcheal a leigeil ris agus a nochdadh d'a Mhordhachd agus d'a Luchd Iairleanmhain, gach Ceannairc agus Coimh-cheangal cealgach, a's Aithne dhuinn 'a bhitheas 'n a Aghaidh-sin, no ann Aghaidh aoin-neach dhiubhsan. Agus a ta sinn gu dileas ag Gealltain gu'n Cum sinn suas, gu'n Coimhid agus gu'n Dion, sinn le ar n Uile-neart Iairleanmhain a' Chruin 'n a Aghaidh-sin, iodhon Seamas reamh-raite, agus ann Aghaidh gach Dreim air-bith eile, An Iair-lean-mhain a 'ta le Reachd d'an Ainm Reachd chum tuille Crios-lachaidh a' Chruin, agus Daingneachaidh Choraiche agus Saoirse nan Iochdaran nis fearr, sonraichte do'n Bhain-Phrionsa Sophia nach mairthean, Ban-roigh-neadair agus Bain-duic Dhuairichte Hanover, agus do oighreachaibh a Cuirp, air bith dhoibh do'n Chreidheamh aith-leasaichte. Agus na Nithe sin uile a-ta sinn gu soilleir agus gu neimh-chealgach ag Aidmheachadh agus ag Mionnachadh, do Reir nan Ceirtbhriathar sin a labhradh leinn' agus de Reir Seagha agus Ceill shoilleir agus ghnath-aichte nam Briathar ceadna, gun Atharrachadh Seagha gun Seach-rod, gun Saoibh-sheagh, gun diomhair Inntinn. Agus a ta Sinn ag deanamh na' h' Athfhaosaid agus na h' Aidmheil so, ag luadh nam Mionna Seanaidh, ag deanamh an Diulltaidh, agus ag tabh-airt a Ghealladh so, gu croidheil, toileach, fior, air Fir-chrideamh Criosluidh, Mar so cuidich leinn' a Dhia.

. . . . . .

"A ta sinne na Foi-sgriobhoire gu neimh-chealgach ag gealltain, agus ag mionnachadh, gu'm bith sinn dileas agus fior-umhal do Mhordhach an Dara Righ Seorais, mar so cuidich leinn' a Dhia.

. . . . . .

"A ta sinne na Foi-sgriobhoire ann an Neimh-chealgaireachd ar Croidhi, ag radh, ag Aidmheachadh, agus ag Foillseachadh,

gur e Mordhachd an Dara Righ Seorais amhain agus gun Amharus, Aird-Thriath laghail na Rioghachd-sa, comh-mhaith 'de Jure.' Is e sin, Righ do brigh Corach as 'de Facto' Is e sinn ann an Seilbh agus ann an Gnathachadh an h' Aird-riaghail.

"Agus air an Adhbhar Sin, a ta sinn gu neimh-chealgach agus gu dileas ag gealltainn agus ag Ceangal oirn-fein gu'n Coimhid agus gu'n Dion sinn le ar Croidhe agus le ar Laimh, le ar Beatha agus le ar Macin Pearsa agus Aird-riaghail a Mhordhachd ann Aghaidh an Fhir sin a Chuir roimh-e gu'm b'e Prionsa Wales re Linn Righ Seamais nach mairthean, agus o a-Bhas-san, a ta ag Cur roimh-e gur e, agus a ta ag gabhail chuig-e fein Stoile agus Tiotal Righ Shasoin fo Ainm an Treasa Seamais, no Righ Alba fo Ainm an Ochta Seamais, agus ann an Aghaidh a Luchd leanmhain, s nan uile Naimhde eile, a bheir Ionsuigh dhiomhair no fhollas air Aimh-reite no Ais-sith a thogbhail ann Aghaidh a Mhordhachd ann nan Seilbh agus ann nan Gnathachadh sin."

NOTE.—There is a considerable difference in the character of the three forms of Oath of Allegiance given above: the first was evidently framed to be administered to persons who were already firm supporters of the Government to encourage and unite them in maintaining and supporting the reigning dynasty: the second to be taken by those who would pledge themselves to as little as possible: the third by those who accepted the existing state of affairs, and, though lukewarm, were not unwilling to bind themselves by an Oath of Allegiance.

NO. LXII.

LETTER from Lord John Murray to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "Huntingtower, 15 April, 1754. Letter Ld. John Murray."

"Sir,—As the Election for the Shire of Perth is fixed to be on Thursday, the 25th of this month, I beg the honour of your presence at Perth on that day, and hope to have the favour of your vote and Interest, which will extremely oblige,—Sir, your most obedient and humble servant, "JOHN MURRAY.

"Huntingtower, April 15, 1754."

NOTE.—Lord John Murray was the eldest son of Lord George Murray, and succeeded his uncle, the 2nd Duke, as 3rd Duke of Atholl in 1764. Lord John was elected M.P. for the County of Perth at the General Election in 1761. He was Colonel of the 42nd.

NO. LXIII.

LETTER from Baron Maule to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "Edinr., 21st June, 1756 [a mistake for 1755]. Letter, Baron Maule."

"Edinr., 21st June, 1755.

"Sir,—I am favoured wt. yours last night of ye 18th inst., and thought fit to lose no time in letting you know, that there is an absolute necessity for your coming here forthwith. The factors upon ye annexed estates are all fitting their accounts at present wt. the Barons for 1752 and precedings, and settling the arrears, and the Commissioners expect that so soon as that is finished they will be readie to account wt. them for ye rents 1753. I believe they have hitherto no thoughts of making any alteration with regard to the factors, but at any rate you should be here yourself to wait upon them. I therefore hope that when you come, your accounts will be readie to clear wt. us for ye forehand rents 1752, ye moiety of ye woods due to us, and ye arrears of few duties. That we may be able to certify to ye Commissioners what is in ye Receiver-General's hand belonging to ym.

"One thing I must mention to you that its the Lord Advocate's opinion that none of ye Tenants of Perth will have ye benefit of ye Clan Act, they not being wtin ye description of it, as James Drummond was found not to be attainted and survived the Rebellion, so yt. these Tenants did not belong to an attainted person.

"If this finds you at Tavmouth, I'll trouble you to make my most respectful compliments to Ld. and Lady Breadalbane, and hoping to see you soon,—I am, wt. great truth and esteem, Sir, your most faithfull humble servt., "JO. MAULE."

NOTE.—The above letter makes reference to the transfer of the management of the forfeited estates from the Barons of Exchequer to Commissioners, of whom Baron Maule was one.

James Drummond, 4th Earl of Perth, after the Revolution in 1688, followed James VII. into France, and was by him created Duke of Perth, and made a Knight of the Garter. He died in 1716. His elder son, James, was out in 1715 and was attainted: so the earldom became dormant: he assumed the title of Duke of Perth, and married a daughter of the Duke of Gordon, by whom he had two sons, the elder, also named James, born in 1713, to whom his father in the same year conveyed the family estates and so saved them at that time from forfeiture: he died in Paris in

1730. His son James also assumed the title of Duke of Perth, and along with his brother, John, took a prominent part in the rising of 1745-46. At the battle of Culloden Lord John Drummond commanded the centre, and the Duke the left wing. The latter was mortally wounded, and died on his passage to France in 1746; Lord John died in 1747: neither of them left issue. Both brothers were included in the Act of Attainder affecting certain persons named, who did not surrender before 12 July, 1746, but James died before that date, and it was contended that in his case the forfeiture did not take effect, and that John was incapable of inheritance. The Court of Session and House of Lords both held that John was capable and that the estate was forfeited, and it so remained till 1784, when an Act of Parliament was passed enabling the Crown to grant to the nearest collateral heir male of John Drummond the Perth estates on repayment of upwards of £52,000, being debts affecting the forfeited estates in question.

NO. LXIV.

APPARENTLY the Draft or Copy of a Letter from John Campbell of Barcaldine, probably addressed to Baron Maule. It has no docquet and no date, but it has on the back of the sheet the commencement of a letter "Dr. Br.," and date 19 Feby., 1755, previously written. The handwriting is evidently the same as that of No. xlii.—it is not signed.

"Sir,—I'm obliged to mention to you a circumstance that surprizes myself a good deal.

"The Court of Exchequer ordered their factor Colin Campbell of Gleneur to Remove James Stewart from any possession upon the estate of Ardsheal, Gleneur found difficulties in getting people to take the grounds which Stewart occupied, he at length prevail'd with Mr Campbell of Balleveolan to take Glendourar (the principal grass-possession Stewart had) with the proviso that the factor would stock the one half and as he could not then gett anoyr. tennant, and that he was determin'd to execute your Lordships orders he aggreed to Balleveolans scheme, how fatal to himself is too well known. Duncan Campbell now of Gleneur keeps alongst with Mr Campbell of Balleveolan possession of that farm.

"The Minister of Appin and Lesmore is desirous to have a farm upon the forfeited Estate of Ardsheil, and he had fix'd his application to the farm of Achindarich, But it seems some people,

who cannot conceal their aversion to Gleneur's memory have advised the Minister to apply for Glendourar, the grass farm possessed by Gleneur as above. It would be a Mater of high Triumph to Stewart's friends to see Gleneur and Balliveolan Removed against their Inclination from the fatal farm and this Enemy of theirs who is not so secret as he Imagines would exult upon the finess of making the Minister apply, for whom he can have no other Regaurd than in prejudice to them."

NOTE.—Reference is made to the Stock pertaining to Colin Campbell of Glenure on the farm of Glenduror in No. xli., the Minute of Procedure in Glenure's affairs after his murder. James Stewart of Acharn was also known as "James of the Glen.", See note at end of No. lvi.

NO. LXV.

LETTER from Alexander Campbell (at this time Captain Campbell) to his father, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "16 August, 1756. Col. Alex. Campbell's letter."

"Kilkeny Camp, August 16th, 1756.

"My Dear Sir,—We got to our ground here the 31st of last month, and have enjoy'd very fine weather ever since, which gives us great spirits, having for this while past scarce seen three dry days together.

"The Regiments encampt with us are the Horse of Bligh and Sackvile, detachments from Conways horse and the Dragoons of Whitefoord, Foot, Royal, Handyside, Richball, Blaiknev, Bragg, Boscowen, a detachment of the Train of Artillery and Twelve Piece of Cannon. We are out at Exercise every morning att six, and evening att four. The encampment is att present commanded by Lieut.-General Bligh. Lord Rothes is to be here on the 20th. Last post brought an order for the twenty-four additional Companys belonging to the twelve Battalions of Foot on this Establishment to march for Cork: to embark to make part of Fifteen Battalions that are immediately to be rais'd in England: they are to be added to the Fifteen old estd. Regiments, and to have no Field Officer but Majors. 'Tis said that we shall soon march from this encampment to a camp that is to be formed near Bandon in the County of Cork, and about 80 miles from where we now are.

"Round where we lay at present is the Ormond Estate, what the Duke was in possession of when he forfeited pavs now seventeen thousand pounds a year. It lays on the Banks of a fine River, that is navigable for Lighters, and within Twenty miles of

Waterfoord: within the heart of the estate lays the town of Kilkeny, which is lookt on as the genteelest Town next Dublin, in the Kingdom. Here likewise is a fine marble quary, which employs a vast number of hands: the marble is saw'd in Milns, the softest iron is the fitest to make the saws of. I fear it will be the end of September before we get into winter quarters, in which case we shall ve very tir'd of our camp, as it generally Rains harder in this country the end of August and Sept. than any other time of the year. Provisions are tolerably plenty in Camp and come cheap to the soldiers as the King pays a third of the price of the ammunition Bread. I beg you'l be so good as let me know what sort of crop you have this year, and how Cattle sell: the first has a fine appearance in this Kingdom, the last sell much lower than usual, as the French market is stopt.

"Kilbery goes with one of the additional companys from our Battalion. Pappers mention the arrival of General Abercromby with the two Regts. in America. I wish the five hundred from Scotland were safe there for I'm told they sail'd without convoy.

"I sent Davie about five weeks ago Fifty-five pounds which clears my Bank account to the 10th last March and something in advance to the next term of Payment.

"I have a strong desire of getting over this winter if I can obtain leave. If any Captain in the Regt. can, I have the best title, this being my third year with the Regt. But my hopes are very faint of obtaining it, as every Post brings fresh advertisements for Officers to repair to their posts. I believe if things continue in the state they now are in, we shall have thirty men added to every company on this establishment, we are now seventy Privates.

"My duty to Mama and best wishes to all with you, and evre am,—My dear Sir, Your most affectionate and Dutiful Son,

"Alexr. Campbell."

Note.—Capt. Alexr. Campbell was probably still commanding one of those Independent Companies, which at this time were formed into two Battalions, but retained their name.

Among the other regiments mentioned it is probable that Blyth's was the 2nd Irish Horse, Sackville's the 3rd Irish Horse or Carbineers, Moystin's the 1st Drag. Guards, Waldegrave's the 2nd D. G., Honeywood's the 9th Dragoons; the Royals Marq. of Lorn's, Blaikney's the 27th, Boscowen's the 45th, but some with names of other Colonels.

In view of the encroachments of the French in North America and in the East Indies, the British army was increased in 1755

by ten regiments, numbered 52nd to 61st inclusive; but two years later the 50th and 51st, owing to the losses in action and as prisoners of war, were disbanded, and the 52nd became the 50th and so on. See History of the 57th Regiment, by Captain Woollright.

NO. LXVI.

LETTER from Alexander Campbell " to John Campbell of Baracauldine, Esq., at Edinburgh," so addressed, and docqueted " Delnies, 30th Novr., 1756. Letter, Alexr. Campbell."

" Dr. Sir,—I was sorry when I return'd from Inverairay that I miss'd you to have told you of my success with respect to the farm I proposed to ask on the Estate of Lovat, which no doubt Airds would tell you. My Cheif was very kind and friendly to me in that affair, both his Grace and Lord Milltown gave me good grounds to belive that I'll succeed. I likewise repose great confidence in your good offices as you was so good as promise when I had the pleasure of being at your house, and as you are now at Edinburgh and will have frequent occasions of being with the Trustees on the forfeited Estates my request comes properly before them, and your assistance will do me great service of which I don't doubt.

" What I want for myself at next Whitsunday is called Tommich and Easter barnyeards. The Mains of Lovat in the name of my eldest son, and Easter Croigheal in the name of my son John, all at Whitsunday ensueing in possession, until the trustees think at any time thereafter proper to give leases, I cou'd not ask under the prescryb'd law these sundry possessions but that I had very warrantable ground to beleive I wou'd get them in the different persons names I mention, which with my most humble duty please communicate to Lord Milltoun. The method I believe of introducing my request to the Trustees will be by Memorial signed by each of us, which if you wou'd be so good as procure a scrol or form and send one for me in course, one to be sent for London to my son John, at the Saracen's Head ffryday Street, and my eldest son may sign his Memoorial when myne and his brother's come to hand.

" This letter will be delyver'd you by my eldest son who I have desyr'd to wait of you and to follow closs your advice and directions in the whole course of the affair. I begg pardon for this trouble and I shal conclude with my most kind compliments

to my kynd Cusin your Lady and all your good family and I am with regard, Dr. Sir, your most obedt. and humble sert.,

"ALEXR. CAMPBELL, [?] J.P.

"Delnies, 30th Novr. 1756.

"Baracaldine."

NOTES.—The writer of the above letter was Alexr. Campbell designed "of Delnies," a property held under wadset for several generations from the lairds of Cawdor, but the holders do not appear to have been of the Cawdor family, though related to them. This Alexr. Campbell was the eldest son of Colin Campbell of Delnies and Mary Duff, 2nd daughter of Adam Duff of Drummuir: he married in 1730 Ann Brodie, daughter of Alexr. Brodie of Lethen by Sophia, daughter of Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder by Lady Henrietta Stewart.

Alexr. Campbell of Delnies was Sheriff of the County of Nairn under the Hereditary Sheriff, and retired on the abolition of heritable jurisdictions, and was also factor on the Cawdor Estates. He had 3 sons, viz.—Alexander, an Advocate and Sheriff-Substitute of Inverness-shire: Colin, who went to Jamaica, and John Pryse: and a daughter Sophia, who married Joseph Dunbar of Grange. Their son Lewis married his cousin Sophia Brodie (who afterwards succeeded to Lethen), and became Lewis Dunbar Brodie of Burgie and Lethen.

Alexander the younger, the Sheriff-Substitute, married in 1777 Katharine, daughter of William Baillie of Rosshall by his 2nd wife, daughter of the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, perhaps Glenure's widow. After the redemption of the wadset, this Alexander had a lease of Delnies, which he succeeded in renewing. See Bain's "Histy. of Nairnshire" and "Burke's Landed Gentry," Supplt. 1850: but Robina Mackay, as her name is given in Burke, died unmarried.

Lord Milltown (Andrew Fletcher) had been Lord Justice Clerk, so mentioned in 1740: at this time he was one of the Commissioners on the Forfeited Estates, and Principal Keeper of the Signet.

NO. LXVII.

LETTER from Lord Breadalbane to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "London, 1 Feby. 1757, Lord Breadalbane's letter."

"London, 1st Feby., 1757.

"Sir,—I have received your two letters of the 20th and 23rd, by the last of which I find mine of the 15th which I had enclosed

to B. J.'s* was come to hand, tho' not so soon as my letter of the 13th.

"I received by the last post a letter from Sandie at Dublin, acquainting me that he had just got my letter informing him of his promotion. I suppose he had at the same time received orders from the War Office, for he says he was to set out for Scotland on the 26th of last month, which was the soonest possible, and that he was very unlucky in the winds having detain'd the letters so long that he feared others would get the start of him in recruiting, as he was long in setting out, and had 200 miles to ride to Donachadie to cross to Port Patrick.

"He says his Lieutenants are Colin Campbell from the Dutch and —— M'Nab and that his Ensign is —— Mackinnan who he imagines is son of the Laird of that name. I find by this that there was a mistake in the list I sent you, for I find no Mackinnan an Ensign in that list, but there is one, Mackinnore, which I suppose is Mackinnan and wrong transcribed. I wrote to you before how necessary it is to have Sandie's Company completed soon, I hope you will exert yourself and employ your friends on this occasion.

"I wish Colin of Achinshicallen were come: he will find himself an older officer than he imagines, and I believe about a year's pay due to him. I shall explain that matter to him. I'll speak to a near relation of Commodore Coats to recommend Archie the surgeon to him.

"I suppose all the new officers are busy recruiting: orders were sent down from hence on the 15th of last month to Lieut. Archie, Glenlyon in a letter from Col. Fraser to him inclosed in one from me to Achalader. I wrote to you some time ago that the levy money is £3.

"You have certainly heard that the Court Martial has found Adl. Byng guilty of a part of the 12th Art. of War. That Art. says that whoever does not do his utmost to destroy and annoy the enemy and to protect his Majesty's ships and those of his allies when attacked by an enemy, from 'cowardice, disaffection,' or 'negligence' shall suffer death. The Court Martial's sentence is that Admi. Byng did not do his utmost in relieving St Phillips nor attacking the enemy, nor in defending his Majesty's ships which were attack'd, and as there is no alternative in their power they condemn him to be shot: but as it appears by the evidence of several persons (there named) aboard his ship that he show'd no apprehension or fear in his countenance and that he gave his

* "B. J.'s" evidently means Banker John's.

orders cooly they do not think him guilty of either 'cowardice' or 'disaffection,' and therefore unanimously and earnestly recommend him as a fit object of mercy. The whole Court were in tears when the sentence was pronounced and Adl. Smith, the President, could hardly speak. Byng and his friends were so confident of an acquittal that when he went on board to receive the sentence he put on his sword belt and his servant carried his sword to give it to him in the ship, and Admiral Osburne's (his Relation's) Coach waited at the shore to receive him. He bore the sentence with great fortitude, and spoke as he was carrying back to prison with great firmness. It is very remarkable that the persons of rank and credit on board his ship in the engagement said he shew'd no fear, the ship was above a mile and a half from the enemy and only about 3 shot reach'd her, of which one broke something on the deck. A man must be a great coward indeed to be afraid at that distance. The leaving it to the K. is very hard upon his Majsty., and he is in some degree tied down not to pardon him, for when the City address'd him some time ago to have 'all' persons punish'd who had any hand in the loss of Minorca (by which they meant higher persons than Byng) his Majsty. answer'd that he would not protect any who should be found guilty by the law, and that he would punish all who had been the cause of want of discipline and misbehaviour either at sea or on land, or words to that effect. The City says the K. has promised them to punish all that are guilty of that, he therefore cannot consistant with that promise pardon Byng. The order for execution must be signed by the Admiralty and 'tis reported that the K. will hear nothing about Byng, but leave it to themselves. I don't know if this is true, but if it is Byng must suffer.

"Terrible hard frost and deep snow in the country here."

Notes.—Lord Breadalbane has evidently forgotten to finish and sign this letter with his initial.

Montgomerie's Highlanders (then the 77th Regiment) was raised early in 1757. Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, was promoted into it as the junior Major, with command of a Company: date of commission, 7th Jany., 1757: the regiment was to be raised forthwith.

From Gen. Stewart of Garth's account of the Highland Regiments, it appears that Colin Campbell (who was killed at Fort du Quesne) and John Macnab were appointed Lieutenants, and Ronald Mackinnon, Ensign. Fraser's Highlanders (then the 78th) was raised the same year, and Archibald Campbell, Glenlyon, was one of the Lieutenants. See note to next letter.

NO. LXVIII.

LETTER from Lord Breadalbane to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "London, 19 Feb. 1757, Lord Breadalbane's letter."

"London, 19 Feby. 1757.

"Sir,—I have now before me your letters of the 30th past and the 6th and 10th inst. I hope the Major is with you before now. I'm glad to hear his Company is in such forwardness. I wrote long ago to Achalader to help him what he could, and I wrote the same two posts ago to Carwhin. I have heard (and I believe it is true) that the D. of Ar. had insisted that no men should be raised in his countrey. I was also told that I had declared the same as to Breadalbane: I did indeed say that I believed few men would be got in Breadalbane because I had discouraged idle people, and most of the men there are employed; and indeed I would not chuse to have the country stript of men, so as to be defenceless in case of any future troubles, which I hope will never happen, but I cannot forget the year 1745.

"I heard it said a fortnight ago that Major Clephane had raised 70 men in four days: and that Capt. Campbell (brother of Capt. Dougal) had got 70 men in Glasgow. I am curious to know if this is true.

"Colin of Achinshicallen is much improved by his cockade and uniform. His Commission bears date either in July or August last. I thought it was older.

"The Warrant is signed by the Admiralty for the execution of Adml. Byng on Monday the 28th. There seems a great anxiety in some people to save him, whilst the Nation in general and particularly the City of London (which is a great and weighty body) are violent for his execution. There was a doubt started about the 'legality' of the sentence, which some thought was deficient in point of form, and the K. order'd it to be refer'd to the twelve Judges, who 'unanimously' gave their opinion to His Majesty in Council that the sentence is 'legal,' upon which (his Majesty having always declared that he would never pardon or protect any persons whatsoever, who were accessory to the loss of Minorca, but that the law should take its course) the Admiralty sign'd the Warrant. There will probably be an attempt made to bring it before the H. of C——s, but that will meet with great objections.

"In the opinion of most people Cowardice was really his fault, and I'm told that when the true genuine trial is printed, which will soon be publish'd by order of the Admiralty, he will appear inexcusable, and that if he had done his duty the French fleet must have been destroyed or drove out to sea, by which not only Fort St Philip had been relieved, but very possibly the whole French army in Minorca must have been starved or surrendered prisoners. Happy it had been if he had been dead any way before that day.—Adieu, yrs., "B.

"Could any of the people about you get me some young Roes next season? I would pay them for their expence of keeping them till I come to Taymouth in July, and will reward them for their trouble. I propose to make an Enclosure for Roes only. I wrote to Carwhin and to Achalader to bid the Foresters try to catch some."

Notes.—Major James Clephane was appointed senior Major in Fraser's Highlanders, commission dated 5th Jany., 1757: he was probably recruiting in anticipation of that regiment being raised, 1400 strong. The Hon. Simon Fraser of Lovat raised 800 men in a few weeks; and others, including the officers of the regiment, added more than 700, so that they actually landed at Halifax in America in June, 1757.

The Capt. Campbell, brother of Capt. Dougal, mentioned may be Capt. John C. of Ballimore, appointed to same regiment on same date. Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon, was one of the Lieutenants: the latter is perhaps referred to in No. lxxvii. as "poor Glen": he was wounded at the Heights of Abraham, 1760.

NO. LXIX.

Letter from Mr James Campbell "to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., at his house in Crieff via Glasgow," so addressed, and docqueted "Invry. 22 Marc. 1757. Letter James Campbell." [The writer is perhaps the Mr James Campbell mentioned in No. liv.—D. W.].

"Dr. Sir,—I wrote you to Edinburgh the 14th ultimo in absence to your son David, covering the Petition I had presented to the Sheriff here for the M'Colls liberation, and as he seem'd somewhat squeamish altho' I show'd him the paragraph in your letter Desiring me to apply for their liberty, Least it might afterwards be Disapproven of, Therefore I desired you or your son should apply to the Justice Clerk for liberating the M'Colls, and

have not heard from you or your son, altho' Lieut. Colin Campbell on his return from Edinburgh some weeks ago told me there would be orders sent after him for the M'Colls' Liberation. Now as the old ffellow complains of a swelling in his legs and tnat both [are] becoming anxious to get out I writ you this to putt you in mind to make them believe somehow or other. There was one M'Gillechattan that came here that was anxious to have a conference with young M'Coll on pretence of making some discoverys of some Cattle that had been stole from Airds before the late Indemnity And I indulged M'Gillechattan so far as to bring young M'Coll to conferr with him In my Room to which I was witness But it landed in nothing as young M'Coll was very young when this alleaged theft should have happen'd, But as M'Gillechattan wanted much to be private with young M'Coll, which I wou'd by no means allow, and after the Latter was remanded to Goal, and M'Gillechattan following him with a seeming Desire of talking to old M'Coll or his son I immediately made a person go into Goal and be present to their Interview which Landed in nothing But Drinking a Dram or two yet I cannot be off the thoughts But M'Gillechattan had something in his head that he did not want to communicate to me. I have supported them both at 6d each per diem since your son Peter left this and I wish ye wou'd order to Dispose of them as they'l become now fretfull in Goal. Tomorrow I send over to Lochowside to warn away the present possessors of Cuilachoarallan for making that possession void for you at Whitsunday. But as I heard that old Inistrynich wou'd not come there this year I shall recommend the officer to tell the Tennents not to fix themselves on any lands for ten days that I may have your return as I am told these are good tennents who should not be set adrift if Inishtrynich does not enter this year to that farme. I told the Tennents when they paid me the Rent about Candlemass that you had got a Tack of the Lands and was to enter at Whitsunday, But then I did not dread that Inishtrynich wou'd make any scrouple to come over. But now I wish you may Determine yourself in time Before these old possessors Dispose of themselves otherwise. Expecting the favour of your return in course,—I remain, Dr. Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,

"JA. CAMPBELL.

"Invry., 22 March 1757."

NOTES.—As to the M'Colls, James Stewart in Acharn had at anyrate two servants there named M'Coll, viz., Dugald, aged 24, and John Beg, aged 27, also a late servant, John More, all called

as witnesses at the trial: there were also summoned Donald, probably their father, and Katharine, aged 16, a servant.

Cuilachoaralan is on east side of Lochawe, opposite Inverinan.

A James Campbell, writer in Inverarray, is mentioned, along with his father, John, late Provost of Inverarray, and his son Mungo, in 1748.

NO. LXX.

LETTER from Charles Areskine (Lord Tinwald, Lord Justice Clerk) to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "Edinr. 31st Decr. 1757. Letter Mr Charles Areskine."

"Edinburgh, 31st Decemr. 1757.

"Sir,—I last post received a Letter from a Person whom I think I can credite, that upon the evening of Saturday, the 18th current, Capt. John Cameron, son to the deceast Dr Cameron, with only one other person, whose name or rank my informant has not yet learn'd, past over in the silence of night a small Ferry, about six miles distant from Fort William to Ardgour, and further informs me that he has been told he intended a meeting with some Gentlemen of his name and were to have their interview in the Hills of Lochiel.

"His circumstances you will know. He is in the French service: and from another hand I hear it is apprehended in the West Highlands that the disaffected seem to have a scheme among them: but what it is, our Friends do not yet know.

"These circumstances (loose as they may seem) make me jealous at a juncture such as the present is: and therefore as I am well acquainted with both your zeal and capacity I could not dispense with signifying this to you, and begging that in this very momentous affair you would try in the manner that you know much better than I can direct, what truth there may be in these things. And if anything be learn'd that to you appears of moment, I beg you may send it to me by Express, and I shall pay it.

"I know 'tis unnecessary for me to say more to you, than that I hope to hear by the first occasion that you have received my Letter. And with Truth and affection, I am, Sir, your most obedt. humle. servt., "CH. ARESKINE."

NO. LXXI.

LETTER from John Campbell of Achalader "to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., at Crieff," so addressed, and docqueted "Achmore 3 Feby. 1748" [mistake for 1758] "letter Achalader."

"Achmore, 3rd Febry., 1758.

"Dr. Br.,—I was yesterday inform'd from pretty good authority that Allan Breck the villain and his companion John Dow Greshich are now at Bohallie's, I immediately gave nottice of this to Glenure, all that was thought fit to be done till you should be acquainted was to send a man, a sly fellow, who is acquainted wt. Breck and that part of the country to go under some other pretext and hover thereabouts till he could learn if there are any strangers lurking yrabouts: if there are I think it may be safely concluded he is there. You will judge whether on the intelligence already received it may be proper to advise the Justice Clerk of this that directions may be given for warning the Offrs. of the Customs at the several ports to observe if any one of Breck's appearance attempts to ship himself for Holland &ca. I think the villain might be described to these officers without letting them know the person intended to be seiz'd. You will have heard that several of the fugitives in 1746 are lurking among their friends in the Highlands.

"I was much diverted with the story that happened in the Parliament Hcuse, 'twas describ'd so much in the character of the persons that I thought I was present to it.

"The two youngest bairns here are recovering from a fevere. I am with kind compts. to Lady Barcaldine and Miss Nansy, Dr. Br., yours, "J. CAMPBELL."

NOTE.—William Macgregor Drummond of Bochaldie or Bohallie was regarded by Rob Roy's family as the Chief of their branch of the Macgregors: he was one of those excepted from the Act of Indemnity passed in 1747. It seems hardly probable that Allan Breck, if he had come over, would have trusted himself at Bohallie.

NO. LXXII.

LETTER from Charles Areskine to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Edinr. 8 Feby. 1758. Letter Mr Charles Areskine."

"Edinburgh, 8th February, 1758.

"Dr. Sir,—I received both your Letters and the Intelligence given agrees pretty much with what I have received from other

hands; and I have sent inclosed two warrands against the Persons particularly named in one of your Letters, to be used according as occasion offers, and with the Prudence and Discretion which with you I know is great.

"I return you most hearty thanks for the Hints you give. Only I wish, because I think they are good, you may be pleased to descend a little more particularly into the Method of Management of them: and when you suggest what occurs to you and the proper persons that I should apply to, I shall endeavour, the best I can, to set all the proper Engines at work. If anything is proper to be recommended to the Military let me know, and I'm well assur'd it will be comply'd with.

"In short I think it behoves the servants of the Government and all that wish well to it and to the country to exert themselves upon a juncture so critical. If a little money be necessary for carrying on the Service, it shall not be wanting, out of whatever Pocket it shall come: but indeed, as you very well observe, that is only to be done with Judgment.

"I'll say no more at present, but desire to hear from you from time to time, because I rely greatly upon your Prudence and attention in everything that concerns the Government.—I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servt.,

"Ch. Areskine."

NO. LXXIII.

Letter from John Campbell, a young officer of General Whitmore's Regt. The cover is addressed "To John Campbell, Esq. of Barcaldine, Milln's Square, Edinr., under cover to Mr Home," and docqueted "Gibraltar, 4 April 1753" [a mistake for 1758]: inside the cover is written, "My Dr. Sir, The enclosed came after my former was seal'd, and a letter from myself to you.—I am my Dr. Sir yours [initd.] A. C. Thursday aftn." The cover bears postmark, "Penny Post—post paid Aug. 14th."

"Gibraltar, 4th Aprile 1758.

"Dear Sir,—Give me leave to take this opportunity of informing you of the success of our Mediterranean Squadron. I shall always think myself happie to have it in my power to give you Intelligence of any Transaction (in this part of the world) that Redounds to the credit of our Country in General as I am convinc'd it must give you Pleasure.

"I am perswaded you will think yourself particularly interested in the taking of the Foudroyant when I acquaint you, that I have had the honour of being on Board the Monmouth in the engagement with a detachment of soldiers from Gibraltar mostly belonging to Major General Whitmore's Regiment which gave me some small pretensions to assure you, that the following account, when you receive it, may be look'd upon to be as authentick as any that has yet reach'd Scotland. Admiral Osburn having receiv'd Intelligence by one of his cruisers that the French Squadron under Monsieur de la Clous was seen of Cape de Gate, He sailed from Gibraltar the 24th of ffebruary with 14 ships of the Line and 3 ffrigates. The 28th at 6 o'clock in the morning off Cape de Gate 4 strange ships appear'd, upon which Admiral Osburn threw out a general signal for our whole squadron to close. The Monmouth (being our best sailer) gave chase to the headmost of these ships, viz., Le Foudroyant, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, we lost sight of all our Fleet, except the Swiftsure and Hampton Court, who made all the sail they Possibly cou'd to our assistance.

"At 5 o'clock we came up within random shot of our chase, she hoisted ffrench colours and fired her stern chase guns at us, which we return'd from our Bows, but finding that neither of our shot was within reach of doing any Execution, both left off firing till 8 o'clock when we came up within much less than cannon of her, and (in the sea phrase) yaw'd ship, and gave her as many of our guns as we could bring to bear upon her without any return from her, she rightly judging it was not her business to come to closs action with us but to get off if she cou'd. Our yawing our ship and firing, and she haling her wind closs up got considerably ahead of us, which we cou'd not recover till half an hour after 8, when we came up again, within less than musquet shot, when the action became warm and general on both sides, Great and small arms with little or no intermission, the Monmouth having the advantage of her in sailing, still bringing her to a closer Engagement. Poor Captain Gardiner fell the second Broadside from the enemy. His death is a loss to our Navy. His conduct all that day preceding the action and in it must do honour to his memory, he gave his Directions to his last Breath with the greatest calmness and Intrepidity. At 12 o'clock our mizzen mast came down with all belonging to it, which embarrass'd us a good deal, as a great part of said mast lay upon our wheel and prevented our steering the ship: this obliged us to

have recourse to the Tiller Rope below in the Gun room, but the wreck was remov'd from our wheel.

"This unlucky Catastrophe on our side did not escape the notice of our enemys, who took care to proclaim it by three loud Huzzas, but in about 15 minutes after we had an opportunity of returning them the compliment as their Mizzen mast Ensign staff and flying jib Boom came down all at once, upon which occasion our Johns were fully as vociferous as their enemys were some few minutes before. At half an hour past one in the morning the enemys Main mast and Foretop mast came down, which render'd their ship a helpless hulk upon the water, unable either to defend herself any further or get off.

"Thus fell the mighty Foudroyant, that Pride of ffrance, and Ideal Terror of the British Navy on the unhappie 20th of May 1756 off the Island of Minorca. Thus that Dreadfull Thunderer of Lewis the 15th, commanded by the Marquis du Quesne, one of his best Admirals, and 880 men became the prize of a Poor old Sixty four gun ship of Britain to the Immortal Honour of our Tars, who upon this occasion have clearly shewn the Difference between them and the ffrench Seamen. I hope you won't think me capable either of Despising our Enemys or yet inclinable to too much partiality or Exaggerations on my Countrymens side, when I assure you that During the whole time of the action (vizt. from half an hour past 8 o'clock at night till very near 2 in the morning) the Monmouth's fire under all her Disadvantages, Inferiority of men, and Disparity of metal was double that of the Foudroyant. At this time we were endeavouring to make use of the advantage we had through Providence gain'd over our Enemys by trying to wear the ship and give them the Coup de Grace from our Larboard side guns, we having all along fought them on our starboard side and to Leeward, at this time (vizt. near 2 in the morning) I say [saw] the Swiftsure and Hampton Court came up, which two ships had all the Preceding day and night us'd their utmost efforts to come up sooner to our assistance but to no purpose. The Swiftsure came closs to our stern, and her Commander Captain Stanhope seeing ours and the enemy's condition, beg'd of us to cease firing, and bore down between us and the Foudroyant: when he came closs to her side he hail'd them if they had struck, to which they made no answer but fir'd a gun or two. Captain Stanhope being provok'd pour'd his whole Broadside into her and sent Boats immediately on Board of her.

"Had the enemy acted prudently and not so vainly adher'd to that ill timed and false notion of honour of theirs (I mean their bringing the fire of a fresh ship upon themselves) when they were entirely disabled by us, they might have sav'd the Lives of those unhappy wretches, which fell a sacrifice to their too late thought of honour. The Marquis du Quesne held us very cheap the evening before when he found we were at such a distance from all our Squadron. He had then in company with him the Pleiade, a frigate of 26 guns; which he order'd away I suppose in confidence of his great superiority to us, which we knew nothing of, but took her all along to be near our match, rather below us, and we were all as much surpris'd to find out next day that we disputd with the Foudroy. all night, as I believe the Marquis du Quesne was when he found himself so maul'd by the Monmouth that he held in such contempt before tryal of her. The Marquis du Quesne may impute the loss of his ship to that unlucky signal of his for the Pleiade's Departure, for had he kept that ffrigate with him to rake us astern in time of the action we must have been in a Deplorable situation, if not made a sacrifice of and a chance for his getting off which wou'd still be of greater consequence to our Service. The other two ships mention'd in the former Part of this Letter are the Orphee of 64 gun and the Oriflamme of 50, the former is taken by the Reveng in sight of Carthagena and Monsieur de la Clous squadron, the Later drove ashore on the Coast of Spain, and got under the guns of a Spanish Castle, the fear of breaking the neutrality with Spain saved her Bacon, otherwise she wou'd have Likewise added to our Navy.

"The reinforcement intended for Monsieur de la Clous' squadron from Thoulon being thus in a manner cutt off must hurt him greatly, if not overthrow their measures for this season, as the vigilance and superiority of our squadron here must render it a hard task for Monsieur de la Clous to attempt passing through the Streights of Gibraltar, for upon the least breath of Easterly wind we have a chain of men of war laid across the Gutt. I have sent this account of our affairs here to the Earle of Breadalbane who seldom omitts any opportunity of gratifying his friends with any good accounts he is inform'd of, and will ten to one acquaint you of my being on Board the Monmouth before the arrival of this.

"The Foudroyant and Orphee are now in this Bay safe at Anchor, they are both noble ships, especially the former, the

taking of which by a small ship of ours must greatly spirit our seamen: she is six year old and reckon'd one of the best ships of ffrance, and the only one of this kind we ever took, and shews us the full extent and manner of their best ships as they have none of greater force than this is, our Carpenters here say they never saw a ship so well Proportion'd in tne construction as she is, which knowldge must be of use to shipbuilders in England.

"Yesterday I was order'd ashore to return to the garrison duty here. I have been just a month at sea, in which time I've had a great deal of variety and good fortune being the only officer of the army concern'd in the unequal combat of the 28th February, had 30 soldiers with me, all which came off untouch'd as well as myself.

"There is one circumstance of that night which I can't help mentioning to you. I had with me in the Forecastle besides the party of soldiers twelve seamen quartered to the great guns, eight of which were kill'd on the spot and three Dangerously wounded and not a soldier touch'd. Immediately upon my Landing here, I waited of the Earl of Home, and after I gave him as Distinct an account as I cou'd of what I had seen, I hinted to him that Admiral Osburn had recommended all the Navy officers on board the Monmouth to the Lds. of the Admiralty, and that I hoped I had the same reason to hope for his Ld.'s good offices. His Lordship in the kindest manner told me that nothing shou'd be wanting on his part, and by last Post has recommended me to the Secretary at War. I have acquainted the Earle of Breadalbane of the Governour's goodness to me, and I have manny reasons to think his Lordship will heartily interest himself in my Behalf upon this seasonable occasion.

"My good friend and Colonel Major General Whitmore does me the honour to take charge of this, and will ffrank it at London as soon as he arrives there. He likewise assures me he will sincerely join Lord Breadalbane in any application for me. I hope it will not be in the Marines. As this Ship was taken in consequence of a general signal to chase, the whole Squadron shares the Prize-money with us, except the head money vizt. 5 Pounds Ster: per man, which belongs only to those ships that fir'd at the enemy. I believe I shall in time touch about Seventy or Eighty Pounds Ster: a very good months work for one of my fortune.

"I make no doubt but the ffrench will make a very different story of this affair, as its very natural to suppose that the Marquis du Quesne will do what he can to save his honour, they may puff and gasconade as they please but the matter of fact is as I have already told you, and may we always have such meetings with [them] so say I. It will give me great pleasure to learn that this is Deliver'd to you before any other Particular account reaches your Part of the world, the knowledge of which from you by Post will be most acceptable to me: if I am indulg'd in this please direct to me here and to the care of Messrs Plunket & Smith Merchts. in Cadiz, the foreign Postage to be paid in London. General Whitmore is going abroad Immediately so I have no time to write any more of my friends. May I therefore beg you will be so good as to Desire your clerk to transcribe copys of this to be sent to Carwhine, Auchallader, the folks of Auchna, and Stronmillchane. Col. John Craufurd begs his compliments. My best respects to Mrs Campbell, the young Ladys &c. and I am with greatest sincerity and esteem, Dear Sir, your most obedient and oblig'd humble servant,

"Jo. Campbell.

"P.S.—The last letter I had from Scotland was dated the 26 of October 1756. Patience is a noble virtue. Adieu."

Note.—The date given in the Continuation of Hume & Smollett's Hist. for the capture of the Foudroyant is 28th "March," 1758; but the date given in the above letter is no doubt correct, and it agrees with what I find in Capt. Woollright's Hist. of the 57th Regt. (1893), that Admiral Osborne sailed from Gibraltar 26th Febry., and on 2nd March captured two of the enemy's ships.

The writer of this admirable letter was probably John Campbell, Auchnaba, in whom Lord Breadalbane seems to have taken great interest; it was to be forwarded to "the folks of Auchna" among others. Auchnaba is near Ardchattan Church, Stronmillchane near Glenorchy Church; the Auchnaba family were descended from Colin, son of Patrick, first laird of Barcaldine, by his second wife, and minister of Ardchattan and Muckairn for nearly 60 years, up to 1726. The letter was presumably sent to Barcaldine under cover to his son, Alexander.

Whitmore's Regiment was the 53rd Foot. See Scots. Mag. for 1758.

24th NOVEMBER, 1898.

At this meeting the following elections were made, viz.:—Life Member—John James Maclennan Falconer, Esq., St Ann's, Lasswade; Honorary Member—Mrs G. F. Watts, Holland House, London; Ordinary Members—Mr Donald Macpherson, postmaster, Falkirk; Mr Lachlan Macpherson, 8 Smith Street, Leith; Mr Wm. Wolfenden, Kingussie; Mr Evan Campbell, Kingussie; Mr John Macewen, Inverness; Rev. J. Mackenzie, Golspie; Mr Alex. Macarthur, Inverness; Mr F. Smith, Inverness; and Mr Roderick Mackenzie, Dunedin, New Zealand. Thereafter a paper on "Skye Gaelic," contributed by Rev. C. M. Robertson, was read. The paper is as follows:—

SKYE GAELIC.

The mark (ẽ) on a vowel indicates nasalisation.
A hyphen (-) separates one syllable from another.

Scottish Gaelic is usually divided into two dialects, a Northern and a Southern. The tests by which the two dialects are separated are usually the dipthongisation of certain vowels, the sound given to *ao*, to post-vocalic *c*, *t*, *p*, and to unaspirated slender *n*, and the vocalisation of certain aspirated consonants. Some of those tests as a matter of fact do not distinguish North from South. It cannot be maintained that the tendency to vocalisation is greater in the North than in the South. *Mh* may possibly be sounded, not as *v* but as a vowel more frequently in the North, but it is so vocalised so far south as Arran in not a few instances not only in medial and final positions as in the North, but also in proper names in initial position, a thing quite unknown apparently in the North. Vocalisation, or rather suppression of the aspirated gutturals, may be found in the North in isolated cases, such as drochaid, foghar, in Strathglass pronounced dro-id, fãoar, but over against that has to be set the wholesale suppression of slender *ch* in Arran, Islay, etc.

The de-aspiration or unaspiration of slender *n* which has been put forward as a feature of Northern Gaelic is found in isolated instances in the North, but it is far more characteristic of the Gaelic of the Southern seaboard and adjoining isles. In Arran,

for example, duine, teine, mìn, muin, are pronounced as duinne, teinne, mìnn, muinn, and the same pronunciation which is the rule in Arran prevails extensively, if it is not the rule, in the Southern Isles generally.

While these two tests do show broad distinctions of dialect, though they have not always been rightly applied, the attempt to distinguish Northern and Southern Gaelic by the pronunciation of post-vocalic *c* only leads to confusion. In the counties of Inverness and Ross *c* in such words as fiacaill, mac, torc, glie, is sounded *chc*, that is, the same as Gaelic *chd*, while in Argyllshire *c* retains its simple sound. But here extremes meet. The far North follows the far South. The sound is *c*, not *chc*, in Sutherlandshire as in Argyllshire. West Perthshire, on the other hand, follows Inverness and Ross, and thus isolates East Perthshire, which follows the Argyllshire pronunciation.

The sound given to *ao*, coming from old *ái*, *ói*, is that of French û in Lewis, Skye, Sutherlandshire, Ross-shire, Inverness-shire, and Perthshire. Further south the sound is different.

The test of diphthongisation also brings out a broad distinction. The vowels so affected are *a*, *o*, *ea*, and *eo* in certain positions, è written eu, èa and èi, and ì written io in certain cases. The diphthongisation of *a*, *o*, *ea*, and *eo* is a feature of Northern Gaelic, but it extends southwards almost to the middle of Argyllshire. In this as in most of the tests, East Perthshire follows the South, though separated from it by West Perthshire, which as usual follows the North. The diphthongisation of the other vowels mentioned also broadly distinguishes Northern Gaelic, while in the South they are not, except in a very few instances, diphthongised.

If eclipsis, which occurs only in isolated instances in the South, be assumed as a test, Northern Gaelic may be divided into two sub-dialects, that in which eclipsis is largely present being separated from the rest of the Northern division.

The Gaelic spoken in Skye, while, as might be expected from its position, it exhibits in general the characteristics of Northern Gaelic, is, in an island of such extent, by no means homogeneous. The configuration of the "Winged Isle" lends itself to the production and perpetuation of diversities of speech. If the speech of Sleat can be distinguished from that of Strath, how much greater must be the difference between either of those and the Gaelic spoken in Trotternish or in the Macleod country. And as the Gaelic of Strath and of Sleat can be distinguished, so can that of the Macleod country be distinguished from that of the

Macdonald country, as Trotternish is sometimes called. The latter country is recognised, for instance, by its pronunciations, cairt, cuairt, doirt, feairt, which in the Macleod country are pronounced cairst, cuairst, doirst, feairst. In Trotternish, again, such words as cnaimhean (bones), làmhan (hands), amhach, abhainn, reamhar, sleamhuinn, are pronounced crã-an, lã-an, ã-ach, a-inn, reã-ar, sleã-inn, while in the Macleod country they are pronounced crãwan, lãwan, âwach, awinn, reãwar, sleãwinn, *i.e.*, in the latter *mh* and *bh* are vocalised, in the former they have in those instances disappeared, leaving no trace except the nasalisation of the preceding vowel. In the case of the three last of those words, the border line between the two pronunciations is said to be Tayinlone, on the Portree and Dunvegan road. The following pages are based on notes taken in the neighbourhood of Edinbane, on the Macleod side of the border, some twelve to fourteen miles from Portree. Mary Macpherson's rich vocabulary and faithfulness to her native dialect revealed in her published compositions, and also some unpublished local compositions, have been drawn upon.

Diphthongisation.

a, o, ea, oe.

It may be convenient to bring together what requires to be said of the diphthongisation of various vowels. *A, o, ea, eo* are diphthongised when they stand in accented syllables before a long liquid not followed except by a kindred consonant, *i.e.*, *m* may stand before *p* or *b*, and the other liquids may stand before *t* or *d*. The process is not, however, carried to the limit in Skye, *r* being excepted, as it is also in certain other districts.

call	pronounced	cawll	moll	pronounced	mowll
dall	,,	dawll	poll	,,	powll
mall	,,	mawll	toll	,,	towll
nall	,,	nawll	bonn	,,	bownn
ann	,,	awnn	conn	,,	cownn
bann	,,	bawnn	donn	,,	downn
clann	,,	clawnn	fonn	,,	fownn
gann	,,	gawnn	tonn	,,	townn
am	,,	awm	com	,,	cowm
cam	,,	cawm	lom	,,	lowm

The sound meant by *w* is that which it has in English "howl," "town." In the case of *ea*, in contact with a nasal liquid, the resulting diphthong as shown below—meall, beann, etc., consists

of Gaelic nasal *e* and *u*. A long liquid is one sounded as in ball, sanntaich, corr, cam, not as in ballan, bannag, corran, caman.

geall	pronounced	gyawll	beann	pronounced	beunn
meall	,,	meull	ceann	,,	ceunn
seall	,,	syawll	greann	,,	greunn
steall	,,	styawll	teann	,,	teunn

allt	pronounced	awllt
Aundra (Andrew)	,,	Awnndra
draundan	,,	drawnnan
sannt	,,	sawnnt
deanntag (nettle)	,,	dyawnnag
gràpa (a graip), so Macleod country	,,	grawmpa (Trotternish)
puncail or pongail	,,	powngcail
adhlac (burial)	,,	ãwlaca

This last word in Old Irish adnacul, adnocul, does not by its form, though by its pronunciation it does, come under the rule. The explanation seems to be that the Old Irish adnacul has by metathesis, etc., now become phonetically annlac, or as in Skye annlacadh. The Manx form is anlaky, and the Skye form diphthongisation and all is found in other parts of Scotland. In Perthshire the accented vowel is nasalised and long—ãlac—doubtless by compensatory lengthening due to assimilation of *nn* to *l*.

Some confusion exists concerning the vowels *a* and *o* that are dipthongised. It is not, as has been frequently asserted, the long sounds *à*, *ò*, and *ó* that are so treated. The vowels are indeed marked long in the Gaelic dictionaries in a number of the words in which diphthongisation takes place, but that is an error caused by failure to distinguish between a long vowel and a long liquid. The vowels are not marked long in the old language. Mr Macbain in his Dictionary gives *árd* as the Early Irish form of *ard* high, in which, in certain districts, diphthongisation is found, but that is probably due to his copying a misprint of Windisch's, whose examples show the correct form *ard*.

While the vowels were thus in all cases originally short, it has to be observed that when not diphthongised in positions that come under the rule, they have very generally become long in modern pronunciation before *rr* and *rd*, and sometimes before *rn*. Barr, ard, corr, ord, cearr, are pronounced bàrr, àrd, còrr, òrd, ceàrr; carn may sometimes be heard as càrn and corna frequently as eòrna.

The same phenomena are found in the south-west of Ireland, *i.e.*, in Munster. There the vowels in question are lengthened before *r*, *e.g.*, in fearr, gearr, gort (a field), and are diphthongised in the other positions, as ball, "bawll"; ann, "awnn"; cam, "cawm"; coll, "cowll"; bonn, "bownn"; trom, "trowm." It seems curious that diphthongisation should have sprung up in those parts of Ireland and Scotland, that are furthest removed from one another, while it is not found in the extensive intervening districts.

Similar diphthongisation in Manx is discussed by Professor Rhys Manx Prayer Book II., pp. 142 144. "Thus," he says, "'tromm,' now written 'trome,' is pronounced in a way which sometimes strikes one as being 'troum,' and sometimes 'trobm' or 'trubm,' with a sort of precarious *b*; and similarly with other words such as 'kione,' head, which becomes 'kioun' or 'kiodn,' and 'lhong,' a ship, which becomes 'logng' or 'lugng'." With regard to the occurrence of diphthongisation, he says—"In all the cases mentioned the vowel was short, and the nasal consonant" (it appears not to take place in Manx with *l* and *r*) "as in 'tromm' was long, so to say, so that metrically *um* or *bm* is an equivalent for *mm*." The process, he adds, has been extended "probably later" to words in which the nasal consonant was short, but preceded by a long vowel, and here the reinforcement of the consonantal element took place, metrically speaking, at the expense of the vowel.

In the Breton language trom (heavy) is written "troum," and toll (hole) "toull," and in Old Cornish camm (crooked) and gwyn white (=Gaelic "fionn") became respectively "cabm" and "gwydn."

eu, èa.

The diphthongisation in certain words of long *e*, written *eu*, *èa*, and *èi*, is a distinctive feature of Northern Gaelic. As in the case of post-vocalic *c*, however, so here also Sutherlandshire rather breaks away from the Northern dialect. The feature is found in the extreme South, and becomes prominent in the North solely because it has there extended to a larger number of words. In Sutherlandshire it is scarcely, if indeed at all, more frequent than in Argyllshire, only the northern county has in certain cases a peculiarity of its own which is not diphthongisation, in the treatment of the vowel. Perhaps in no one district are all the words affected which are liable to the change and are subjected to it in some district or other. In Skye beuc, geug, geur, reult (star), sleuchd, meud, which are liable to diphthongisation, are pro-

nounced with *é* (nasalised in the case of meud), to which add sgreubh (to shrivel, of vessels of wood).

The vowel (*eu*) is pronounced *ia* in reub, geuban (pronounced ciaban), feuch (try), deuchainn, dreuchd, breug, leud, seud (hero), sgeul, feur, feusag, feusgan, greusaich, leus (light), and in brèagh, lèabag, tèaruinntc, èasgaidh (Mary MacPherson, p. 157). So iadach also, but not eud, from which it comes, nor eudmhor.

It is iã in eun, seun, sgeun (panic), neul, smeur (bramble), and in dèan, lèan (M. MacP., 23), and also in riāmhach, a root, from freumh with the suffix *ach*. Beul, too, is biāl. In eun the pronunciation strikes one as being in reality dissyllabic *i-ãn*.

In feuch (show), deug, ceud, ceutach, reusladh (battering), the diphthong is composed of *i* and short *ao*. On her return to Skye, Mary MacPherson sings—

"'S cha bheag a' mhiorbhuil gu 'n thill mi 'm chiall ann
'S na fhuair mi riasladh o làmh luchd foirneirt."

Reudan is here pronounced raodan.

Yet another pronunciation which is more common in Tiree and Coll is found in one instance in Skye. In beurla *è* (eu) is sounded as a diphthong, consisting of close *e* and Gaelic *u*.

Where *eu* is not liable to diphthongisation it is in Skye sounded *é*, and nasalised if in contact with a nasal, as beud, deud, eud, teud, treud, eug, eubh (cry), creuchd, beus, ceus, gleus, creutair, speur, breun, treun, beum, ceum, feum, geum, leum. In treubh also the vowel is nasal, as in some other districts. In teum the vowel is *ao*.

The predominance of the close sound é, not only in Skye but generally, wherever the *e* sound is retained, is noteworthy. In Argyllshire, where diphthongisation is rare, *eu* is almost universally sounded as *é*. In Perthshire the close sound (*é*) is confined to those words that are not liable to diphthongisation, while in those that are so liable the vowel has its open sound (*è*). To put it in another form, when *eu* is pronounced *é* in Perthshire it is *é* in Northern Gaelic, and when it is pronounced *è* in Perthshire, it becomes *ia* in the North. Only three doubtful exceptions to this rule are to be found. Reul, in Perthshire réul, retains é in the North generally, but is rialt in Sutherland, that land of Gaelic exceptions. Geuban, which has *é* in Perthshire, and *ia* in the North, is held to be a borrowed word, cf. Scot gebbie, gabbie, with the same meaning. The Skye form is ciaban. The third doubtful exception is iadach,

which does not seem to be used in Perthshire, and is therefore entitled to mention only, as it contrasts with eud, pronounced éud in that county. In the Island of Arran also the pronunciation of *eu* in the great majority of cases agrees with the rule found in Perthshire.

There is then one group of cases in which *eu* is pronounced *é* always and everywhere, and another group in which the pronunciation is variously in different districts *é*, *è*, or *ia*. As regards the latter group, it is possible that *é* may have been the oldest sound, and that *è* is a stage in the development of *é* into *ia*. The sound of *è* is certainly nearer than that of *é* to the *a* of *ia*. If *è* be the older sound, its change to *é* must be attributed to the influence of analogy. On the whole, the more satisfactory supposition is that *é* is older than *è*, and that the latter is a stage in the progress towards *ia*. In any case, the etymological difference, if there is any, at the basis of the distinction between the two groups—the one liable and the other not liable to diphthongisation—does not yet appear to have been discovered.

This vowel (*eu*) is diphthongised also in Munster with *ia* as the result as in meur, feur, deunadh (doing), and even in words and positions in which it is never diphthongised in Scottish Gaelic, as in breun, treun, eug, and in eudòchas (despair), eudtrom (light), eugcoir (wrong). In the three last examples the diphthong being unaccented is pronounced more rapidly. Even *ea* in muineal (neck) is pronounced *ia*.

io, iu.

The diphthongisation in certain cases of *ì*, written *io*, though it has received less attention, is also a feature of Northern Gaelic. In Skye the diphthong is *i* and short *ao* in ioc, crioch, griosach, diol, fior, and others, and with nasalisation in a group of words showing nasals in contact, crion, dion, fion, lion, sion, spion, diomhain, iomhaigh, gniomh, sniomh, mios.

A more uncommon feature, not, however, confined to Skye, is the diphthongisation of initial *io* fol owed by a liquid. In some instances the diphthong is made up of Gaelic *i* and *û*, as in iodhlann, iomradh (report), iomlaid, iongnadh, but more often it is Gaelic *u* instead of *û*, as in iolach, iolaire, iomadh, iomain, iomair (ridge), iomchaidh, iompaidh, iomarcach, ionndrainn, ionnsaich, ionnsaidh, ionraic. The three last are pronounced iũsaich, iũsai, iũraic. Iochd (clemency) also has the diphthong *iu*.

The treatment of *iu* in initial position is exactly similar; *i* and *u* both receive their Gaelic sound nasalised or not according as the contact is nasal or not, as iuchair (key), iuchar (dogdays), iutharn, iùl pronounced iùil, iunntas. In iullagach *iû* is found. Iùnais, sometimes written aonais, is pronounced ûnais, which agrees with the second spelling, as it would be pronounced in Skye.

The semi-vowel *y*, heard in some dialects in such words as iolair (eagle), pronounced yolaire, and specially in the *iu* words, yuchair, &c., is here conspicuous by its absence, its place being taken by the Gaelic *i*, while the broad vowel heard, following initial *i* or *y* in some dialects in one or two words with initial *io* followed by a liquid, is in Skye extended practically to all such words, only that it varies there between *u* and *û*.

a.

Uncertainty as to the use of *a* or *o* in a number of words in written Gaelic is a familiar feature, caused by hesitation between the Irish written form on the one side, and the Scottish pronunciation on the other. Broadly stated, an original *o* remains *o* in Irish literature, but becomes *a* in Gaelic speech and uninfluenced literature as bolg or balg, folach or falach. But even in Ireland in some parts they say *a* sometimes where they write *o*. Within Scottish Gaelic itself, great irregularity exists. In Skye, dronnag (back), folach, folbh, pronn, rosg are pronounced with *a*, while brod, forum (noise), smot, with the borrowed word dorghach (to fish with hand line), retain *o*. Dorus is pronounced both ways, dorus and darus, and famhair, from Fomori, is here pronounced fū-aire; cf. Macleod and Dewar's fuamhair. Even where the vowel is long, the change may be found. Dàth and fód, which have *ó* in the early language, have in Skye *à*, while dòcha retains *ò*, though in the north generally it has taken *à* (dàcha).

The reverse process has also not infrequently taken place; *a* has become *o*. There appear, however, to be but few instances of this in Skye, except in borrowed words, e.g., sabhal, pronounced so-al (close *o*). Gabh and mallachd, which take *o* in many districts, here retain *a*. Skye again, in its form pòg (from pacem), departs from northern Gaelic, which has pàg, while the Sutherlandshire amhran (song), found also as far south as Strathglass, is in Skye òran, *ò* not being even nasalised. The Skye and Wester Ross sgòth, a cloud (on the sun), appears to be none other than sgàth, a shadow; Welsh, ysgod; Cornish, scod.

ai.

In the case of an old *a* before a slender liquid, there are a number of instances in which the vowel is sounded close *o* short. Though the vowel is in fact written *oi* in that position, its usual pronunciation is the short *ao* sound, e.g., coileach, coille, goil, goirid, goireas. Gairm also is pronounced goirm, raineach (bracken) is roinneach (close *o* in both cases), and air has the same close *o* sound in air neo (otherwise). The word also appearing in my notes in "Bu tu a ghròig," meaning a sloven, a dawdler, is no doubt the same with the Perthshire dràichd, a slattern, a sloven, or dawdler at work, cited by Macbain from Armstrong; cf. Scot. "In the draiks; in a slovenly, disordered state." The close *o* sound forms, with *i*, a diphthong where *aoi* is now written in aoibhinn, Early Ir. áibind and óibind. In droigheann, soitheach, in which also the old vowel is *a*, not *o*, it is open *e* short that is heard.

The proper pronunciation of the digraph *ai* is either *a* or a diphthong *ai*, like the pronoun "I" in English. The latter pronunciation is found in such words as fàidh, tràigh ainneamh, aindeoin, aithne, daingean, caill, and also in saoibhir (for saidhbhir), the former in àird, fàilte, nàire, gràine, faire, maide, &c. Instead of an *a* sound, in many cases there is an *e* sound close, open, or nasal. The close *e* sound occurs in air, mairg.

Open *e* is the sound in aig, aitheamh, caitheamh, claidheamh, fàitheam, feur-saidhe (hay), and in oblique cases as aighe (gen sing.) and aighean (nom. pl.) of agh (a hind), with which agree exactly the oblique cases of tigh (house). Rhys is undoubtedly right in regarding the word pronounced taigh, though written tigh, found also in "astigh," as a different word from teach, which we have in a steach, and in deriving the former from a deflected vowel form *togo, of the root *tego of the latter word. Our spelling tigh comes from the one form, while our pronunciation taigh really represents and must have come from the other form.

Nasal *e* is heard in ainm, aineolach, ainmhidh, aimlisg, aimsir, cnàimh, and oblique cases of damh.

Nasal *ei* as a diphthong may be heard in aingeal, aingidh, aimhleas, aimhreit.

In some cases the sound is *ao* as in gàirdean, tairgse, and in the oblique cases of such words as marbh, tarbh, "mairbh," etc.

The digraph has the sound of *ù* short in gainmheach, probably through the influence of the succeeding *mh*, pronounced *w* or *u* at some time, but now silent.

o.

Gaelic has two forms of the word for "great," the distinction in form being that the one has close *o* and the other open *o*. The one with close *o*—mór—is the ordinary form; the other—mòr—is used when emphasis is laid upon the word. The same distinction is made in the use of the derivative móran and mòran. The old language has both mór and már, meaning "great." In Skye only the close *o* forms—mór, móran—are found. The vowel is of course open as usual in moirear, which Macbain derives from mór and maor. If that derivation is correct, shortening of the vowel has taken place under the accent in moirear that is almost if not altogether unparalleled. Perhaps muir-maor may be more correct; cf. morbhach, morghath. The original duties of the official may have been to organise the coast defences against the Norse rovers.

The open *o* of lòn (food) distinguishes the word from the close *o* of lón, which means a marsh, but in Skye means a small burn or brook, such as often winds sluggishly through a marsh.

oi.

The pronunciations of *oi* are somewhat similar to those of *ai*. Modern *oi* for an old *ai* has already been noticed, and as in that case, so in some others, the digraph receives the sound of close *o* short, e.g., doill. The same pronunciation with nasalisation is found in one instance of the broadening of a slender vowel, viz., roinn for rinn (did). A similar broadening, but with short open *o* as the result, is found in roilig for reilig (a burying ground), Manx, ruillick; Irish, reilig, roilig. The long *é* given to the word in our Gaelic dictionaries seems to be due to the fanciful etymology "réidh-leac."

The digraph has sometimes the sound of close *e* short, as in oillt, oighre, of nasal *e* as in coimheach, coimhead, coimhearsnach, roimh, short *ao* as in foidhidinn, coingheall, sgoim, and adjective sgoimeach, also written sgaoim (fright), and short aoi as in foill, foillsich, soillsich.

u.

As with *a* and *o*, so also with *o* and *u*, an interchange or substitution of the one for the other is frequently found. The tendency appears in Skye to follow the more general and older pronunciation, as in the local forms, mochthrath, moll, mosach, ullamh, umhail, &c. The borrowed rop (a roup) and ropaig (to

roup) have *u* here, as has also ploc, head (of a pin). The word for and from "brimstone" undergoes many variations in Gaelic. In literature it is pronnasg, in Arran pronnasdair, in Perth pronaistear, in Badenoch pronnasdail, in Skye prunnasdal, in Macleod and Dewar "grunnasdan, Provincial," in Wester Ross grunmastal.

In one or two words the changes are rung on *a* and *u*, and in one or two even on *a*, *o*, and *u*. "Weeping" is gul, and "less" is lugha with *û* short. The latter is stated to have *a* for *u* in the Reay Country. Furasda, the word used here, is a different word from farasda. Usa, which may be heard with all three vowels, is here asa, O. Ir., assu.

ui.

In two instances the digraph *ui* is sounded as *i*, viz., cruithneachd (wheat), and cuithe (a snow wreath). That pronunciation is specially characteristic of Sutherlandshire Gaelic, and is also found largely in Munster.

In certain words as cuimse, suidhe, and those in which the digraph is preceded by *r*, both vowels are sounded diphthongally with a tendency to give the first the û sound.

Professor Rhys has noticed the *w* or *u* sound (as in English quick) found with initial *c* in some Manx words, e.g., cuig, five, pronounced queig, and attributing the sound to a preservation of an original labialised *q* (i.e., *qv*), asks if it is paralleled anywhere in Gaelic. The sound is found in Skye in certain words with initial *c* followed by *ui*. In none of the examples, however, does the *c* represent an original *q* labialised or otherwise, so that the conclusion is inevitable that the *w* or *u* sound found in Skye is not the preservation of an old sound, but the development of a new one. Examples are cuibheas, cuibhrionn, cuimhne, cuing, cuidhteag (the little finger), cuibhill (wheel), cuibhrig, cuidhtich, cuigeal, cuilc, in all which *cui* is pronounced like *quee* in English "queen." The same sound occurs also in the well-known name Quiraing, Gaelic Cuidh-Fhraing. The word cuidh, an enclosed field, though peculiar to the Hebrides, seems to be unknown in the part with which we are dealing of Skye.

e, ea.

Whether it is *e* or *a* of the digraph *ea* that shall be sounded appears to be determined by the following consonant or consonant group. Before a guttural *e* alone is sounded, as in breac, creach, beachd, beag. The vowel is open *e*, except before *g*, when it is

close. So before *r*, except *rr*, *rn*, *rd*, and *rt*, as cearc, dearg, earar, fearann, ceathrar, earlais, dearmad, to which add carrann and sreothartaich as exceptions. The same open *e* is found also in calanta, eallach, and with nasalisation in meanglan, teanga, neart.

The *a* or *ya* sound is heard nasalised or not, according to its contact in such words as geal, dealbh, dealta, geall, greallag, deannal, cearr, bearna, dearna, ceard, ceart, geamhradh.

Before *dh* and *gh*, *ea* follows *a* in taking the *ao* sound, long or short, which is the usual pronunciation in Scottish Gaelic as in seadh, deagh. Less usual is the short *ao*, heard for *ea*, in eadar and in the word written "ged," but that would be more correctly written "gead."

In feabhas, leabhar (book), seabhag, treabh, *ea* sounds *o*, or *yo*, open; and in feadhainn it is *yo* close.

ei.

That last sound of *yo* close is found for *ei* in mu dheidhinn, and also in the Skye equivalent for "an déidh," viz., "an deoghaidh"; Wester Ross, an deaghaidh; Old Irish, degaid, the opposite of "an aġhaidh."

"Fad an deaghaidh bas an diulnaich
Dh' fhàs a chrıobh gu h-ùrail réidh
Tha i nis an deaghaidh lùbadh
S' a glùinean am beul a cléibh."

—Mary MacPherson, p. 302.

Gheibh, frequently sounded with *yo* close for *ei*, and written gheobh in M. MacP., has here short *e* close for *ei*. Ealamh is pronounced "alamh"; Irish, athlamh; Early Irish, athlam.

e and *i*.

As with *a* and *o*, or *o* and *u*, there is an interchange of *e* (*ea*, *ei*) and *i* (*io*) in a number of words, e.g., inbhir is eanbhar in Perthshire. In Skye, Inbhir-nis is Eanar-nis. Of the words liable to this change, the following take short *e* nasal as their accented vowel:—Eanchainn, gean, gionach, meanach, tionail, smior (marrow), smigead (chin), miotag; while the following take short *i*:—Ionann, iongar, gliongadaich, mil, milis, sileadh, meas (esteem), miosa, measg (among), neas (weasel), nise, rithisd, breitheamh, meadh-bhlàth, pronounced here "miong-bhlàth."

In féin, it is long *i*. When the vowel (*ea* or *io*) is followed by *nn*, it is frequently broadened into *u* (*yu*), as in lionn, reannag, tionndadh ; pronounced lyunn, runnag, tyunndadh. This change into *u* is specially characteristic of Northern Gaelic. It is found in Skye, also in the word mèag (whey).

i, io.

The tendency to broaden *i* after *r* exhibited in such words as ruith, Old Ir. infinitive rith, ruighe, a slope, Early Ir. rige, is extended here to rìgh (king), "ruìgh," and righinn, "ruighin." Rioghachd also is ruigheachd. In all those instances the Old *i* represents an Indo-European *e*. In rinn (did) the broadening of *i* takes more of an *o* or *ao* sound "roinn."

The digraphs *io* and *iu*, so far as they are diphthongised, have been dealt with. There remain instances in which there is no diphthongisation.

Initially *io* may be heard as Gaelic *i* in iodhal, iongantach, and with the English sound of *i* as in "wit," "tin," in ionmhas, ionmhuiun.

Medially *io* has the Gaelic sound of *i* (the *i* in English "piano") long in sgios, siobhalta, sioda, priosan, and short in crios, fios, ciotag, the following consonant, if mutable, having its broad sound. Iosal, however, is pronounced ìseal. In cionta, diog, fiodh, fliodh, spiol, *io* sounds yû short, and in cliobach it is close *e* short.

ao.

When *ao* represents Old Irish *ói* or *ái*, it is sounded like French *û*, and is represented by *u* in Welsh and Breton, as in aol, craobh, craos, glaodh (glue), laogh, saoghal, or *û* nasalised as in aon.

In two instances *ao* for an old *é* is also sounded *û*, viz., aodach, aodann.

Where the vowel in the old language was *a* or *o*, followed by *dh* or *gh*, *ao* has its distinctive sound, *i.e.*, the sound of what philologists call the indefinite or indistinct or colourless vowel lengthened, or nearly the English sound of *u* in curl lengthened. Examples are aobhar (Ir. adhbhar, O. Ir. adbar). aoradh, faoluin, usually written fòghlum. *Ao* is properly a long vowel, but the sound is very common as a short vowel, particularly as representing *a* or *o*, followed by *dh* or *gh*, as in adharc, fradharc, agh, aghaidh, lagh, foghar, roghainn. Air feadh is air aodh (*ao* short),

and deagh d'ao (*ao* long). Agus, which has often *ao* short and *g* aspirated, is here "aghus."

The word caomhain, whose pronunciation is usually exceptional, is here cù-in.

Nasal Vowels.

Nasalisation of the accented vowels without apparent cause, *i.e.* without nasal liquids in contact, is found in beul, caith, ciabhag (lock of hair), faigh, gruig (influenced by gnùis ?), treubh, uabhar (influenced by uamharr ?), while its absence is noteworthy in òran (not óran). In the case of beul it may be traceable to eclipsis, "am beul" being pronounced "am'iāl."

ia and *ua*.

In the fixed diphthongs *ia* and *ua*, *a* receives the sound of *ao*, not in certain positions, as in some dialects, e.g., before *dh* or *gh*, as biadh, liagh, but in every position, e.g., cliabh, riabhach, fiach (worth), fiadh, fiadhaich, riaghailt, briathar, cliathach, liath, sgiath, fialaidh, fiamh, riamh, sgiamh, cian, dian, grian, miann, rian, sgian, srian, ciar, riaraich. In all those the diphthong consists of *i* and *ao*.

It is the same with *ua*, e.g., sguab, bruach, fuath, &c.

The Tenues or Voiceless Consonants, *p*, *t*, *c*.

A voiceless consonant and the corresponding voiced consonant, when not standing at the beginning of a word, approach each other so nearly in sound in Gaelic that they can with difficulty, if at all, be distinguished the one from the other at times. Evidence of the difficulty is furnished historically by the language, e.g., Scottish and Irish fada (long) is in the Old Irish fota; Sc. and Ir., sud (yon), O. Ir., sút and siut; Sc. and Ir., bog (soft), O. Ir., bocc. In Modern Gaelic the pronunciation of the tenues varies in different districts. The difference is most marked in the case of *c*. In some districts it is sounded as *c* in English "cat" in all positions; in some districts it is preceded, when medial or final, by a guttural *ch*, as in Scottish "loch," so that mac (son) e.g., is pronounced "machc," while in other districts it is in the same positions preceded by an aspirate *h*, as "mahc." Where *c*, medial and final, is sounded as with an *h* or a *ch* before it, *p* and *t* in the similar positions are also sounded as with an *h* before them. It

makes no difference in this connection whether the consonants are broad or slender.

In Skye that aspirate, in the case of *c* guttural *ch*, is found with the tenues in medial and final position, as in tapaidh, dripeil (busy), pronounced tahpaidh, drihpeil, so leapa (Gen. of leabaidh bed), cnap.

t—ciatach, tatadh (attaching to oneself), bata, bàta, còta, caitean, cat, guit, tuit, pronounced ciahtach, caihtean, &c.

c—facal, fiacaill, tarcais, uircean, bac, beuc, ioc, pluc, cearc, adharc, fradharc, glic, taic, pronounced fachcal, tarchcuis, uirchcean, ao-archc, frao-archc (*ao* short), &c.

bh.

Medially *bh* retains its full sound of *v* in aoibhneas, asbhuain, cabhag, ciabhag (lock of hair), gàbhaidh, inbhe, saoibhir, sleibhtean, fàbhar, searbhant, seirbheis, &c.

Finally, it has its *v* sound in baobh, cliabh, craobh, gabh, gheibh, sliabh, also leubh (read for leugh, influenced, doubtless, by leabhar, book), in such words as balbh, falbh, marbh, tarbh, mairbh, in Datives Plural beulaibh, cùlaibh, fearaibh, beòthaibh, geallanaibh, linnibh (ages), &c., and the 2nd person plural Imperative bristibh, falbhaibh, rachaibh, togaibh, &c. The pronoun sibh also has the *v* sound, except before féin when it is sip-fhéin.

The sound of *w* for *bh* is rare, but is well exemplified in abhainn, "awinn," and is also found in cabhsair. It is evidently the past influence of this pronunciation of *bh* that has caused abhag (terrier) to be pronounced with a *u* "a-ug." An exact parallel is found in "ca-udh," snow drift, which is, unfortunately, written cathadh, whereas the Northern pronunciations that are significant on the point, e.g., in Lewis, "cafadh," show the correct orthography to be cabhadh. In Arran "càthadh," and in Ireland "cáthadh," the first vowel is long, as if it were a different word.

Bh medially is altogether silent in numerous instances, as àbhaist, aobhar, arbhar, cobhar (foam), dubhan, eibhleag, faobhar, feabhas, gobhar, lobhar, riabhach, sabhal, "so-al," siubhal, sòbhrag, ubhal, and finally as in lobh, luibh, treabh.

In bithbhuantachd *bh* is provected, owing, doubtless, to the preceding aspirate, and also in siobhalta (English, "civil," borrowed). Far for bharr (from off) also is found repeatedly in Mary MacPherson's compositions, e.g., p. 318—

"Seiche chruaidh far na faraidh
'S suinn le camain 'g a stràcadh."

Though *bh* equals *v* in falbh, gabh, leubh, it is wholly silent when, in process of conjugation a vowel comes after, as in falbhaidh, gabhaidh, leubhadh. So in sabh (to saw), *bh* equals *v*, while in muileann-sabhaidh it is silent.

Dentals.

There is one instance of *t* not having the usual spirant sound in contact with a slender vowel. In taitneach, the medial *t* is sounded, not according to the rule in Gaelic, like English *ch* in "chief," or *tch* in "witch," but like English *t* in "wit." This exceptional pronunciation of slender *t* prevails widely in the case of that word, and also of the corresponding verb taitinn, and noun taitneas, which are little if at all used in Skye, and has been noticed by Professor Rhys in the Manx form taitnys, "joy, delight, pleasure," of the above noun taitneas. The non-spirant sounds of slender *t* and *d* are found in some districts in one or two other words with the liquid *n* near the dental, as inntinn, foidhidinn.

The combination *sr* has *t* introduced, as in srann, srath, sron, sruth, &c., pronounced strann, strath, &c. Briseadh, smuainich, are respectively bristeadh, smaointich, and peanas is peanaist.

th.

Intervocalic *th* tends to be pronounced as an aspirate *h*, like *th* initial in Gaelic "thig," or *h* in English "harp," "heat," e.g., aitheamh, bàthach (byre), cliathach, féatha (a calm), feitheamh, iutharna. The tendency to sound *h* has drawn in even other consonants; at least that appears to be the explanation of the aspirate *h* in pronunciation, for *dh* in claidheamh, fiadhaich; for *fh* in forfhais; and for *mh* in coimhead. So Lealt in Trotternish, in Gaelic Leth-allt, is pronounced Leth-h-allt.

The change of thar and thairis into "far" and "fairis," found also in Eigg, is curious (fairis, McL. and D.).

Broad *dh.*

Broad *dh* medially retains its sound in a few instances, as iodhal, and the genitive fiodha (of wood), but is usually silent, as in bodhar. Sometimes, though its consonantal power is com-

pletely lost, as in adharc, fradharc, feadhainn, its influence remains in the change of the foregoing vowel into *ao*. In final position, *dh* usually retains its sound, as in biadh, buadh, cladh, feadh, fiadh, fiodh, fliodh, glaodh (cry), glaodh (glue), gràdh, reodh, ruadh, cathadh (snow drift), cogadh, geamhradh, iomadh, iomradh, iongnadh, lionadh, madadh (-allaidh), moladh, reubadh, reusladh, samhradh, sileadh, tionndadh, treabhadh, coimhlionadh, ionàltradh. Even in féileadh it is sometimes heard.

Similar to what we saw in the case of *bh*, *dh* though sounded in such a form as biadh (feed), is apt to become silent medially in such a form as biadhadh (feeding), but not in such as glaodhaidh (will cry).

Slender *dh*.

Slender *dh*, in final position in the future indicative, is sounded as in initial position, i.e., with a sound having the same relation to slender *ch* that broad *dh* and *gh* have to broad *ch*, e.g., bruichidh clachaidh, cluichidh, iocaidh, ithidh, tachdaidh, toilichidh, &c. Otherwise, it is silent medially and finally.

GUTTURALS.

Chunnaic occurs as chunna (Mary MacPherson, pp. 41, 170), and thàinic or thàinig as thàin' (id., p. 37).

In chan eil *ch* is a mere aspirate, "han eil," and in chon or thun it is entirely lost, "un." Elsewhere *ch* has its full guttural sound, e.g., in drochaid, which is generally "dro-id" in the North.

As in other districts, *g* is frequently elided in agam, agad, againn, agaibh, and is aspirated in agus.

Medially *gh* is heard in aoghaire and aghus (for agus), but is silent as a rule, as in aghaidh, baoghal, braghad, carghus, foghar, lugha, roghainn, saoghal.

Finally it is sounded in monosyllables, to which it is practically confined, as agh, dragh, lagh, sluagh, sùgh, tagh, truagh, &c. One exception is brèagh (fine), pronounced "bria."

Slender *gh*, medial and final, is silent, as in àilgheas, tigh, iomhaigh.

f

"Bho" for fo (under) occurs in Mary MacPherson, pp. 38, 136, and the same reduction of *f* to *bh*, i.e., to *v*, is heard in éifeachdach.

s

As already noticed, *s* is inserted, but not in the Trotternish district, in the group *rt*, whether broad or slender, as marst, tarst, cuairst, doirst, for mart, tart, cuairt, doirt respectively.

Seabhag (a hawk), from Old English heafoc, is here pronounced teobhag.

Esan (he) has *s* broad in some districts, but here slender.

mh.

The full sound *v* is given to *mh* medially in diomhain, iomhaigh, ainmhidh, banmhaighstir, ionmhainn, ionmhas, seanmhàthair.

Finally the same sound as a rule is given as in amh, caomh, cnàmh (chew), cnaimh (bone), damh, and oblique cases daimh, fiamh, gniomh, làmh, naomh, neamh, ràmh, riamh (ever), samh, snàmh, sniomh, tàmh, ainneamh, aitheamh, caitheamh, claidheamh, deanamh, ealamh, feitheamh, teagamh, toinneamh, ullamh, etc., and the ordinals ceithreamh, etc.

Mh equals *w* in English brow, town, in amhach, amhlair, amhail, damhsa, gamhainn, geamhradh, lamhach (an axe), reamhar, "rāwar," samhradh, and the plurals cnamhan (bones), lamhan (hands).

Mh has been completely silenced in aimhleas, aimhreit, àmhuinn, caomhainn, coimhead, cumhang, nàmhnid, sàmhach, sgiamhach, umhail (head), and also in gainmheaeh, talmhainn (gen.), and talmhanan (pl. of talamh), in which the preceding liquid is lengthened and followed by a parasitic *a*, gaineamhach, etc. In fumhaire, the Skye form of famhair, in the north fomhair, *mh* is silent, but has probably been the cause of the change of vowel to *u*.

In càramh, mending (so Mary MacPherson, p. 314, but càradh, p. 308), *mh* is silent, and in coinneamh (or coinne) the final syllable *eamh* is sounded Gaelic *u*.

n

Initially broad *n* seems at all times to have its aspirated sound, i.e., it always has the sound which it ought to have only after a word causing aspiration. Thus *n* in nàire standing alone does not differ from *n* in "mo naire."

In the case of a slender *n*, the difference in sound is preserved, as neart pronounced "nneart" and "mo neart."

Medially broad *n* is unaspirated, in ionann, "ionnann." Irish, ionnan, Old Irish, inonn, innon, and inon, and slender *n* is unaspirated in cainnt, cinnteach, inntinn, muinntir, tearuinnte, not pronounced as in some parts caint, intinn, &c. Slender *n* is unaspirated also in "roinneach" for raineach (bracken), while in duine, teine, both sounds seemed to be combined, duin-nne, tein-nne.

Finally slender *n* is unaspirated in cuin (when) "cuinn," while it is aspirated in mu dheidhinn, feadhainn, ionndrainn, roghainn, seachainn, pronounced dheo-in, iunndarain, &c., and even in Iain usually pronounced "Iainn."

The term "aspiration," though not perhaps accurately descriptive in the case of the liquids *l*, *n*, *r*, is convenient, seeing that the changes in sound in their case follow exactly the same rule as aspiration does in the case of the other consonants.

ng.

Ng equals English *ng* in "long," "sing," in iongantach, langan, meanglan, rongais, seangan, teanga, gliong, meang, also aingeal (angel), athchuinge, cuinge, daingean, luingeas, cuing, muing.

It is reinforced as in English "anger" (ang-ger), "finger" (fing-ger), by a *g* broad in cungaidh, iongar, slender in aingidh. Puncail sounds "powngcail."

It equals *gh* in coimhcheangal, *n* in ionga, *nn* in iongantas, "ionnatas," and is elided in ceangail, "ceã-il," and iongnadh, "iunadh."

In words in which *ng* in unaccented syllables is variously written *nn* and *g*, it is *nn* in fulangas, sgillinn, and *g* in cumhang, fulang, tarrang, "tarag" (a nail), in aisling, bàirleigeadh, bodhaing (body), fàillinn, fuiling, ludhaing, robaing (to rob), rubaing (to roup, sell), sglàmhraing, stuthaing (to starch), and in place-names Mugastad for Monkstadt, Feòirlig for Feòirling. Mary MacPherson has fàillig (pp. 227, 284, 299) fuilig (p. 187).

Cìllig truisg, a large lean cod, as against cilean and buidhnig (so also Mary MacPherson, p. 91), as against buidhinn, may also be noted here. Tarag (a nail) has plural tairnean, and verb tairn (to nail) regular.

Assimilation.

l.

Assimilation of *l* to *s* is seen in boillsgeadh, "boisgeadh," and soillse, "soise," whence Mr Macbain's "sòise," a meteor portent, from MacAlpine.

T, on the other hand, is assimilated by *l* in coltas, "collas."

n, with liquids.

N is assimilated to a foregoing *l*, with nasalisation of the preceding vowels in uillnean (elbows), to a following liquid without nasalisation in coinnle (gen.), and coinnlean (plu. of coinneal), coinnlear, and with nasalisation in cuinnlean, iuinleachd, ionraic, mànran, ònrachd.

n, with *s*.

Assimilation of *n* to *s* is seen in anns, pron. "as," ionnsaich, ionnsaidh; also in innis (tell), notwithstanding the intervention of the vowel. "Bha mi as an tobar" means I was at (lit. in) the well.

n with dentals.

Before a dental *n* disappears in gràndа, iongantach, iongantas, but assimilates the dental in dranndan, deanntag (nettle), iunntas, -drannan, &c. Mary MacPherson says (p. 131)—

"Ma bheir Sasunnaich dhaibh iunnas
Cosdaidh iad an lionn* 's an ròic e."

Assimilation Externally.

Assimilation like aspiration operates also externally in intimate combinations of words, such as article and noun, preposition and noun, particle and verb. In such combinations, if the first word ends with *n*, that liquid is suppressed or lost when the following word begins with *l*, *n*, *r*, or *s*.

n l an la (the day) is a' la; nan la (of the days) is na' la; an làthair (in presence) is a' làthair. So also such oblique cases as Gen. a' fhliodha and Dat. a' fhliodh of a' fliodh (the chickweed).

n n an nàmhaid (the enemy) is a' nàmhaid.

* Pron. liunn.

n r an rìgh (the king) is a' rìgh ; an rioghachd (in a kingdom) is a' rioghachd ; oblique cases like a' fhraoich, Gen., and a' fhraoch, Dat. of a' fraoch (the heather); do 'n rachadh e (to which he would go) is dha' rachadh e ; gu' robh for gu 'n robh, Mary MacPherson—p. 212.

n s an saor (the carpenter) is a' saor ; an sàs (in hold) is a' sàs ; an so (here) is a' so ; an sin (there) is 'sin—Mary MacPherson, p. 64 ; 'g an sàrachadh (oppressing them) is 'g a' sàrachadh ; far an seilbhich iad (where they shall possess) is far a' seilbhich.

Before *m* and *f*, *m* for *n* is similarly dealt with.

m m am mac (the son) is a' mac ; nam maor (of the officers) is na' maor.

m f am fàidh (the prophet) is a' fàidh ; ann am fàsach (in a wilderness) is ann a' fàsach ; chaidh e am feabhas (he got better) is a' feobhas ; air am fògradh (banished) is air a' fògradh ; far am faigh e (where he will get) is far a' faigh. Compare also a' bheil for am bheil (Mary MacPherson, 130), and far bheil for far am bheil (74, 85).

n with *s*.

The preposition *ann* (in), followed by the article or the relative deserves, in connection with the subject of assimilation, detailed notice illustrated from Mary MacPherson's accurately written book. Followed by the article, anns an t-, Old isind, appears as *a's t-* and as *'s t-*

" A's t-earrach dol an chladach còmhla
'S anns an t-samhradh buain na mòna
'S a' gheamhradh a' luadh nan clòithean
'S t-fhoghar cur an eorna cruinn " (p. 260)

" Nuair thig thu bhàn a's t-samhradh" occurs on p. 143, and " a's t-earrach" is repeated pp. 116, 194.

The following quotations exhibit assimilation of the preposition both with the article and the relative as well as a third assimilation to be noticed below :—

" 'S a cheàrn 's na dh' àithneadh dhuinn le Dia
Chan fhaod sinn triall air sliabh no gaineimh" (p. 150).

" 'S an dòigh na chleachdadh sibh" (p. 223).

" 'S a ghleann an robh mi tàmh" (p. 221),

where the full forms would be respectively Anns a' chearn anns an do-, Anns an doigh anns an do-, and Anns a ghleann anns an-. Further examples of *s* for *anns* before the relative are an gleann 's an robh mi òg 89 ; an tir 's na dh' àraicheadh 70 ; na fardaichean 's na dh' àraicheadh 272 ; teagasgan 's nach eil buanachd 201.

An for anns an appears in :—

"Soraidh leis an àit
'An d' fhuair mi m' arach òg (p. 20),

and in 'S iomadh àit 'an cualas d' iomradh 95, while even an is reduced to *n* in :—

"Bho 'n dh' fhàg mi 'n gleann 'n robh na suinn gun ghò" (p. 28).

Those various pronunciations of *anns an* prevail both South and North. The remaining examples under assimilation are more exclusively Northern.

Gus an, gus am until seems to be rarely used, gus na dh' eubh e, until he cried. Gu 'n, gu 'm are the forms generally used.

"Is gabhaidh sinn rann
Gu 'n cuirear an dram an òrdugh dhuibh" (p. 186).

"Thàinig fios an dràsta
Bho 'n a' Bhan-righ le luchd iùmpadh
Nach caidil cuid 's a' Phàrlamaid
Gu 'n dean iad càch a dhusgadh" (p. 134).

So gu 'n till thu, until you return, 310 ; gu 'm faigh mi, until I get, 282, 283 ; gu 'm biodh i, until she might be, 18 ; gu 'm brist an t-snaim, until the knot break, 177.

Mas an, mas am, or mus an, mus am, before, ere, seems to occur in Skye only in the forms mas and mu 'n, mu 'm :—

"Thoir suas do cheòl
Mas bi sinn air ar nàrachadh" (p. 13),

Phàidh na h-uachdarain dhaibh duais
Mas da ghluais iad o 'n a' bhaile (p. 152),

"'S gu 'n dhearbh thu buaidh mu 'n dhealaich sibh" (p. 287).

Gu 'n may be, not a reduction of gus an, which consists of the preposition *gu* (Old, *co*), but the direct descendant of the old conjunction con, meaning until. *Mas an*, as it is more complicated as to form, is also more obscure of origin. There is reason to think that mas an may have been influenced by the analogy of gus an, or that mu 'n may have been influenced by that of gu 'n.

n, with *d*.

Assimilation between *an* (*'n*), of the relative or conjunction, and the verbal particle *do* with *na*, or sometimes *n*, is a distinctive feature of Northern Gaelic. Thus "A' cheud ni air an do chrom e" (lit., The first thing on which he bent) is

> "B' e chiad ni air na chrom e
> Bhi plùcadh sios nam bantrach" (p. 121).

'S na, and even *na*, for *anns an do*, appear in the quotations above from pp. 150, 223, 70, 272. Further instances of *na* for *an do* are far na dh' àraicheadh na Gaisgich, pp. 246, 260; far na bhuaineadh, 29; far na chleach sibh, 233; far na choinnich, 249; far na sheinn mi, 166; far na thachair, 249; far na thogadh, 7; leis na nochd na laoich an tàlant, 250; gus na chuir i (until she put), 170; gus na thionndadh mi, 168; gus na dh' fhalbh mi, 296; H-uile taobh na thriall thu (wherever you travelled), 72.

In all those instances the foregoing preposition has a consonantal ending. In the following it has a vocalic ending, and *an* is, in correct orthography, written *'n*. Thus for gu 'n do chreach there is gu 'n chreach iad sinn, p. 34. So gu 'n dh' aithnicheadh, 122; gu 'n dh' éirich, 174; gu 'n choisinn, 138; gu 'n chruinnich, 184; gu 'n chuireadh, 184; gu 'n dhealaich, 186; gu 'n dhearbh, 83, &c.; gu 'n ghabh, 217, &c.; gu 'n leig, 29; gu 'n reic, 253; gu 'n rinn, 138; gu 'n smaoinich, 174; gu 'n tharladh, 99; gu 'n thill, 51, &c.; gu 'n thog, 138.

Mu 'n do is represented in mu 'n dhealaich sibh, 287, already quoted, and na 'n do in:—

> "'S gur mi nach ainmicheadh e na d' fhianuis
> Na 'n chum thu riaghladh rium mar bu choir dhuit."
> —p. 253.

Against so many instances of assimilation in the case of the verbal particle, my notes show one instance of non-assimilation in An cala o 'n d' rinn iad seòladh—the haven whence they sailed—which may be set down as a lapse into the literary form.

Dissimilation.

Substitution of one liquid for another appears in mèaranaich for mèananaich (yawning) and in Eilear-nis more frequent than Eanar-nis, which is also used as Gaelic of "Inverness."

M and *b*, p, or *n* and *d*, *t* usually assimilate. Sometimes the opposite takes place ; the one produces the other. Gràpa, a graip, dung fork, borrowed from the English, is in Trotternish grampa.

Externally, i.e., not within a word but between two words, we have seen how a *d* is seldom or never allowed to stand after an *n*. On the other hand, in a few instances, a *d* is arbitrarily inserted after an *n*, as an d-aghaidh for an aghaidh (against) ; an d-Iosa (in Jesus) ; an d-uair for an uair or 'nuair (when) ; na 'n d-éubhadh e for na 'n eubhadh e, if he would call. Compare also Cha d-fhiach for cha 'n fhiach, both being used. Perhaps in those cases there is an echo of the *d* that is so prominent here after the article in certain positions.

Metathesis.

Faoislich for foillsich, saoislich for soillsich, cruallan for cluaran, Naoghas (ao short) for Aonghas, and deisbigeal for deisciobul may be noted.

Aspiration.

The law which has ruled aspiration in Gaelic is that a single consonant got aspirated whenever it came between two vowels. The process has not always, however, ended with aspiration. In some cases vocalisation has supervened, and sometimes total elimination has been the final result. The three stages may be found in one word in Skye ; làmh (hand) *mh* = *v*, shows aspiration ; the plural lamhan *mh* = *w* shows vocalisation, and the genitive singular which in Skye is làimheach, pron. l'é-ach *mh* = nil, shows elimination. What is specially noteworthy in relation to the law of aspiration is that an aspirated consonant which retains its true aspirated sound when it stands at the end of a word is either vocalised or eliminated when it comes in course of inflection to stand between two vowels. Further examples are :—

mh = *v* in cnàimh	= w in plu. cnamhan.		
bh = *v* in eubh (call)	= nil in Subj. eubhadh.		
„ gabh	= nil in Fut. Ind. gabhaidh.		
„ fàlbh	= „	„	falbhaidh.
„ leubh (read)	= „ in Infinitive leubhadh.		
„ sabh	= „	„	sàbhadh.
dh sounded in biadh	= nil	„	biadhadh.

Initial aspiration follows the same law as internal aspiration ; it has taken place wherever the preceding word in such

intimate combinations or grammatical "units" as article and noun, preposition and noun, noun and adjective, &c., ended in a vowel. In present day Gaelic, however, certain words which are constantly in use have taken on initial aspiration permanently, e.g., chun, chugam, thall, thar, thairis. In the case of thairis Mr Macbain attributes the aspiration to a suppressed or supposed suppressed *do*. That is the explanation of many permanent initial aspirations, but *do* is not admissable in all cases. For example, cho, the particle of comparison, is almost always aspirated, "Cho dubh ri feannag." The prepositional pronouns, domh, diom (except after words ending with *n*, *s*, or *t*), chugam, and tharam, through all the persons are practically always in the aspirated form. In Skye, as in other parts of the North, the prepositions de and do are rarely, if ever, heard in the unaspirated form. Mary MacPherson has:—

"Gheobh mi rùsg dhe 'n chlòimh is fhearr" (p. 73).

So dhe na Domhnullaich, 169; dhe 'n lamhan, 40; dhe 'n t-saoghal, 54; dhe 'n talamh, 68; dhe ar cairdean, 33; dhe mo mhuinntir, 43, &c., &c.

Speaking of the Gaelic, she says:—

"Is ionnsaichibh dha 'n oigridh i" (p. 38).

So dha 'n t-saoghal, 41; dha 'n t-sluagh, 8; dha 'n té, 57; dha ar dùthaich, 38; dha 'n aithne, 57; dha 'm bu dùthchas, 69; dha 'n tug mi, 7, &c., &c.

Both prepositions may further be found reduced to *a* or eliminated altogether, as in Chaidh e Dhun-bheagain for Chaidh e do Dhun-bheagain. Mary MacPherson has *a* chaoirich for ae chaoirich, &c., in

"'S iomadh duine còir le lamhchraich
A chaoirich 's a chrodh laoigh air àiridh
Tha 'n diugh a tamh an garraid ghrainnde
'S air an t-ṣràid a' dol a dhith" (p. 260).

So "Bha moran a chàch" (for moran de chàch), 188; "Am beagan a bh' agad a nàire, 276; a chomhlan, 36; a Ghaidheal, 180, &c.

A for *do*—Nuair a theid thu suas a Lunainn, 52; A tilleadh a thir an dùthchais, 160, &c.

De is eliminated, Ma bhios e mhaoin fo m' chòir, 178, for "de mhaoin";

"Cuid mhor dhe na tha shluagh ann
Cho cnagach ri camanan" (p. 284)

for "na tha dhe shluagh."

Do eliminated—'S gu 'n ruig mi Ghlaschu sàbhailt, 124

'S iomadh fear a chaidh an chùbaid
Nach do dh' altaich riamh a ghlùinean (241).

Only when the preposition is duplicated, i.e., before a word beginning with a vowel, or *f*, followed by a vowel, does the unaspirated form appear to occur as de dh' airgiod, 73; de dh' fheoil, 6; do dh' aobhar, 140. The *a* form and the elimination are to be found more or less everywhere. It is the aspirated forms dhe and dho that are peculiar to the North.

The hardening of *dh* which is found in Munster in ge for de, dhe, seems to be the explanation of *g* in "Mart g'am b'ainm a Ghròiseann," p. 96; "Is a h-uile taobh g'an teid mi" 163; "A h-uile taobh g'an triall thu," 61; "-g'an triall iad," 121, in all which the form would be d'an or d'am in the South. Compare also "Chan urrainn daibh fhéin ga aicheadh," 243; "Chan urrainn domh ga d' fhàgail," 144.

It may be noted that in the prepositions le and ri, and the prepositional pronouns formed from them, leam, etc., and rinn, etc., the initial letters have permanently the sound which corresponds to aspiration in other consonants, *i.e*, they are pronounced, not lle, lleam, rri, rrium, etc., but le, leam, ri, rium, etc. That, of course, is true not of Skye alone.

Cha dean (will not do) is here cha dhean.

Irregular aspiration, such as that of de and do, is not a wholly modern feature. For example, chaoidh (for ever), from co-aidche, *i.e.*, gu oidhche has initial aspiration even in Early Irish—chaidche. On this subject Windisch says in his Grammar of Old Irish, §95:—In some words a certain fleetness in the articulation appears to have led to a permanent aspiration of the initial sound: *chucai, chucu* [*i.e.*, chuige, chuca] etc." Fleetness of articulation cannot well be affirmed of all the cases of irregular aspiration. The true cause seems to be incessant use, that potent factor in wearing down language and rubbing it smooth.

Eclipsis.

Eclipsis, which is hardly noticeable in the case of the tenues in Skye, comes into prominence in the case of the mediae For example, tir nam beann, nan gleann, 's nan gaisgeach is "Tir nam

'eann, nan 'leann, 's nan 'aisgeach." Before *g* (and *c*) *n* itself, be it observed, is always sounded *ng*, like *ng* in English "bang," "sing," so that the difference between non-eclipsis and eclipsis in the case of *g* is that in the former an gleann or nan gleann is strictly pronounced ang gleann or nang gleann, and in the latter ang 'leann, nang 'leann. The difference between *ng*' and *ng g* is the same as that between *ng* and *ng* reinforced by *g* pointed out above, and is also the same as the difference in English between the *ng* of "long," "sing," and the *ng* of "anger,' "finger." Further examples of eclipsis are:—

b after *m*, am baile (the town), am 'aile; am bard am 'ard; am bochd am 'ochd; nam baile (of the towns), nam 'aile; so nam bard, nam bochd, &c.

d after *n*, an duine (the man), an 'uine; an damh an 'amh, &c., an dóran gràda! (poor creature), an 'óran gràda.

an deaghaidh (after) an 'eaghaidh.

aon duine (one man) aon 'uine.

g after *n*, an geamhradh (the winter) an 'eamhradh; an glaodh an 'laodh (ang 'laodh), &c.

The process is not wholly regular or consistently carried out. "Of the tears," *e.g.*, is nan deur not nan 'eur.

In place names Rudh an Dunain in Minginish is Rudh an 'unain. Not far from Portree are Tianabhaig bay, burn, ben, and Camastianabhaig. Locally Beinn 'ianabhaig may be heard for Beinn Tianabhaig (Beinn Dìonabhaig—Mary MacPherson, p. 23).

The change of bealaidh (broom) into mealaidh, and of teine-dé into deine-dé (St Anthony's fire, also a butterfly, so McLeod & Dewar, s.v. "butterfly"), and the nasalisation of the vowel of beul already referred to may be held to be the results of eclipsis.

Prosthesis.

An *f* is prefixed in faithnich (so Mary MacPherson, pp. 17, 36, &c.), and in failmse, and is dropped in reumhach (root), and éile or éileadh (kilt).

Ealag a block is here dealag.

Before an initial vowel, *h* is sometimes inserted, and sometimes not, after certain words. The tendency here is to insert that letter, as shown by Mary MacPherson; after prepositions: le h-aiteas, pp. 35, 110; re h-uine, p. 44; after conjunctions, with substantive verb obscured: gur a h-e, and gur h-e, "that it is," both p. 289; gur h-ise bhios sona, "that it is she that will be

happy," 91 ; 'S gur h-onair dha ar duthaich thu, 38 ; gur h-uallach mo nighean dubh, 307 ; mur a h-e, 276 ; ge h-iomadh, "though so many," "notwithstanding how many," 37, 49.

Suffixes.

The syllable *ach*, suffixed to iomad, as iomadach gniomh (many a deed), iomadach uair (many a time), is met with in other districts in that and other words.

The *ach* in freumhach, here riamhach, seems to be more significant, and to equal in force the English *ing* in grating, from grate, offing, railing (a system or line of rails), in which sense the suffix is very common in topography.

"Cha b' e sgàile de dhiadhachd
Gun sùgh anns an fhriamhaich."
—Mary MacPherson, p. 92.

Suffixed Vowels.

As between Irish, more particularly Old Irish, and Gaelic, there is a tendency in the latter to drop a terminal vowel, as in Ir. and O. Ir. trócaire, Gael. tròcair. In some districts, of which Skye is one, the tendency is to retain such vowels, e.g., iomair (a ridge of land), in Skye and Ireland, iomaire ; Early Ir., immaire. So strong is that tendency in places, that such vowels are intrusively affixed, e.g., famha'r, guit, iolair, are in Skye fumhaire, guite, iolaire ; and cat, dealt, fèath, foghar, iutharn, srann, are cata, dealta, féatha, fogharadh (on analogy of geamhradh, samhradh), iutharna, stranna ("Cha dubhairt e stranna," "Cha tainig stranna as a bheul"). Possibly this last is strannadh, for, owing either to confusion introduced by that partiality for a terminal vowel, or to loss of the proper noun form, there is a tendency in certain cases to use the infinitive in lieu of the noun.

Intercalation of Vowels.

The separation of certain groups of consonants by the introduction of a vowel is a feature that extends far back into the old language, *e.g.*, iarunn, O. Ir. iarn, had become iarunn away back in the Middle Ages. The feature is more prominent in Northern Gaelic than in Southern. In Skye *a* is inserted in such instances as the following :—

iomchaidh is iomachaidh	ionmhuinn is ionamhuinn
iomlaid is iomalaid	ionndrain is ionndarain
iomradh is iomaradh	dearmad is dearamad
eanchainn is eanachainn	iurpais is iurapais

Mary Macpherson has dualachas, 150; iarratas, 3; and Murachadh, 227, etc.

In aimlisg, ainm, *i* is inserted—ẽmilisg, ẽnim.

The vowel is found also in instances in which the consonant following the liquid is not only aspirated, but has wholly lost its force, as coingheal, "coinea-al;" gainmheach, "gainea-ach;" arbhar, "ara-ar;" dorghach, "dora-ach;" forfhais, "forahais." In such cases the foregoing liquid is prolonged in sound. The vowel is also found sometimes between the two constituents of a compound word, as bana-mhaighstir (mistress), seana-mhathair (grandmother), mula-mhàgag (a frog) for mial-mhàgain, and frequently after aon, when the following word is aspirated initially—dh'aona bheachd (of one mind), aona mhac, etc.

It is found also in words ending with a liquid and other consonant, as balbh, falbh, marbh, tarbh, balg, calg, mairbh, tairbh, etc.; "balabh," "marabh," mairibh, etc. So cealgach, "cealagach."

The *a* added on to gur, mur, may also be compared, though it might be regarded as a survival of an old vowel co-ro and mani. To illustrate again from Mary Macpherson—

"Nis dearbhaibh gura Gàidheal sibh," p. 33.

"Mura tig thu nall, a Mhàiri," p. 10.

It occurs also with is ('s) of the verb to be—

"Ach ma gheobh mi a so sàbhailt
Ni mi 'm paidheadh ma 's a beò mi," p. 266.

Article.

The article is followed by a *t* before words with initial *s* followed by *l*, *n*, *r*, or a vowel in the cases in which other consonants are aspirated, and also before the nominative singular of masculine nouns with an initial vowel. That is in agreement both with the literary and with the old language. Another feature connected with the article in the old language has been lost in the literary language, but is in part retained in Skye. In the old language the article was followed by *d* before vowels, and before *l*, *n*, *r*, or *f* in those positions in which aspiration takes place. In Skye that *d* of the article has been kept before *fh*:—

MASCULINE NOUNS.

Nominative.	Genitive.	Dative.
a' fàidh (the prophet)	an d-fhàidhe	an d-fhàidh
a' faitheam (the hem)	an d-fhaitheim	an d-fhaitheam
a' falt (the hair)	an d-fhuilt	an d-fhalt
a' fiar (the grass)	an d-fheóir	an d-fhiar
a' fiodh (the timber)	an d-fhiodha	an d-fhiodh
a' foghar (the harvest)	an d-fhoghair	an d-fhoghar
a' foghlum (the learning)	an d-fhoghluim	an d-fhoghlum
a' fonn (the tune)	an d-fhuinn	an d-fhonn
a' fuath (the aversion)	an d-fhuatha	an d-fhuath

Sometimes *d* is absent, *e.g.*, Nom. a' fear (the man), Gen. an fhir, Dat. an fhear; so with fàd (a sod), fumhaire, (a giant—famhair).

With feminine nouns there is a great irregularity. The following are instances in which *d* occurs:—

FEMININE NOUNS.

Nominative.	Dative.
an d-fhois (the rest)	an d-fhois
an d-fheòil (the flesh)	an d-fheòil
an d-fhuil (the blood)	an d-fhuil
an d-fhairge (the sea)	an fhairge
an d-fhearg (the wrath)	an fheirg

Feadhainn, here feodhainn, has Gen. an d-fheodhainn (of the people). "Anns an d-fhàsach" (in the wilderness) also occurs, and may be an instance of the feminine, as that noun is feminine in the north.

Traces of *d* before initial vowels, as in the old language, also occur; "ceann an d-aighe," the heifer's head; "anns an d-ùir," in the dust (*i.e.*, grave); sgòthan air an d-athar, clouds on the sky. Féile kilt, here éile or éileadh, is stated to be—Nom., an t-éile; Gen. and Dat., an d-éile. In place names Uig, in Duirinish, is "an Uig" and "an d-Uig," and Eist, off the coast of the same parish, is "an d-Eiste."

NOUN.

The Genitive of làmh (hand) is làimheach, of feòl (flesh) feòladh, and of sròn (nose) sròineadh, *dh* being sounded in both words. The two last instances at least have, doubtless, been influenced by the analogy of so many words ending with a vowel

and sounded *dh*. The Gen. of lit (porridge) is here, as it was not long ago in Badenoch, litinn, Early Irish Gen. liten.

The Plural of tràigh (beach) is tràinnean.

The tendency which exists in certain districts, particularly in versification, to make the Nom. Plu., sometimes also the Gen., like the Dat. in ibh betrays itself in Skye also. Geallanaibh occurs as Gen. Plu. of geall (promise) in some local verses. Mary Macpherson has, p. 192—

"Leis an fhàile far nam beannaibh,"

where far for bharr used as a preposition is followed as it ought to be, and as it is elsewhere in her compositions, by the Genitive. She also has, according to my notes, ciataibh as a Nom. Plu. and ceutaibh as a Gen., both on page 223.

Pronoun.

In the north nar is found for ar n-. Both forms are used in Skye; ni nach cualas ri nar linn (Mary MacPherson, p. 89); a bha riamh ga nar còmhnadh (id. p. 112); ga ar n-ùrachadh (p. 88); ga ar cuireadh (to invite us), tha sinn na ar traillean (we are slaves). The Old Irish nàthar, nàr, as in cechtar náthar (each of us) is not a possessive pronoun, but the gen. dual of the first personal pronoun.

Vocabulary.

ailmse, inadvertence, mistake, error; Shaw, McL. & D. Mary MacPherson, in allusion to dancing, says, p. 106:—

"'S beag nach tug mi fhìn
an t-sinteag ann am failmse."

banachag, a dairymaid; McL. & D., s.v. "dairymaid"; in Ross and Sutherland, banachaig.

bàrasglaich, boasting; Mary MacPherson, p. 11.

bàth, foolish; Mary MacPherson, p. 157; so Reay Country.

bearrannan, scissors or shears; Mary MacPherson, p. 122.

bonnanaich, active, lithe young men; Mary MacPherson, 105 cf. bonnanta, bunanta.

bot for pota? q.v.

"Gach bòt is poll agus talamh-toll
A toirt na mo chuimhne nuair bha mi og."
—M. MacP., p. 29.

brìg, a heap; a heap of peats or potatoes built up with boards in a corner of the house; v. Macbain.

"'Nuair thigeadh an Fheill-Martuinn
'S an spréidh 's am barr air dòigh,
Na fir a deanamh cainnteig,
'S na plàtaichean n' an torr;
Ri taobh na brig bhuntàta
Bhiodh baraill lan de dh' fheòil,
Sud mar chaidh ar n-àrach
Ann an Eilean ard a' Cheò."

—M. MacP., p. 6.

bugha, a green spot by a stream; a side form of bogha, a bow, such spots being made bow-shaped by the windings of the stream. Hence Bonamuc, "Bugha nam Muc," near Dunvegan.

caimeineach, a small trout; caimeineach, mottled or spotted, from caimein; M. MacP., p. 53. At p. 18, however, she has "caimheineach," and in "Gaelic Proverbs and Maxims" (*Oban Times*, 23rd December, 1899), appeared "Cho sona ri caibheanach ann an sruth."

cainneag, a plait of straw for making into bags; see plàt, sub.; cainnteag M. MacP., v. under brìg, supra; "cainneag a hamper, Skye"; Macbain.

camlag, a curl of hair; camlagach, curly, or bushy-haired; M. MacP., p. 116; càl camlagach, "kail"; confusion of amlag and camag.

clìd; M. MacP., p. 290, strength from clì, vigour.

conn, the thread tying a hundred of yarn for weaving.

cramaist, a crease caused in cloth by folding.

cramasgadh, creasing; air a chr. creased.

craosail, a gaping mouth.

cratach, back (of a person); side in Glenmoriston and Wester Ross; from root of croit, the back.

cùlaist, inner apartment of old Highland houses; Wester Ross also.

"Ma bhios mise beò 's mi falbh
A sheòid, air faighe cluaimhe
Gu 'n toir thu dhomh na rùisg
As a chùlaist an taobh shuas diot."

—M. MacP., p. 117, also p. 194.

dealasachd, ardour, fervour ; M. M'P., p. 65.

deileasach, convenient, advantageous, having easy access to conveniences or advantages.

deiseil, ready, for and from deas.

diorrais, perpetual work, bustle

dreòdag ; M. M'P., p. 93, v. streòdag, sub.

eugmhail, harm, evil ; M. M'P., p. 69. Cf. teugmhail.

fadachd, weariness, longing for one's coming. An robh thu gabhail fadachd, were you wearying for me ; the northern equivalent of fadal.

fiadhaich, invite, make welcome, give a welcome to.

> " Nuair dh' fhiathaicheas do chàirdean thu
> 'N tigh-thàirnge, na toir cluas dhaibh"
> —Mary Macpherson, p. 115 ; also fiathachadh, p. 102 ; dh' iadhaich, p. 161.

Ir. fiadh, food (O'Brien) ; O. Ir. " fíad, honour ?" Windisch, who quotes fiadúghadh [fiadhughadh ?], to welcome, to honour. If O. Ir. fiad means " honour," and not " food," the honour or respect meant is that shown to a visitor, which, among the Gaels particularly, is intimately connected with food or hospitality.

fiatach, quiet and sly, stealthy.

fleòdradh, floating ? Tha mi fl· le fallus, in a bath of perspiration, " floating with perspiration ?"

flithne, sleet, so Arran ; flichne, Shaw, M'F.

fuaidne, the leese pins of warping stakes ; M'L & D., M. MacP., p. 238.

gnoigean, a ball of rosin put on the points of the horns of vicious cattle.

greòd, a group, company, crowd ; M. MacP., 18, 18 ; Macbain Additional Gaelic Words, Transactions, Vol. XXI.

guim, artifice, trick, plot ; M. MacP., 151.

iomfhuasgladh, minor equipments, small conveniences, such as those of the work-basket.

iomchar, accusing, blaming ; tha e ag iomchar air, he is blaming or accusing him ; influenced by iomchoire, blame.

iompadh, advice, counsel (that which turns, iompaidh, turning). Thug e iompadh air, he advised him. Luchd iùmpaidh, the Cabinet ; M. MacP., p. 134.

lamhchradh, a handling (of sheep and cattle) ; M. MacP., 260.

laom, go to shaw, of potatoes.

laosg, a rabble ; M. MacP., 174.

lìth, grease for smearing ; M. MacP., 252.
lochan tàimh, a loch without outflow ; M. MacP., 28.
lòchradh, soaking? Bha sinn air l. le fallus ; M. MacP., 255.
logaidh, long hair on forehead of cattle, sometimes mane of horse, from Eng. lock.
lògar, a kind of reed ; M. MacP., 21.
lòn, a small brook, especially with marshy banks, a specialisation of the word lòn marsh ; M. MacP., pp. 18, 29, 30.
lughadair, a swearer ; M. MacP., p. 147.
mart lamhach, a mart (cow) for killing, from lamhach, an axe.
mealaidh, broom, *b* changed to *m* by eclipsis.
miolainn ort, an imprecation, "bad condition to you," mi-loinn.
moltair grist, grain to be ground ; multure Shaw, from English multure ; "Mar mholtair ann an òpar ;" M. MacP., 59.
òpar, a mill-hopper, from Eng.
ordan, adjustment, arrangement, a side form of ordugh. The Ir. is ord.
plàt, a corn bag made of plaits of straw ; v. cainneag and quotation under brìg supra, and cf. plàdar (plàdan?) a circular dish made of plaited straw used for corn (Tiree). Campbell's Superstitions of Scottish Highlands, p. 99.
plodadh na talmhan, removing the clods from turnip land ; plodan, a clod ; Macbain plod.
pota, hole from which peat has been cut ; v. bòt supra ; Scot. peat-pot, peat-pat, idem.
reathadh, would go ; M. MacP., p. 254 ; common in the north, a side form of rachadh, also pron. reachadh. Early Ir. of rach is raga, rega.
roc, a wrinkle, ruck or crease in cloth caused by drawing threads too tight in weaving ; roc, wrinkle, Macbain.
ròd, a drill, row (of potatoes); cf. ròd, a quantity of seaweed cast on the shore (a roll, line, or "row" of seaweed?)
ròdadh, blading, properly forming or showing rows (of potatoes). Tha am buntata ròdadh, the potatoes are coming through the ground.
ròl, long continued noise ; M. MacP., p. 18 ; cf. following word.
ròlaich, continued noise ; ròlaich òrain, an interminable song ; nach ann orra tha an ròlaich (of cattle when making a great lowing).
ruighich, handcuffs ; M. MacP., p. 111.
sgairream, idle talk ; M. MacP., 66, 93, 163.
sgathaig, a fright.
sgeigeir, a gander ; M'L. & D.

sgeil, loud and rapid utterance, gabble. Nach ann tha an sgeil air do theangaidh ; also M. MacP., 89.

sgioblaich, clear away, take away ; M. MacP., 313.

sgòdail, ragged, from sgòd, corner, sheet.

sgòth, a cloud (shadow ?) ; sgòthan air a ghréin, clouds on the sun ; sgòthan air an d-athar, clouds on the sky.

sgraidht, an old cow ; v. Macbain, sub. sgraideag.

sgreuth, shrivel, shrink with drought as a tub ; sgreubh, &c. Macbain.

sgrioban, a hand-line ; dorghach leis an sgrioban, fishing with the hand-line.

siar, to sprain ; shiar mi mo chas, I sprained my ankle ; siar, to cast away, M'L. & D.

siolp ; slip in or out unperceived, skulk.

sioman, a heather rope, Sc. simmond idem ; sùgan, a straw rope ; M. MacP., 194.

soirbheas, wind on the sea ; M. MacP., 218 ; Macbain Addit. Gaelic Words, Transactions, Vol. XXI. The word, which is peculiar to the seaboard population, properly means gentleness, and is evidently a propitiatory designation used deprecatingly by those who have cause to dread the fury of the wind. It is further extended to flatulence in Argyllshire.

somuiltean, senses, wits ; bu tu an creutair gun somuiltean, or nach tu chaill do shomuiltean, said to a stupid or careless person. The plural of sumaid has the meaning "external senses" (the five senses ?) v. Macbain.

spàrag, boasting, boastfulness ; display of strength ; M. MacP., p. 64 ; cf. spàrrag, "undue vehemence in enforcing an argument" ; McL. & D.

stadh, a swath of cut corn ; MacAlpine = spadhadh.

steàirdean, name of a sea-bird.

steòrnail, thrifty ; managing ; M. MacP., 296.

stràcan, a tour, excursion ; cf. stràcair, a vagabond ; M. MacP., 20.

streòdag, a little liquor.

> "Chunnaic mis' e aon oidhche
> Agus dreòdag 's a cheann aig."
> —M. MacP., 93 (read "Agus streòdag").

tàimhidh, gentle, still ; M. MacP., 28, 158.

talamh-toll, an opening over a burn running underground. See under bòt, supra.

tlàth, warmth ; kindness ; tenderness ; M. MacP., p. 220 ; Thà'nig tlàth air mo chridhe, "My heart warmed, or melted."

toinnte, in possession of one's faculties ; Cha 'n eil e toinnte gu leòir, "He is half-witted ; he is not all there" ; a metaphorical use of toinnte, twined, spun.

troidht, a shoe worn out of shape ; a "bauchle" ; M. MacP., p. 199 ; cf. troidht, rags or bandages, &c. (shapeless thing).

troth, time, turn, occasion, attempt, trial ; Bha e an so troth, "He was here on one occasion" ; troth eile, "another time" ; feuch troth eile, "try again ; make another attempt." Used in Knapdale, Arran.

turradh, a surprise ; a coming or attempt to come upon one unawares ; M. MacP., p. 132.

8th DECEMBER, 1898.

At the meeting this evening the Rev. John Kennedy, Arran, read the third contribution of his interesting series of selections of "Unpublished Gaelic Poetry from the Maclagan MSS." The paper contained two poems by the Rev. John MacInnes, minister of Crathie and Braemar—1715 to 1748—but as they deal with religious controversial matters, we do not reproduce them ; also a lament for the death of Donald Gorm Og Macdonald of Sleat, already published in Ranald Mac'onald's Collection. The other poems are as follows :—

POEMS FROM THE MACLAGAN MSS.—No. III.

STET QUICUNQUE VOLET POTENS, &c.

AN GAILIC.

An ti ta beirteach is uaibhreach;
An geall air ùrram 's air cliùth,
Seasadh eisin gu corrach
Air mullach na cùirt.

Ach mo raghainse (na'n d' thachaireadh)
'Ta gun ghabhadh na cois,
Ni gu solasach m' fhàgail,
'S a bheir gu bràth mi gu fois.

'S ionmhuinn leomsa 'bhi 'n còmhnuidh
'S an ionad uaigneach leom féin,
Fad o ghleangar 's o choi-strith
'S gach a doilgheas fo 'n ghréin.

Far an siubhail mo laethe
Gu balbh aiseach, mall, (athaiseach)
Ann an ain-fhios air flaithibh
An t-saoghail dhripeils' a t'ann.

Sin 'n tràth chriochnaichear m' aimsir,
Gun tartar, gun toirm;
Gun h-aon ni anns an àm sin
Chuireadh mi-mhisneach orm.

Ann am aitreabhach 'bhios arsaidh
Thug fuath do gach breug,
Le mòr-chreidimh is gràs
Is binn leom striochdadh do 'n Eug.

An ti 'ta eòlach air mòran
Is e 'nan coisir do ghnàth,
'S e gu h-aighireach, neònach
Le mòr-chuis gach là;

Is trom a luigheas am Bàs air,
'S e gun aithn' aig air féin;
'S ann a bhith's e 's an tràth sin
Mar fhear 'san dorch a bheir léim.
A' chrioch.

Dùanag Sappho an Gailig.

Deirim gur solasach do 'n fhear,
Do 'n tachair a bhi tric a d' char;
Chi t-aghaidh mhaiseach, dhreachmhor, ghrinn,
'S a chluinneas ceilire do bhéil ro bhinn.

'S e so dh' fhàg mo spiorad annam trom,
Thog so bruaillein mòr am chom;
Re gabhail beachd ort dh' fhàs mi fann,
Threig m' anail mi 's mo chomh-radh mall.

Tha anabar teas aig beul mo chleibh, (anbar)
Ruith lassair mhin tre m' uile chreabh, (rith)
Mo shùil fo smal ro dhorch air fàs
'N am chluas ta fuaim is durragh * a bhàis.

* Variations—turadh, dubhar.

Tla fhallas fuar reodh dhomh mo chos,
Tha m' fheithin air ball-chrith dol gu clos;
Mo chuisle 'buaileadh gnathuight thréig,
Lagguich—thuit—is dh' fhalbh mi 'n Eug.

A' chrioch.

Difficilis, facilis, iucundus, acerbus es idem
Nec tecum possum vivere nec sine te.

In all thy humours, whether grave or mellow,
Thou'rt such a touchy, tasty, pleasant fellow;
Hast so much wit, and mirth and spleen about thee,
There is no living with thee nor without thee.

'Na d' uile ghiùlan edir bhi doirbh no sughach,
Is fleasgach cugullach, neònach thu, 's co buigheach,
'S co mòr do ghean, 's do ghruaim 's do gheur-chuis annad,
'S nach feadar leom bhi beo 's mi uait no mar riut.

Cearb.

Dh' eirich mi air mhadain mhoich,
A dh' amharc dreach a' chéitein;
Is chunnaic mi gach craobh 's gach preas,
Cuir fàilt air teas na gréine.

Cearb d' Oran Eile.

Tha do ghruaidh mar ròs gàraidh
Do chùl buigh, fàineach air dhreach an òir;
Tha do shùil ghorm mar dhrùchd air fàsach,
Gun bhi làimh riut 's e rinn mo leòn.

22nd DECEMBER, 1898

At this meeting, which was largely attended, Mr J. F. Smith, Inverness, was elected an ordinary member of the Society, and thereafter A. Ross, Esq., LL.D., Inverness, read an interesting paper on "Early Travellers in the Highlands." The paper is as follows:—

EARLY TRAVELS IN SCOTLAND.

When your secretary asked me to read you a paper, I was quite at a loss for a subject; but being much interested in the references made from time to time as to the visits of early travellers to Scotland, I thought a few notes collected and thrown together might interest you, and give some light on the position occupied by Scotland in the minds of the travellers of the past. I fear I cannot offer you any original matter. I shall therefore briefly run over the names of the best-known writers, and make a few quotations from their works.

Roman.

Beginning then with early Roman writers, we find certain references to the country and people, but they are vague and dim, and they do not enable us to arrive at any very definite idea of the country. We are told that in the third century "barbarians tribes inhabit the mountains wild and waterless, and plains desert and marshy, having neither walls nor cities, nor tillage, but living by pasturage, the chase, and certain berries." "And that many parts being constantly flooded by the tides of the ocean become marshy."

I fear this writer, Dio, must have been drawing on his imagination, and when he speaks of "waterless mountains," as applied to Scotland, he is far astray. Though the country at that time did not boast of cities or regularly built towns, yet the inhabitants had forts, and soon after we find Columba and his followers draining morasses, cultivating land, founding and building churches, and importing pictures and works of art from abroad; and the large number of altars, coins, tiles, etc., left by the Romans in the southern parts of Scotland occupied by them, shews great progress, and their example must have helped to educate and advance the native Briton in arts and civilisation. I do not mean to dwell long on this part of the subject, but I may just refer to Arculfus, a bishop from Gaul, who visited Adamnan at Iona, where he was storm-stayed for a winter. He had travelled in Palestine and the East, and Adamnan took down in writing his account of his travels (see Skene's, p. 271).

It is mainly through these Churchmen that we get glimpses of the condition of Scotland in these times, and I may be excused for giving a short extract from a paper I wrote some time ago on Early Church Architecture, shewing the extraordinary advance which church architecture had made as early as the 7th and 8th centuries.

Bede, &c.

The Venerable Bede, who lived in the early part of the 8th century, tells us that Abbot Benedict Biscop, having received from King Ecgfrid, in 676 A.D., a grant of 70 hides of land in the North of England on which to found a monastery, went to France in search of masons, and within twelve months the church was roofed. He then brought from Gaul makers of glass, for the purpose of glazing the windows, and all vessels and vestments necessary for the service of the altar and church were brought from abroad, because they were not to be found in England. Not content with this, he went to Rome in the year 678, and brought home further ornaments, books, paintings, etc., and he introduced the Roman method of singing and playing on instruments into the service of the Church. For the decoration of the Church of St Peter, which he had erected, he brought pictures of the blessed Virgin and twelve Apostles. He also brought ornaments for the larger monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow.

We find traces of the working in glass shortly after this. In a letter from Abbot Gutherbert to Bishop Lul, the successor to Boniface at Mayence, the Abbot asks if there be any one in Lul's diocese who is skilled in making Vistrea Vasa, and, if there be such, he asks that he may be sent to the writer; and if he is beyond the Bishop's jurisdiction, that he would persuade him to come. The Abbot also adds a request that he would, if possible, send him a harper. Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, visited Ceolfrid in Northumbria, and no doubt would have seen these structures, and would naturally try to reproduce them to some extent; and accordingly we find him, on his return, sending twelve vessels from Iona to Lorn for oak trees to furnish the necessary timber, etc.

Before and during the 12th century, Scotland suffered much from the incursions of the Norsemen, and though we have certain accounts of the country, we do not find the regular traveller's visit described before the 14th century. I shall therefore content myself with noticing the various writers who appeared after that date. Between 1295 and 1689, Mr Hume Brown, from whose book I shall make free extracts, as follows, gives an account of no less than 24 travellers who visited Scotland, but few managed to get to the Highlands, contenting themselves with visiting the Lowlands. The earliest one accompanied Edward I. in 1295, but who he was is not known. He did not, apparently, get beyond Elgin and Rothes, returning south by Kildrumy and the Mearns, and his account is simply an itinerary of the march.

Frossart.

The next is Jean Frossart, the chronicler. He attended the Court of David 2nd, about the year 1389. He gives interesting accounts of Scotland and the Scots. "The Scots are bold, and much inured to war. When they make their invasions into England, they march from twenty to twenty-four leagues without halting, as well by night as by day, for they are all on horseback except the camp followers, who are on foot. The knights and esquires are well mounted on large bay horses, the common people on little Galloways. They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland. Neither do they carry with them any provisions of bread or wine; for their habits of sobriety are such, in time of war, that they will live for a long time on flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink the river water, without wine. They have no occasion for pots or pans: for they dress the flesh of their cattle in the skins, after they have taken them off; and, being sure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle, each man carries a broad plate of metal; behind the saddle, a little bag of oatmeal. When they have eaten too much of the sodden flesh, and their stomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix with water their oatmeal, and when the plate is heated, they put a little paste upon it, and make a thin cake, like a crackel or biscuit, which they eat to warm their stomachs; it is therefore no wonder that they perform a longer day's march than other soldiers." He also gives an account of the expedition of the French Auxiliaries into Scotland in Robert III.'s time, 1385. This expedition was a failure in every way. The Scots did not like the French, and the French did not give a good account of the Scots. But a good insight is given into the country and people; for no sooner did the news spread of their arrival than some began to murmur and say: "What the devil brought them here? Who sent for them? Cannot we carry on our wars with England without their assistance? We shall never do any effectual good so long as they are with us. Let them be told to return again, for we are sufficiently numerous in Scotland to fight our own quarrels, and do not want their company. We neither understand their language, nor they ours, and we cannot converse together. They will very soon eat up and destroy all we have in the country, and will do us more harm, if we allow them to remain amongst us, than the English could in battle. If the English do burn our houses, what consequence is it to us?

We can re-build them as cheap enough, for we only require three days to do so, provided we have five or six poles and boughs to cover them." Such was the conversation of the Scots on the arrival of the French; they did not esteem them, but hated them in their hearts, and abused them with their tongues as much as they could, like rude and worthless people as they are. When these barons and knights of France, who had been used to handsome hotels, ornamented apartments, and castles, with good soft beds to repose on, saw themselves in such poverty, they began to laugh, and to say before the Admiral: "What could have brought us hither? We have never known till now what was meant by poverty and hard living. We now have found the truth our fathers and mothers used to tell us, when they said: 'Go, go; thou shalt have in thy time, should'st thou live long enough, hard beds and poor lodgings;' all this is now come to pass." They said also among themselves: "Let us hasten the object of our voyage, by advancing towards England; a long stay in Scotland will be neither honourable nor profitable." The knights made remonstrances respecting all these circumstances to Sir John de Vienne, who appeased them as well as he could, saying: "My fair sirs, it becomes us to wait patiently, and to speak fair, since we are got into such difficulties. We have a long way yet to go, and we cannot return through England. Take in good humour whatever you can get. You cannot always be at Paris, Dijon, Beaune, or Chalons: it is necessary for those who wish to live with honour in this world to endure good and evil." The French marched back from England the way they had come. When arrived in the Lowlands, they found the whole country ruined; but the people of the country made light of it, saying that with six or eight stakes they would soon have new houses, and find cattle enough for provision, for the Scots had driven them for security to the forests. You must, however, know that whatever the French wanted to buy they were made to pay very dear for, and it was fortunate the French and Scots did not quarrel with each other seriously, as there were frequent riots on account of provision. The Scots said the French had done them more mischief than the English; and when asked, "In what way?" they replied, "By riding through their corn, oats, and barley, on their march, which they trod under foot, not condescending to follow the roads, for which damages they would have a recompense before they left Scotland; and they should neither find vessel nor mariner who would dare put to sea without permission." Many knights

complained of the timber they had cut down, and of the waste they had committed to lodge themselves. When the Admiral, with his barons and knights and squires, were returned to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, they suffered from famine, as they could scarcely procure provisions for their money. They had but little wine, beer, barley, bread, or oats; their horses therefore perished from hunger, or were ruined through fatigue; and when they wished to dispose of them, they could not find a purchaser who would give them a groat either for their horses or housing. These lords remonstrated with their commander on the manner in which they were treated, a circumstance well known to himself. They said they could not longer endure such difficulties, for Scotland was no country to encamp in during the winter, and that if they were to remain the ensuing summer, they should die of poverty. If they were to spread themselves over the country to better their condition, they were doubtful if the Scots, who had so villainously treated their foragers, would not murder them in their beds when they should be divided. The Admiral, having fully weighed what they said, saw clearly they were justified in thus remonstrating; notwithstanding, he had intentions of wintering there, and of sending an account of his situation to the King of France and Duke of Burgundy, who, as the Admiral imagined, would hasten to him reinforcements of stores, provisions, and money, with which in the course of time he would be enabled to carry on an advantageous war against England. But having considered how ill-intentioned the Scots were, and the danger his men were in, as well as himself, he gave permission for all who chose to depart. But how to depart was the difficulty, for the barons could not obtain any vessels for themselves and men. The Scots were willing that a few poor knights who had no great command should leave the country, that they might the easier govern the rest. They told the barons of France "that their dependants, when they pleased, might depart, but that they themselves should not quit the country until they had made satisfaction for the sums that had been expended for the use of their army." This declaration was very disagreeable to Sir John Vienne and the other French barons.

The Earls of Douglas and Moray, who pretended to be exasperated at the harsh conduct of their countrymen, remonstrated with them that they did not act becoming men-at-arms, nor as friends to the Kingdom of France by this behaviour to its knights, and that henceforward no Scottish knight would dare to set his foot in France. These two earls, who were friendly enough

to the French barons, pointed out the probable effect their conduct would have on their vassals; but some replied: "Do dissemble with them, for you have lost as much as we." They therefore told the Admiral they could do nothing for him; and if they were so anxious about quitting Scotland, they must consent to make good their damages. The Admiral, seeing nothing better could be done, and unwilling to lose all, for he found himself very uncomfortable surrounded by the sea, and the Scots of a savage disposition, acceded to their proposals, and had proclaimed through the realm that all those whom his people had injured, and who could show just cause for amends being made them, should bring their demands to the Admiral of France, when they would be fully paid. This proclamation softened the minds of the people; and the Admiral took every debt on himself, declaring he would never leave the country until every debt was completely paid and satisfied. Upon this many knights and squires obtained a passage to France, and returned through Flanders, or wherever they could land, famished and without arms or horses, cursing Scotland and the hour they had set foot there. They said they had never suffered so much in any expedition, and wished the King of France would make a truce with the English for two or three years, and then march to Scotland and utterly destroy it, for never had they seen such wicked people nor such ignorant hypocrites and traitors.

Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II.).

The next writer quoted is Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II. He visited Scotland in the reign of James the First, towards the end of the 15th century. He says:—"Scotland is the remotest part of the island in which England is situated. It stretches in a northerly direction, possesses no large rivers, and is separated from England by a mountain. Here I once lived in the season of winter, when the sun illuminates the earth little more than three hours. At that time James I. was King, robust of person, and oppressed by the English; he had been kept a prisoner for eleven years, and on his return (with an English wife), he was eventually slain by his own subjects. After his death had been fully avenged, his son succeeded him in the kingdom." He then gives a curious account:—"I had previously heard that there was a tree in Scotland that, growing on the banks of rivers, produced fruits in the form of geese, which, as they approached ripeness, dropped off of their own accord, some

on the ground and some on the water; that those which fell into the ground rotted, but that those submerged in the water immediately assumed life, and swam about under the water, and flew into the air with feathers and wings. When I made enquiries regarding this story, I learned that the miracle was always referred to some place further off, and that this famous tree was to be found not in Scotland, but in the Orkney Islands, though the miracle has been represented to me as taking place among the Scots. In this country I saw the poor, who almost in a state of nakedness begged at the church doors, depart with joy in their faces on receiving stones as alms. This stone, whether by reason of sulphurous or some fatter matter which it contains, is burned instead of wood, of which the country is destitute." This shews a curious want of coals in France, and the early use of them in Scotland. Æneas found the following facts relating to Scotland worthy of mention:—"Scotland makes part of the same island as England, stretching northward 200 miles with a breadth of 50. Its climate being cold, it produces few crops, and is scantily supplied with wood. A sulphurous stone dug from the earth is used by the people for fuel. The towns have no walls, and the houses are for the most part constructed without lime. The roofs of the houses in the country are made of turf, and the doors of the humbler dwellings are made of the hide of oxen. The common people are poor, and destitute of all refinement. They eat flesh to repletion, and bread as a dainty. The men are small in stature, bold and forward in temper; the women fair in complexion, comely and pleasing, but not distinguished for their chastity, giving their kisses more readily than Italian women their hands. There is no wine in the country unless what is imported. All the horses are amblers, and are of small size. They are never touched either with an iron brush or a wooden comb, and they are managed without bit. Hides, wool, and salt fish are exported to Flanders. Nothing pleases the Scots more than the abuse of the English. There are said to be two distinct countries in Scotland, the one cultivated, the other covered with forest and possessing no tilled land. The Scots who live in the wooded region speak a language of their own, and sometimes use the bark of trees for food. There are no wolves in Scotland. The crow is unusual in the country, and consequently the tree in which it builds is the King's property. At the winter solstice in Scotland [the season when Æneas was there] the day is not above four hours long."

Dom Pedro de Ayala.

The next I shall note is Dom Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, about 1498. He describes the King, James IV. He says, "He is of noble stature, neither tall nor short, and as handsome as man can be. He speaks Latin, German, Flemish, Italian, and Spanish. The King, besides, speaks the language of the savages who live in some parts of Scotland" (Professor Mackinnon says this is the latest statement he knows of regarding a Scottish King's knowledge of Gaelic). Dom Pedro says:—"The country is large, and Your Highnesses know that these kingdoms form an island. Judging by what I have read in books and seen on maps, and also by my own experience, I should think that both kingdoms are of equal extent, in the same proportion that England is longer than Scotland, so Scotland is wider than England; thus the quantity of land is the same. Neither is the quality very different in the two countries; but the Scotch are not industrious, and the people are poor. They spend all their time in wars, and when there is no war they fight with one another. The people are handsome. They like foreigners so much that they dispute with one another as to who shall have and treat a foreigner in his house. They are vain and ostentatious by nature. They spend all they have to keep up appearances. They are as well dressed as it is possible to be in such a country as that in which they live. They are courageous, strong, quick, and agile. They are envious (jealous) to excess. The Kings live little in towns and cities. They pass their time generally in castles and abbeys, where they find lodgings for all their officers. They do not remain long in one place; the reason thereof is twofold. In the first place, they move often about in order to visit their kingdom, to administer justice, and to establish police where it is wanted. The second reason is that they have rents in kind in every province, and they wish to consume them. While travelling neither the King nor any of his officers have any expenses, nor do they carry provisions with them. They go from house to house, to lords, bishops, and abbots, where they receive all that is necessary. The greatest favour the King can do his subjects is to go to their houses. The women are courteous in the extreme. I mention this because they are honest though very bold. They are absolute mistresses of their houses, even of their husbands, in all things concerning the administration of their property, income as well as expenditure. They are very

graceful and handsome women. They dress much better than in England, and especially as regards the head-dress, which is, I think, the handsomest in the world. The towns and villages are populous. The houses are good, all built of hewn stone, and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys. All the furniture that is used in Italy, Spain, and France is to be found in their dwellings. It has not been bought in modern times only, but inherited from preceding ages. The islands are half a league, 1, 2, 3, or 4 leagues distant from the mainland. The inhabitants speak the language and have the habits of the Irish. But there is a good deal of French education in Scotland, and many speak the French language. For all the young gentlemen who have no property go to France, and are well received there, and therefore the French are liked.

"Now I shall describe where Scotland is situated, and by what countries she is surrounded. She borders on England by land, and by sea on Brittany, France, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Ireland. Scotland is powerful enough to defend herself against her neighbours, should any one of them attack her without fear of God. No King can do her damage without suffering greater damage from her; that is to say, in a war on land, for they know that on the sea there are many kings more powerful than they are, although they possess many fine vessels. On land they think they are the most powerful kingdom that exists; for they say the King of Scots has always a hundred thousand men ready to fight, and they are always paid. Towards the west there is no land between Scotland and Spain. Scotland is nearer to Spain than London, and the voyage is not dangerous. Scotland has succoured most of her neighbours. With regard to France and Flanders this is notorious."

Fynes Moryson.

Next is Fynes Moryson, a student of Cambridge, who travelled in the year 1598 through the South of Scotland, mainly about Edinburgh and Fifeshire. He says of Edinburgh:—"This city is the seat of the King of Scotland, and the Courts of Justice are held in the same. The city is high seated, in a fruitful soile and wholesome aire, and is adorned with many Noblemen's Towers lying about it, and aboundeth with many springs of sweet waters. The length of the city is about a mile from east to west, and so narrow it cannot be more than half a mile broad." He describes the Cathedral Church, and the King's seat in it, leaning against a pillar near the pulpit; and near it, and very like it,

another seat, in which the "incontinent used to stand and doe penance." A gentleman, a stranger, thinking it reserved for the quality, boldly entered it in sermon time, till he was driven away by the laughter of the common sort. Moryson gives some interesting statistics, and says:—"The navy or shipping of Scotland was of small strength in the memory of our Age, neither were their Mariners of great experience; but to make them more diligent merchants, their kings had formerly laid small or no impositions or customs on them. And while the English had warre with the Spaniards, the Scots, as neutral, by carrying of English commodities into Spain, and by having their ships for more security laden by English merchants, grew somewhat richer, and experienced in Navigation, and had better and stronger shippes then in former time. And surely since the Scots are very daring, I connot see why their mariners should not be bold and courageous; howsoever, they have not hitherto made any long voyages—rather for want of riches than for slothfulness or want of courage. The inhabitants of the Western parts of Scotland carry into Ireland and neighbouring places red and pickled Herrings, Sea coales, and Aquavitæ, with like commodities, and bring out of Ireland Yarne and cowes hides or silver. The Easterne Scots carry into France coarse cloathes, both linnen and woollen, which be narrow and shrinkle in the wetting. They also carry salt and the Skinnes of goates, Weathers, and of conies and divers kindes of Fishes, taken in the Scottish sea, and neere other Northerne Ilands, and after smoked or otherwise dried and salted. And they bring from thence Salt and wines, but the cheefe trafficke of the Scottish is in foure places, namely, to Camphire in Zealand, whether they carry Salt and wines, the skinnes of weathers, otters, Badgers, and martens, and bring from thence corne. And at Bordeaux in France, whether they carry cloathes and the same skinnes, and bring from thence Wines, Prunes, Walnuts, and Chessenuts. Thirdly, within the Balticke sea, wither they carry the said Clothes and Skinnes, and bring thence Flax, Hempe, Iron, pitch, and Tarre. And lastly, in England, whether they carry Linnen cloathes, Yarne, and Salt, and bring thence Wheat, oates, Beanes, and like things. Touching their diet, They eat much red Colwort and Cabbage, but little fresh meat, using to salt their mutton and Geese, which made me more wonder that they used to eat Beefe without salting. The Gentlemen reckon their revenues, not by rents of monie, but by chauldrons of victual, and keepe many people in their Families, yet living most on Corne and Rootes, not spending any great quantity on flesh. My selfe was at a knight's house, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meate with

their heads covered with blew caps, the table being more then half furnished with great plattes of porridge, each having a little peece of sodden meat, And when the table was served, the servants did sitt downe with us, but the upper messe insteade of porridge, had a pullet with some prunes in the broth. And I observed no art of cookery, or furniture of household stuffe, but rather rude neglect of both, though my selfe and my companion, sent from the Governour of Barwicke about bordering affairs, were entertained after their best manner. The Scots living then in factions, used to keep many followers, and so consumed their revenew of victuals, living in some want of money. They vulgarly eate hearth cakes of oates, but in Cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by courtiers, gentlemen, and the best sort of citizens.

"When I lived at Barwicke, the Scots weekly upon the market day obtained leave in writing of the governour to buy Pease and Beanes, whereof, as also of Wheate, their Merchants at this day send great quantity from London into Scotland. They drinke pure Wines, not with sugar as the English, yet, at Feasts they put Confits in the wine after the French manner, but they had not our Vintners' fraud to mixe their Wines. I did never see nor heare that they have any publike Innes with signs hanging out, but the better sort of citizens brew ale, their usual drinke (which will distemper a stranger's bodie), and the same citizen will entertaine passengers upon acquaintance or entreaty."

That the Scottish monarchs did their best to establish comfortable inns throughout the country, the following extracts from the General Index to the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland will show:—"All who sell bread and beer in burghs to receive travellers and supply their wants at current prices" (anno 1356). "The chamberlains ordered to see that wants sufficient inns are provided in the burgh" (1366). "Their bedsteads were then like Cubbards in the wall, with dores to be opened and shut at pleasure, so we climbed up to our beds. They used but one sheete, open at the sides and top, but close at feet and doubled. Passengers did seeke a stable for their horses in some other place, and did there buy hors-meat, and if perhaps the same house yeeled a stable, yet the payment for the horse did not make them have beds free as in England. I omit to speak of the Innes and expences therein, having delated the same in the Itintrary of the first Part, expreessely treating thereof. When passengers goe to bed, their customs was to present them with a sleepingcappe of wine at parting. The country people and merchants used to drinke largely, the gentlemen somewhat more sparingly."

Sir Anthony Weldon.

The next I shall notice is a sort of a pasquinade, written, it is thought, by Sir Anthony Weldon (1617), and who is said to have attended King James 6th into Scotland. This Weldon's forefathers, it is said, took their origin in Queen Elizabeth's kitchen. He gives a most fantastic and amusing account of Scotland and its people. He says:—"They have great stores of deer, but they are so far from the place where I have been, that I rather believe than go to disprove it: I confess, all the deer I met withal, was dear lodgings, dear horse, and dear tobacco and English beer. As for fruit, for their grandesire Adam's sake they never planted any, and for other trees, had Christ been betrayed in this country (doubtless he should, had he come as a stranger), Judas had sooner found the grace of repentance than a tree to hang himself on. They have many hills, wherein they say is much treasure, but they shew none of it: nature hath only discovered to them some mines of coal, to shew to what end she created them. I saw little grass but in their pottage; the thistle is not given of nought, for it is the fairest flower in their garden. The word hay is Heathen-Greek unto them—neither man nor beast knows what it means. Corn is reasonable plenty at its time, for since they heard of the King's coming, it hath been as unlawful for common people to eat wheat as it was in the old time for any but the priests to eat shewbread. They prayed much for his coming, and long fasted for his welfare; but in the more plain sense, that he might fare the better. All his followers were welcome but his guard, for those, they say, are like Pharaoh's lean kine, and threaten death wheresoever they come; they could persuade the footmen that oaten cakes would make them long-winded, and the children of the chapel they have brought to eat of them for the maintenance of their voices.

"Now I will begin briefly to speak of the people according to their degress and qualities: For the lords spiritual, they may well be termed so indeed, for they are neither fish nor flesh, but what it shall please their earthly God, the King, to make them. They have taken great pains and trouble to compass their bishopricks, and they will not leave them for a trifle; for the deacons, whose defects will not lift them up to dignities, all their study is to disgrace them that have gotten the least degree above them; and because they cannot Bishop, they proclaim they never heard of any. The Scriptures, they say, speak of deacons and elders, but not a word of bishops. Their discourses are full of detractions, their sermons nothing but railing, and their con-

clusions nothing but heresies and treasons. For the religion they have, they hold it above reach, and, God willing, I will never reach for it. They christen without the cross, marry without the ring, receive the sacrament without reverence, die without repentance, and bury without divine service; they keep no holy days, nor acknowledge any saint but St Andrew, who they said got that honour by presenting Christ with an oaten cake after His forty days' fast. They say, likewise, that he that translated the Bible was the son of a maltster, because it speaks of a miracle done by barley-loaves: whereas they swear they were oaten cakes, and that no other bread of that quantity could have sufficed so many thousands."

Truly a fantastic and lamentable account of Scotland and the Scots.

Taylor.

A more genial and intelligent traveller we have in Taylor, the Water Poet. In 1618 he undertook to accomplish the journey to Scotland on foot, and without a coin in his pocket. This whimsical wager he so far carried on. He was well received by the nobility and gentry, who gave him a kindly welcome. His journey occupied three months. He published and hawked through London an account of his journey, and is said to have profited thereby. He came into Scotland by Moffat, through Edinburgh. He travelled north over Mount Keene into Braemar, and Lord Mar put him in the way of seeing a great drive for game. He says:—"From Sterling I rode to St Johnstone, a fine towne it is, but it is much decayed by reason of his Majesties yeerely comming to lodge there. Mine host told me that the Earl of Marr and Sir William Murray of Abercarny were gone to the hunting to the Brea of Marr, but if I made haste I might perhaps finde them at a towne called Breeken (or Brechin), two and thirty miles from Saint Johnstone, whereupon I took a guide to Breekin the next day, but before I came, my Lord was gone from thence foure dayes. Then I took another guide, which brought me such strange wayes over mountains and rockes, that I thinke my horse never went the like: and I am sure I never saw any waves that might fellow them. I did go through a country called Glenaske, where passing by the side of a hill, so steepe as the ridge of a house, so fearful and horrid that if either a man or horse had slipped, he had fallen without recovery a good mile downright. Thus with extreme travel ascending and descending, mounting and alighting, I came at night to the place where I would be, in the Brea of Marr, which is a large

country all composed of such large mountains as that Highgate hill, Hampstead hill, Bird hill, or Malverns hill are but mole hills in comparison. There I saw mount Benawue, with a furr'd mist upon its snowie head instead of a nightcap; for you must understand that the oldest man alive never saw but the snow was on the top of divers of those hills both in summer as in winter. There did I finde the truely noble and right honourable Lords John Erskine, Earl of Marr, and others. For once in the yeere, which is the whole month of August, and sometimes part of September, many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdome (for their pleasure) doe come into these high-land countries to hunt, where they doe conforme themselves to the habits of the High-land man, who for the most part speake nothing but Irish, and in former time were those people which were called the Red-shankes. Their habite is shoes with but one sole apiece: stocking (which they call short hose) made of a warm stuff of divers colours, whiche they call tartane: as for breeches, many of them, nor their forefathers, never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuffe that their hose is of: their garters being bands or wearthes of hay or straw, with a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, much finer and lighter stuffe then their hose, with blue flat caps on their heads, a handkerchiefe knit with two knots about their necke; and thus are they attyred. Now their weapons are long bowes and forked arrowes, swords and targets, harquebusses, muskets, durks, and Loquhabor-axes. With these armes I found many of them armed for hunting. As for their attire, any man of what degree soever that comes amongst them must not disdaine to weare it; for if they doe they will disdaine to hunt or willingly to bring in their dogges, but if men be kind unto them, be in their habit, then are they conquered with kindness, and the sport will be plentifull. This was the reason that I found so many noblemen and gentlemen in those shapes. But to proceed to the hunting. My good Lord of Marr having put me into that shape, I rode with him from his house, where I saw the ruines of an old castle, called the castle of Kindroghit. It was built by King Malcolm Canmore (for a hunting house), who reigned in Scotland when Edward the Confessor, Harold, and Norman William reigned England. I speake of it because it was the last house that I saw in those parts; for I was the space of twelve days after, before I saw either house, corne field, or habitation for any creature, but deere, wilde horses, wolves and such like creatures, which made me doubt that I should never have seene a house againe. Thus the first day we travelled eight miles, where there were small

cottages built on purpose to lodge in, which they call Lonquhards. I thanke my goode Lord Erskine, he commanded that I should always be lodge in his lodging, the kitchin being always on the side of a banke, many kettles and pots boyling, and many spits turning and winding with great variety of cheere: as venson bak't, sodden, rost and sten'de beefe, mutton, goates, kid, hares, fresh salmon, pidgeons, hens, capons, chickens, partridge, moore-cootes, heathcocks, caperkellies, and termagantes; good ale, sackes white, white and claret tent, or allegant, with most potent Aquavite. All these and more then these we had continually in superfluous abundance, caught by faulconers, fowlers, fishers, and brought by my lord's tenants and perveyers, to victuall our camp, which consisteth of fourteen or fifteene hundred men and horses. The manner of the hunting is this—five or six hundred men do rise early in the morning, and they do disperse themselves divers ways, and seven, eight, or tenne miles compasse, they do bring in or chase in the deere in many herds, two, three, or four hundred in a herd, to such or such a place, as the noblemen shall appoint them. When the day is come the lords and gentlemen of their companys doe ride or goe to the said places, some times wadeing up to the middle through bournes and rivers; and then they being come to the place, do lye downe on the ground til those four said scouts, which are called the tinckhell, doe bring down the deere; but as the proverb says, as bad cooks, so these tinckhell men do lick their fingers, for besides their bows and arrows which they carry with them, we can hear now and then a harqubusse or a musket goe off, which they seldom discharge in vain; then after we had stayed three hours or thereabouts, we might perceive the deer appear on the hill round about us (there heads making a show like a wood), which being followed by the tinckhell are chased down to the valley where we lay. Then all the valley on each side being waylaid with a hundred couple of strong Irish greyhounds, they are let loose as occasion serves upon the herd of deere, that with dogges, gunnes, arrowes, durkes, and daggers in the space of two houres four scores off fat deeres were slain, which afterwards are disposed of, some one way and some another, and more than enough for us to make merry with all at our rendezvous.

"Being come to our lodging, there was such baking, boyling, roasting, and stewing, as if cook Ruffin had been there to have scalded the devils in their feathers, and after supper a fire of fir wood as high as an indifferent may pole; for I assure you that the Earl of Marr will give any man that is his friend, for thanks, as many fir trees (that are as good as any ship's masts in England)

as are worth if they were in any place near the Thames or any other portable river the best earldome in England or Scotland either. For I dare affirme he hath as growing there as would serve for masts (from this time until the end of the world) for all the ships, carrackes, hoyes, galleys, boats, drumlers, barkes, and water crafts that are now or can be in the world these forty years. This sounds like a lie to an unbleiver; but I know that I and many thousands do know that I speak within the compass of truth, for indeed they do grow so far from any paswage of water, and withal in such rocky mountains that no way to convey them is possible either with cart, horse, or boat. Thus having spend certain days in hunting in the brea of Marr, we went to the next county, called Bagnoch."

It is curious that, exactly a hundred years afterwards, the Earl of Mar should have made a great hunting match the pretence to raise the standard on the Braes of Mar for the exile Stuarts, in 1715.

Taylor afterwards visited Darnaway, the seat of the Earl of Moray. He says the county of Moray is the most pleasant and plentiful county in all Scotland. From thence he went to Elgin, "an ancient city where stood a fair and beautiful church with three steeples, the walls and steeples all standing; so after thirty and five days' hunting and travelleing I returned home by Strathbogie, the Carnamount, to Brechin and Forfar, and so on by Berwick on to London."

Sir William Brereton.

The next we come to is Sir William Brereton, 1636. He was a strong Puritan, with great aversion to the government of the Church. He arrived in Berwick, and describes its bridge over the Tweed, consisting of fifteen arches, built by King James. He also notes the extent of the salmon fishings, and also the fortifications. Passing along from Berwick to Dunbar, he notes the seaweed being used for manure..

"Here," he says, "is my Lord Rocksburne's house or castle, seated with(in) six score of the main sea, where groweth and prospereth many kinds of wood; the highest thorns that I ever saw; this I admired, because I have observed all the sea-coasts whereby we passed, almost an hundred miles, and could not find any manner of wood prospering near the sea-coasts. Here, in the village, we observed the sluttish women washing their clothes in a great tub with their feet, their coats, smocks and all, tucked up to their breech.

"From Dunbarr to Edenburgh we came this day in the afternoon; it is called but twenty miles, but it is twenty-five or twenty-six miles at least; and by the way we observed very many stately seats of the nobles. One we passed which is the Earl of Winton's, a dainty seat placed upon the sea. Here also are apple-trees, walnut-trees, sycamore, and other fruit-trees, and other kinds of wood which prosper well, though it be very near unto, and within the air of, the sea. In this house the King lodged three nights; and in this earl's chamber at Edenborough, in Mr William Callis his house in the high-street near the cross, I lodged, and paid one shilling and sixpence per noctem for my lodgings.

"About six or seven miles from the city [Edinburgh] I saw and took notice of divers salt-works in poor houses erected upon the sea coast. I went into one of them, and observed iron pans eighteen foot long and nine foot broad; these larger pans and houses than those at the Sheildes. An infinite, innumerable number of salt-works here are erected upon this shore; all make salt of sea-water. About four miles hence stands Mussleborrow, touching which they have this proverb: Mussleborrow was a borrow when Edenborough was none, and shall be a burrough when Edenborough shall be none.

"Touching the fashion of the citizens, the women here wear and use upon festival days six or seven several habits and fashions; some for distinction of widows, wives, and maids, others apparalled according to their own humour and phantasy. Many wear (especially of the meaner sort) plaids, which is a garment of the same woollen stuff whereof saddle cloths in England are made, which is cast over their heads, and covers their faces on both sides, and would reach almost to the ground, but that they pluck them up, and wear them cast under their arms. Some ancient women and citizens wear satin straight-bodied gowns, short little cloaks with great capes, and a broad boun-grace coming over their brows and going out with a corner behind their heads, and this boun-grace is, as it were, lined with a white stracht cambric suitable unto it. Young maids not married all are bareheaded; some with broad thin shag ruffs, which lie flat to their shoulder, and others with half bands with wild necks, either much stiffened or set in wire, which comes only behind; and these shag ruffs some are more broad and thick than others.

"The greatest part of the Scotts are very honest and zealously religious. I observed few given to drink or swearing; but if any oath, the most ordinary was, 'Upon my soul.' The most

of my hosts I met withal, and others with whom I conversed, I found very sound and orthodox, and zealously religious. In their demands they do not so much exceed as with us in England, but insist upon and adhere unto their first demand for any commodity. I observed few bells rung in any of the churches in Edenborough, and, as I was informed, there are but few bells in the King's palace. Herein is a ring of bells erected by King Charles immediately before his coming into Scotland, anno Dom. 1635, but none here knew how to ring or make any use of them, until some came out of England for that purpose, who hath now instructed some Scotts in this art. In most of the eminent churches in this city, the king hath a stately seat placed on high, almost round about some pillar opposite to the pulpit.

"Here, by the way, we were showed the relics of a stately wood cut down, which belonged to this Earl of Weghkton. There is very little or no timber in any of the south or west parts of this kingdom, much less than in England. I have travelled near 100 miles; all the country poor and barren, save where it is helped by lime or seaweeds. Limestone here is very plentiful, and coals; and where there are no coals, they have abundance of turves. Poorest houses and people that I have seen inhabit here; the houses accommodate with no more light than the light of the door, no window; the houses covered with clods; the women only neat and handsome about the feet, which comes to pass by their often washing with their feet"

He says—"About one hour we came to the city of Glasgow, which is thirty-six miles from Edenburgh, eighteen from Fallkirk. This is a archbishop's seat, at ancient university, one only college consisting of about 120 students, wherein are four schools, one principal, four regents. There are about six or seven thousand communicants, and about twenty thousand persons in the town, which is famous for the church, which is fairest and stateliest in Scotland, also for the toll-boothe and bridge.

"This church I viewed this day, and found it a brave and ancient piece. It was said, in this church this day, that there was a contribution throughout Europe (even Rome itself contributed), towards the building hereof. There is a great partition or wall 'twixt the body of the church and the chancel; there is no use of the body of the church, only divine service and sermon is used and performed in the quire or chancel, which is built and framed church-wise; and under this quire there is also another church, which carries the same proportion under this, wherein also there is two sermons every Lord's day. Three

places or rooms one above another, round and uniformed, like unto chapter-houses, which are complete buildings and rooms.

"The prime cities in Scotland: Edenborough, St Andrewes, Dondye, Aberden, Glasgoaw, Perth or St Jonstone, Lightgow, Aire, Sterling, Dumbarton, Erwing, Don Frise, Haddington, Dunbarr, Erwin, Elgin, Murray, Banffe, Enverness, Boughan.

"We Lodged at Glasgoaw, in Mr David Weyme's House; his wife's name is Margrett Cambell (the wives in Scotland never change, but always retain, their own names).

"I came from Glasgoaw about eight hour, and came to Erwin about twelve hours, which is sixteen miles. We passed through a barren and poor country, the most of it yielding neither corn nor grass, and that which yields corn is very poor, much punished with drought. We came to Mr James Blare's in Erwin, a well-affected man, who informed me of that which is much to be admired: Above ten thousand persons have within two years last past left the country wherein they lived, which was betwixt Aberdeen and Ennerness, and are gone for Ireland; they have come by one hundred in company through this town, and three hundred have gone hence together shipped for Ireland at one tide; none of them can give a reason why they leave the country, only some of them who make a better use of God's hand upon (them), have acknowledged to mine host in these words, 'that it was a just judgment of God to spew them out of the land for their unthankfulness.' This country was so fruitful formerly as that it supplied an overplus of corn, which was carried by water to Leith, and of late for two years is so sterill of corn as they are constrained to forsake it. Some say that, these hard years, the servants were not able to live and subsist under their masters, and therefore, generally leaving them, the masters being not accustomed, nor knowing how to frame, to till, and other their land, the ground hath been untilled. So as that of the prophet David is made good in this their punishment: 'A fruitful land makes He barren, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein'; for it is observed of these, that they were a most unthankful people. One of them I met withal and discoursed with at large, who could (give) no good reason, but pretend the landlords' increasing their rents; but their swarming in Ireland is so much taken notice of and disliked, as that the Deputy hath sent out a warrant to stay the landing of any of these Scotch that came without a certificate. Threescore of them were numbered returning towards the place whence they came, as they passed this town. Some of them complain of hard years (the better to

colour and justify this their departure), but do withal acknowledge that corn is as cheap with them as in this town."

Thomas Tucker.

Perhaps the most instructive writer was Thomas Tucker, a Commissioner under the Commonwealth, who came north through Scotland in 1655. He gives a very interesting account of the trade and dimensions of the different towns. He says:—

"According to the most eminent places of trade, the commissioners have erected or established eight severall head ports or offices for customes and excise. Those lyeing on the east sea are Leith, Burrostones, Brunt Island, Dundee, Aberdeene, and Invernesse; those on the west are only two, Glasgoe and Ayre."

Of Leith he says—"On the one side thereof, of a good length for landing of goods, this place formerly, and soe at this time, is indeed a storehouse not only for her owne traders, but alsoe for the merchants of the citty of Edinburgh, this being the port thereof; and were it not that citty (jealous of her oune safety), obstruct and impede the groweing of this place, it would, from her slave, in a few yeares become her rivall." This jealousy has not yet disappeared. See Town Council remarks. "This port being the chiefe port of all Scotland, the commissioners, out of a willingnesse to have a particular eye upon the transacting of things, have therefore made election of it for theyr particular residence.

"The towne of Dunbarre, or village rather (for all the townes of Scotland, unless the burgh townes, deserve noe other appellation, did not use the custome of speech give them a biger title), is a fisher towne, famous for the herring fishing, who are caught thereabout, and brought thither, and afterward made, cured, and barrelled up either for merchandize, or sold and vended to the country people, who come thither farre and neere at the season, which is from about the middle of August to the later end of September, and by greate quantityes of fish, which they carry away, and either spend them presently or els salt and lay up for the winter provision of theyr familyes. The trade here is little els but salt, which is brought hither and layd up, and after sold for the fishing; the people of these parts who are not fishermen, employing themselves in tillage and in affaires of husbandry. But yett the conveniency of an indifferent good harbour and landing-place hath occasioned the placeing of a wayter here, not only for preventing any goods from being brought privately on shoare, but alsoe to looke backward as farre as Eyemouth.

"On the other side of the port (but of the same side of the Firth) is Elphiston, a small towne, where there is pretty store of greate coale shipped for beyond the seas. And although there bee never a vessell belong to this place, yett the Dutch mosly, and some others, choose to lade there because of the goodnesse of the coale and its measure. The river here being narrowe, the waiter on the opposite side takes care as well as accompt of what is shipped here.

"The port of Dundee comes next in view, which is a pretty conciderable place, lyeing by the mouth of the river Tay, which, springing out of the mountaynes of Albany, and running through the fields, at length spreading itself into a lough full of islands, and afterwards constructing itself, taketh in Amund (a river of Athol), passed on to Dunkell, and thence by Scoone maketh its way into the German Ocean. The towne of Dundee was sometime a towne of riches and trade, but the many recontres it hath mett with all in the time of domestick comotions, and her obstinacy and pride of late yeares rendring her a prayer to the soldier, have much shaken and abated her former grandeur; and notwithstanding all, shee remaynes still, though not glorious, yett not contemptible. The trade of this place inward is, from Norway, the countrey Holland, and France; and outward, with salmon and pladding. Here is a collector, a checquer, and five wayters constantly reside here, and the rest are bestowed in the member ports, which are:—

"St Johnstons (or Perth), an handsome walled towne, with a cittadell added thereunto of late yeares, lyeing a good way up the river Tay, where there is a wayter alwayes attending, not so much because of any great tradeing there, as to prevent the carreing out wools, skyns, and hide, of which comodityes greate plenty is brought thither out of the Highlands, and there brought up and engrossed by the Lowlandmen.

"The port of Aberdeene lyes next northward, being a very handsome burgh, seated at the mouth of the river Donne, and is commonly called the New towne, for distinguishing it from another towne heard by, of the same name, but more antiquity, lying at the mouth of the river Dee, some a mile distant from the New towne, and is the chief academie of Scotland. This being a place more for study than trade, hath willingly resigned her interest that way, unto the new towne, which is noe despicable burgh, either for building or largenesse, having a very stately mercat place, sundry houses well built, with a safe harbour before it for vessells to ride in. The trade of this place (as generally all over Scotland), is, inwards, from Norway, Eastland,

Holland and France; and outwards, with salmon and pladding, comodityes caught and made nereabout in a greater plenty than any other place of the nation whatsoever.

"The last port northerly is Inverness, lyeing at the head of the Frith of Murray, not farre from Loquh Nesse, where the towne is a small one, though chiefe of the whole north, and would be yett worse, were it not for the large cittadell built there of late yeares. This port hath for its district all the harbours and creekes of the shires of Murray, Ross, Southerland, and Caithness, with the isles of Orkney; in which, although there bee many large rivers which, riseing in the hills, runne downe into the sea, and the oceane hath indented many more creeks and inletts, with its stormy waves still beateing on the shore, yett few of them are serviceable, and those few much too bigge for any trade that is or may be expected in these parts. For as the roughness of the sea and weather lye constantly on the east of them, so on the west they have the hills for theyr portion. The inhabitants beyond Murray land (except in the Orkneys) speak generally Ober Garlickh or highlands, and the mixture of both in Invernesse is such that one halfe of the people understand not one another. The trade of this port is onley a coast trade, there being noe more than one single merchant in all the towne, who brings home sometimes a little timber, salt, or wine. Here is a collector, a checque, one wayter, who attends here, and lookes (as occasion serves) to Garmouth and Findorne in Murray-land, two small places, from whence some 60 lasts of salmon in a yeare are sent out, for which salt is brought in from France, and sometimes a small vessell comes in from Holland or Norway.

"In the shire of Rosse there are only two ports, the one called Cromarty, a little towne in a bottome, with one of the delicatest harbours reputed in all Europe, the tide comeing in a greate depth betwixt two stately rockes (called the Sooters), through which the water passes into a large bay, where the greatest shipps of burden may ride in safety; and the other Tayne, a small towne lyeing neere the mouth of a river of that name. To the former of these nothing comes more than a little salt to serve the country, and to the other it may bee a small barke once in a yeere from Leith, to fetch deales, which are brought down thither from the hills."

Richard Franck.

Another interesting traveller is Richard Franck, born in 1642. He died in 1708. His first acquaintance with Scotland was made as a trooper in the army of Cromwell in 1650. It was probably in 1656 or 1657, however, that he made the north tour of which his "Memoirs" is the record.

The book is in the form of a dialogue between Arnoldus (Franck himself) and Theophilus, which is resolutely maintained without a break throughout their tour. Beginning with a discourse on the glories of creation, on man's place in the general order, and the effects of Adam's first sin, the interlocutors (at the fifteenth page) at length propose the northern journey; and the remainder of their dialogue is made up of rambling talk on angling, Scottish scenery, and of theosophic disquisition.

"In the next place, we are to consider the merchants and traders in this emenent Glasgow, whose store houses and ware houses are stuffed with merchandize, as their shops swell big with foreign commodities, and returns from France, and other remote parts, where they have agents and factors to correspond, and inrich their maritime ports, whose charter exceeds all the charters in Scotland, which is a conciderable advantage to the city-inhabitance, because blest with privileges as large, nay, larger than any other corporation. Moreover, they dwell in the face of France, and a free trade, as I formerly told you. Nor is this all, for the staple of their country consists of linens, friezes, furs, tartans, pelts, hides, tallow, skins, and various other small manufactures and commodities, not comprehended in this breviat. Besides, I should remind you, as they naturally superabound with fish and fowl; some meat does well with their drink. And so give me leave to finish my discourse of this famous Glasgow, whose ports we relinquish to distinguish those entertainments of Dunbarton, always provided we scatter no corn."

He says, among other things:—"The famous Lough-Ness, so much discoursed for the supposed floating island, for here it is if anywhere in Scotland [some say Loch Lomond], nor is it any other than a natural plantation of seges and bulrushes matted and knit so close together by natural industry, and navigated by winds that blow every way, floates from one part of the loch to the other of the surface of the solid deeps of the small mediterrane; and here it is, in these slippery streams, that an English ship, by curious invention, was hailed over the mountains to this

solitary Lough; brought hither on purpose to reclaim the Highlander."

"If so, it's strange that a vessel of ner forse should leap out of the ocean, and over the hills, to float in a gutter surrounded with rocks."

"Not so strange as true, for here she is."

"Was there a possibility of her sailing from the citadel to this eminent Lough Ness, when a boat of ten tun can't force her passage half way up the river? This looks romantick beyond the ingenuity of art, or possibility of invention."

"First you must conclude no vessel, without a miracle, could remove herself so far from sea; and I'le assure in this here's nothing miraculous. Then you are to concider that so eminent a ship could never shove herself to reach this limit, as extends from the Orchean seas to this obscure Lough Ness, without probable endeavours, and very considerable assistance. Lastly, to admit of a violent motion, were a kind of madness; because to impose a contradiction upon the design."

"And this is that famous and renouned Lough Ness (Loemon excepted), inferiour to none in the kingdom of Scotland; whose streams are strewed with eel and trout, whilst her deeps are saluted with the rase of salmon; whose fertile banks and shining sands are hourly moistned by this mediterrane; which I fancy is beseiged with rocks and mountains; whilst her polite shores are frozen in winter, by the frigid lungs of blustring Boreas, that perplexes her banks, and masquerades her rocks with a cristalline hue of polished ice. Where the Tritons and Sea-nymphs sport themselves on the slippery waves, sounding an invasion to her moveable inmate; supposed by some, the floating island."

"Do these fair mountains that interdict the dales, survey the forcible streams of Inverness?"

"Yes, surely, these torrents, which you now discover, frequently wash the walls of Inverness (a derivative from Lough Ness), at the west end whereof stands a diminutive castle, about a mile distant from that magnificent citadel, that subjects those precarious Northern Highlanders. This Inverness, or model of antiquity (which we now discourse), stands commodiously situated for a Highland trade; defended with a weather-beaten tottering wall, that's defaced with age and the corruptions of time, where yet there remains two parish-churches. But I remember a third, that was a kind of a cathedral or collegiat-church, that now, like old Troy, sleeps in dust and ashes, as part

of the walls do, charging time and neglect with their tottering decays."

"North and by east, near the forcible streams of the Ness, stands the fortress, or pentagon, drawn out by regular lines, built all with stone, and girt about with a graff, that commodes it with a convenient harbour."

"The houses in this fair fortress are built very low, but uniform; and the streets broad and spacious, with avenues and intervales for drilling of foot, or drawing up horse."

"I must confess, such and so many are the advantages and conveniencies that belong to this citadel, it would be thought fabulous, if but to numerate them; for that end I refer my self to those that have inspected her magazines, provideres, harbours, vaults, graffs, bridges, sally-ports, cellars, bastions, horn-works, redoubts, counterscarps, &c. Ocular evidence is the best judg, and gives the plainest demonstration; which, without dispute, will interpret this formidable fortress a strength impregnable; and the situation, as much as any, promises security, by reason it's surrounded with boggy morasses; standing in swamps, on an isthmus of land, that divides the Ness from the Orchean Seas."

"Yet here is one thing more among our northern novelties very remarkable; for here you shall meet with a wooden bridg to convoy you over the rapid Ness; but certainly the weakest, in my opinion, that ever stradled over so strong a stream. However, it serves to accommodate the native, to those pleasant and fragrant meadows, north and north-west, that direct to the demolishments of the Castle of Lovet, near to which stand the antiquities of Brawn, planted upon the brow of a considerable bank, that hangs, one would think, o're a spacious river, above all in Scotland, replenished with salmon; whose numbers are numberless, if not improper to say so; and careless of their lives, they cast them away."

"Here's another Hellespont; must we cross this also?"

"Yes, surely, we must cross this rugged ferry." This was at Inverbreakie. Here, he says, "the natives assert there are no mice or rats in Ross-shire, and so fond are they of this idea that they transport the earth of Ross in to most other parts of Scotland, persuading themselves that if they do but sprinkle it in the fields, fens, moores, mountains, morish, or boogy grounds the very scent of it will force the rats to become exiles. This odd kind of creed I had when resident among them, yet to the best of my observation I never saw a rat, but for mice there is great pleanty, that were they a commodity, Scotland might boast on't."

The next curiosity is in the country of Southerland. Crossing from Tain to Dornoch, he travelled down Strathnavar, where, he says, "a rude sort of inhabitants dwell (almost as barbarous as canibals), who, when they kill a beast boil him in his hide, make a caldron of his skin, browis of his bowels, drink of his blood, and bread and meat of his carcase; knowing no better method of eating."

This traveller returned south by Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and, although mixed up with fantastic writing, he gives a considerable amount of information.

Thomas Kirke.

The next I shall notice is Thomas Kirke, a Yorkshire esquire, who travelled in the year 1677. He penetrated as far north as the Orkneys, visiting Banff, Elgin, and Inverness on his way. His accounts are very prejudiced indeed, and far from complimentary. Of Edinburgh he says:—"Their cities are poor and populous, especially Edinburgh, their metropolis, which so well suits with the inhabitants that one character sketch will serve them both, namely high and dirty. Their castles of defence in this country are almost impregnable; they are built on high and almost inaccessible rocks, only one forced passage up to them; so that few men can easily defend them. Some few houses there are of later erection that are built of better form, with good walls and gardens about them; but their fruit rarely comes to any perfection. The houses of the commonalty are very mean, mud wall and thatch at the best, but the poorer sort live in such miserable huts as ever I beheld. The habit of the people is very different, according to the qualities and places they live in as lowland or highland men. The lowland gentry go well enough habited, but the poorer sort go almost naked, only an old cloak or part of their bed cloathes thrown over them. The Highlanders wear slashed doublets, commonly without breeches, only a plaid tied about their waists and thrown over their shoulders, with short stockings to the gairting place, their knees and part of their thighs being naked. In one side of their girdle they stick a durk or knife about a foot or half a yard long, very sharp, and the back of it is marked with divers notches wherein they put poison; on the other side a brace of brass pistols. They also add a sword if they can afford it.

The people are vain, arrogant, vain-glorious boasters, bloody, barbarous, and inhuman butchers. Couzenage and theft are in

perfection amongst them, and they are perfect English haters. They show their pride in exalting themselves and depressing their neighbours. The nobility and gentry lord it over their poor tenants, and use them worse than galley-slaves. They are all bound to serve them, men, women, and children. The first fruit is always the landlord's due. Those of his name who are inferior to him must all attend him (as he himself must do his superiors of the same name), and all of them attend the chief. If he receives a stranger, all his train must be at his back armed as foresaid; if you drink with them in a tavern you must have all this rubbish with you; and if you offend the laird his durk shall soon be sheathed in your body. Every laird of note hath a gibbet near his house, and has power to condemn and hang any of his vassals."

He also says:—"Music they have, but not the harmony of the spheres, but loud terneran noises like the bellowing of beasts; the loud bagpipe is their chief delight, stringed instruments are too soft to penetrate the organs of their ears, that are only pleased with sound of substance.

"The highways in Scotland are tolerably good, which is the greatest comfort the traveller meets with in amongst them. They have no Inns but change-houses, poor small cottages, where you must be content to take what you find. The Scots gentlemen commonly travel from one friend's house to another, so seldom make use of a change-house."

Kirke travelled north by Dundee. "Here," he says, "we took a footman along with us for a guide, it being the custom in these parts to travel on hired horses, and they send a footman along with them to bring them back again. This footman serves as guide all the way, and when you alight he takes care of the horse. They will undertake to run down the best horse you can buy in seven or eight days. They run by the horse's side all the way, and travel thirty or forty miles a day with ease. You may have a horse and guide for two pence a mile."

Passing by Aberdeen and Forres, he visited Lord Moray at Darnaway Castle, where his lordship supplied them with sack and claret, for which, he says, "we had reason to remember him. We had twenty-eight miles from his house to Inverness, and though we were very few and the evening coming on, yet he never invited us to stay with him; so we ventured on, but before we had rode half a mile I trusted myself to my servant's care, being unfit to take care of myself, and the man and I were both left to the mercy of a barbarous country. We, however, managed to get to Inverness about two o'clock, failing to get the ferry at Ard-

ersier on account of the ferryman being on the other side." He notices Castle Stuart, and also the salt water mill at Petty, crossing by a bank a quarter of a mile long, in the middle of which was a pair of flood-gates, whereby the dam was filled by the tides and supplied the mill at low water; and although it was only the 22nd of June, he observed snow on the hills. He describes Inverness very much as other travellers. He undertook the journey to Orkney by a yacht, which formerly belonged to the King, and now to a nobleman. After a rough voyage, they arrived at Orkney. He describes the Orkneys at some length, and on his return journey he visited Tain, and which he also describes. Leaving Tain, he came to a ferry called Cromarty. He says:—"It is a fine harbour; on the north side is my Lord Tarbet's house and several preetty sites along. Here is a very bad boat; we had like to be caste away, and it was a great mercy we ever came to land again. Six miles farther we crossed the ferry at Ardersier in a good boat." He passed south by Aberdeen and Glasgow, and on to Ireland.

William Lithgow.

I may here mention a fantastic writer and traveller, a native of Ayrshire. He had made two voyages to Orkney and Shetland in his youth, and afterwards travelled over a great part of Europe, Asia, and Africa. In his later years he, after his return home, in 1627, revisited the Highlands. His first stay was with the Marquis of Hamilton in Arran, which he extols in no measured language.

Returning to the mainland, he landed in Galloway. Of the wool in this country he says it is nothing inferior to that of Biscay, in Spain, providing they had skill to weave and labour it as they should. "Nay, the Calabrian silk had never better lustre nor softer grip than I have touched the growing wool on sheep's back; and the mutton thereof excellest in sweetness."

He says:—"The length of the kingdom lieth north and south, that is, between Duncan's Bay Head and afore said Mull of Galloway, being distance p. 'rectum leineam' (which my weary feet have trode over from point to point) to three hundred and twenty miles, which I recken to be four hundred and fifty English miles; confounding here by the ignorant presumtion of blind cosmographers, who in their maps make England longer than Scotland, when contrary-wise Scotland outstrips the other in length a hundred and twenty miles. The breadth, I grant, is narrower

than England. Yet extending between the extremities of both coasts in divers parts to sixty, eighty, and a hundred miles, but because of the sea engulfing the land and cutting it into so many angles, making so many great lakes, bays, and dangerous firths on both sides of the kingdom, it cannot be certainly fixed."

He says that Loch Loman and Loch Ness are the greatest fresh water lakes. Of Loch Ness he says:—"The river whereof that graces the pleasent and commodious situation of Inverness no frost can freeze, the property of which water will quickly disolve any hard congealed lumps of frozen ice, be it on man, beast, stone, or timber. The third and beautiful soil is the delectable planure of Joray, thirty miles long and six in breadth, whose comely grounds enriched with corns, planting, pasturage, stately dwlleings, over faced with a genecrous Octanian gentry, and topped with noble Earl, its cheif patron, it may be called a second Lombardy, or pleasant meadow of the north. But now leaving prodigals to their purgatorial postings, I come to trace Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, soils so abundant in all things fit to illustrate greatness, embelish gentry, and succour commons that their fertile goodness far exceeded my expectation, and affability of the better sort of deservings; being all of them the best and most bountiful Christmas keepers (the Greeks excepted) that ever I saw in the Christian world. Forsaking Caithness, I embraced the trembling surges (at Duncansbay Head) of struggling Neptune, which ingorgeth Pentland or Pictland Firth, with nine contrarious tides: each tide overwarting another with repugnant courses, have such violent streams and combustious waves, that if these dangerous births be not rightly taken in passing over, the passengers shall quickly lose sight of life and land for ever; yea, one of these tides is so forcible, at the back of Stromaii, that it will carry any vessel backward, in despite of the winds, the length of its rapid current. This dreadful frith is in breadth, between the continent of Caithness and the isle of South Ranaldshaw in Orkney, twelve miles, and I denote this credibly, in a part of the north-west end of this gulf there is a certain place of sea where these distracted tides make their rencountering rendezvous, that whirleth ever about, cutting in the middle circle a sloping hole, with which if either ship or boat shall happen to incroach, they must quickly eiter throw over something into it, as a barrel, a piece of timber, and such like, or that fatal curipus shall then suddenly become their swallowing sepulchre, a custom which those inhabiting Caithness and Orkneys have herefore observed."

Coming somewhat later down, we have such travellers as Dean Munro, who wrote an account of the Western Isles; Martin; Burt, so well known to you all; Ray, the volunteer with the Duke of Cumberland; Pennant, Dr Johnson, and many others, each in his own way most interesting and instructive; but time will not permit me to take them up to-night. I shall therefore content myself with noticing three other travellers, who, as they travelled through Ross-shire and make reference to the Black Isle, may be more interesting to you—I mean Bishop Pococke, Bishop Forbes, and Macculloch.

Bishop Pococke.

The first of the travellers before mentioned was Pococke, Bishop of Meath, in Ireland. He travelled much in the East, in Egypt and Palestine, and it is amusing to find him comparing views in Scotland to portions of the Holy Land. Thus, he compares Dingwall to Jerusalem, about as unlike districts as you could well imagine.

He visited Scotland in 1747, and again in 1750. Travelling by the West Coast, he visited Iona. Travelling through Lough Abber, he passed down by General Wade's road to Fort-Augustus, where he notes the copper mines on the way, "which are rich, and it is said there is some gold in the ore."

The idea of great mineral wealth in the Highlands was almost a craze with the speculators in the last century, and companies were formed to work silver and lead, iron and copper. The remains of these workings are to be found in Strathspey, Invergarry, Bonawe, Gairloch, Struy in Strathglass, Strontian in Argyleshire, where I have myself seen hundreds of men working. Needless to say, none of these ventures have turned out a success. For though undoubtedly all these metals exist in the Highlands, yet not in paying quantities.

Passing Glenmoriston, Bishop Pococke notes the existence of a very fine linen factory, built out of the forfeited estates. "They teach 40 girls for three months to spin, then take in fourty more; they buy flax and employ six looms. They buy yarn also from the country people, who raise a large quantity of it. It [the factory] consists of the principal building, and an office for the manufacturer on each side. There are two more. One at Lochcarron, the other at Loch Broom, both on the west." He might have added Inverness, and Spinningdale in Sutherland.

The Bishop devotes a few sentences to the town of Inverness. After referring to the beauty of the situation, he says:—"It is a pretty good town, of two streets. They [the people] have trade in imports, and an export of salted salmon, caught in the river Beauly and also near the town in the river Ness. They had an export of malt to Holland, but it is at an end, and all the malt houses all in ruins." These malt houses and breweries remained till well into the present century. I can myself recollect the remains of four or five, the last one in operation being on the site of the present Free High Church.

He further says:—"The salt salmon was sent to London, thence exported to the East Indies."

The Bishop went to see the new fort, in process of construction on the sandy point opposite Fortrose. It was began in 1747, and the Bishop was shewn over it by General Skinner, who designed it. He was to have built it at Inverness, but the Magistrates were so exhorbitant in their demands that the Duke of Cumberland became annoyed, and had it built on the present site. The Bishop passed north by Beauly, and on to Dingwall, which he describes as one long street, and says "they have some linen factories here."

Going by Tain, he passed Rosehall, and by Loch Shinn to Durness and Cape Wrath, returning by Tongue. He says:—"The people here live a very hardy life, principally on milk, curds, whey, and a little oatmeal, especially when they are at the sheals in the mountains with their cattle, in June, July, and August. Their best food is oat and barley cakes, a porridge made of oatmeal, kail, and sometimes a piece of salt meat in it, is their top fare. They are mostly well bodied men of great activity, and go the Highland trot with wonderful expedition.

"Leaving Tongue, we come to the seat of Lord Reay, where the late Lord had made a handsome terrace, a bowling green, between the house and the bay, and a kitchen garden behind the house, planted with all kinds of fruit except peaches. Apricots, plums, cherries, and apples are planted against the walls, and in the middle of the garden is a pillar entirely covered with dials. There are large plantations of beech, elm, ash, sycamore, and some other quicken or mountain ash." It is worthy of observation that the Bishop notes at almost every gentleman's seat the well-stocked gardens.

Visiting Thurso, he passed over to Stromness in Orkney, of which he gives an amusing account. He says:—"It is about half a mile in length, on the side and foot of a hill on the sea, but very

irregularly built. "They are all, except on factor, publicans and shop-keepers. They are above 200 famlies in the town. The women are great knitters. Most ships going northward and westward touch here, but the chief are four large ships which go every May to Hudson's Bay with all kinds of sortments of goods, and bring back bevers' skins for hats and Martains for muffs and tippets, which are bought only by the sailors, and sell here for about 5s a piece. The principal trade of the country is at this place, which consists of fish-oil, salt beef, and butter. They also send out oatmeal, malt, hams, dried geese, tallow, cod, ling, skins of calves and rabbits and foxes, goose feathers, coarse friezes, fine stockings, knit gloves, and linen. They have apples and pears against the walls, and say they will not grow above the walls." He visited Kirkwall, which he describes as pleasantly situated on a flat near the beach, about a mile long, ill-built, and streets paved with irregular flags." The Provost visited him, and offered him the freedom of the town, but he could not wait to receive it.

He says: "The wives and daughters of more of the better sort are of the Church of England, and do not go to the kirk, but read prayers to themselves at home, and I found it would have been very agreeable to them if I could have stayed there some days."

Keith, in his history, says that the people in these islands would not at first attend the service of the new religion. He says there were six gentlemen of this island in the rebellion in 1746. The population was 33,800. They have taken to sea service; their genius lies entirely to navigation. They dress like seamen, and never in the Scotch dress, except that the women wear the plaid like the hood. There is now no Norse or Norwegian spoken, but all English with the Norwegian accent."

Going south, he passes through Cromarty, which he praises, and tells of the fine harbour. "Their trade," he says, "is only accidental from such ships as touch there, except that three or four ships come in a year from London with groceries, hops, etc. They prepare some flax, and spin much more, which they sell to the company in Edinburgh. They had a herring fishery, but since it has failed they apply very little to fishing. To the east a hill covered with corn rises, like Mount Olivet over Jerusalem." (Every now and then the good Bishop sees something that reminds him of Jerusalem and Palestine).

On his way south from Beauly, Inverness, he crossed at Fort-George to see Fortrose. He describes the Cathedral. He

says: "Fortrose is a poor, small town, but beautifully situated on a fine flat spot of ground under the hill. They have some little manufacture of linen yarn, and a small fishery."

Re-crossing the ferry, he visited Kilravock, and so passed on to the south via Elgin, Aberdeen, Perth, and Edinburgh.

This is a most comprehensive tour, and is full of accurate and interesting observations, and he especially notes the fine orchards and rare trees; for instance, at Scone he notes arbor-vitæ cypress, 2 feet diameter at the bottom. He also speaks in raptures of the fine trees at Taymouth, and Blair, and Glamis, where he describes an avenue three-quarters of a mile long consisting of four or five rows of trees, the first row of firs and the second of lime trees. At the latter place he says the fields are divided by rows of trees, after the manner of St James's Park, and have a very grand appearance. How different from Dr Johnson, who only saw and moralized on people, and was not a lover of nature, nor was of a scientific turn.

Bishop Forbes.

The next is Bishop Forbes, who was a Scotchman, and an Aberdonian, yet I rank him as one of the most interesting travellers that visited the Highlands in the last century. He was an intense Jacobite, and prepared that most interesting work, "The Lyon in Mourning," while on his journey through the Highlands in 1761 and 1770. He was elected Bishop of Ross and Caithness in 1762, and immediately after set out with Mrs Forbes to visit his diocese, confirming no less than 616 people on his tour.

Leaving Leith, he crossed in a pinnace to Kinghorn, thence travelled in a four-wheel chaise, at 1s per Scotch mile, via Perth, Dunkeld, and so on to Inverness. He gives an interesting account of his approach to Inverness. "Coming over the hill above the town at Leys," he says, "though you see the ruinous fort and tops of the steeples at some small distance, yet you see not the town of Inverness till you be almost close upon it, and then the river Ness, abounding with salmon and trout, appears, with a bridge of seven arches over it, which has a prison or pit in one of its pillars that can contain twelve people to lie in it." He arrived at Inverness, and set up at Mrs Mackinnon's, the best tavern in the town. The Bishop tells of wonderful strawberries which grow in Slockmuich, also that there is always "clean salmon to be got in the Ness," and that in Inverness "you have the best strong ale for nought," and the "worst for money."

On the occasion of the visit of Queen Mary, in 15??, the Provost, Rose by name, went out to meet the Queen, and addressed her in the following laconic speech:—"Your Grandsires, Goodessires Majesty," was welcome to this town of tree, and so are you or ye." He called it a town of tree because all the houses were of wood, two or three only excepted.

The Bishop left Inverness on July 9th, leaving Mrs Forbes behind, as he was not sure of the roads in Ross-shire; but he found the roads, though only natural, extremely good. He says: "We chose to travel by Ardersier rather than Kessock, because of the fineness of the road, though the longest of the two. Passing by, he notes Castle Stuart, the new village of Campbelltown, so called from Campbell or Calder. He says: "This village being in the neighbourhood of the great fort, is much on the increase, and may yet come to rival Inverness." I fear the fulfilment of the Bishop's prophecy is rather distant as yet. The Bishop's crossing was somewhat slow, as the boat could not take over the passengers and chaise at one trip; but having got across, he set up at the house of Kenneth Matheson., one of the best taverns I have ever been in, and the readiest service; for though they knew not of our coming, they had a genteel and plentiful dinner on the table in a very short time, with a glass of good claret, at two shillings per choppin bottle," and the Bishop naively notes: "But I found out that Matheson imported it himself so as to pay no duty."

Speaking of Fortrose, he says: "Fortrose has one of the most charming situations I ever beheld, in view of the Moray Frith up and down, and of Inverness, at the foot of rising ground enlivened with the rays of the sun every day of the year, from the rising of the same to the going down thereof, whereby it is surrounded up to the top of the hill with the most fertile fields, which laugh and sing in the verdant and golden robes of richest corn." The Bishop entertained many friends, and went to see everything remarkable about the town. He visited St Boniface's Well, the Dovecote Well, and the Doupach Well, "a most plentiful spring of the finest and coolest water, so that Fortrose is one of the best watered places in the known world." The Bishop says his bill at Fortrose was very moderate: "With vails it amounted only to £1 15s 4d, though I had several persons dining and supping with me, seven or eight dishes of the best meat on the table at once, and drinking good claret, white wine, and punch, besides two servants and three horses." I suspect Mr Matheson of Channonry was not the only one that imported direct, so as to save the King trouble.

Leaving Fortrose, the Bishop went to Raddery and Killean, thence to Bennetsfield, whence he saw Culloden and the Inverness Frith. He says of Munlochy Bay: "Running at high water two miles up the bay, into which a vessel can roll without masts or rigging, and be quite safe on clay and sand, and land locked." He notes two corn mills driven by salt water in Munlochy Bay. He also notes the fine fruit gardens at Allangrange. Mr Matheson made the Bishop a present of a fine long staff, with a head and two faces, curiously cut by himself with a knife. This style of walking-stick seems to have been affected about this time, for we find a similar staff, which Prince Charlie had with him, was sold at Culloden sale, a few months ago, at £150, and afterwards presented to the Queen. In the Prince's case, the carving represented two faces, Wisdom and Folly.

Passing on, the Bishop visited Belmaduthy, Allangrange, and Kilcoy. He says of Kilcoy: "It is an old strong tower and a most amiable seat, with two gardens, with the frith of Beauly under your eye. The Bishop visited Ord, Brahan Castle, Kinkell, and crossed the Conon by boat at Scuddel, and so to Dingwall. He visited Cadboll, and confirmed Lady Cadboll, and performed service in the dining-room. This was the first time that ever "England's Book of Common Prayer" had been used in Cadboll's house, he being so keen a Scotsman that he would have nothing to do with England at all, insomuch that he was for dissevering the two kingdoms altogether in every respect, and for having a king over Scotland alone independent of England, and that the English have a king for themselves.

The Bishop continued his journey on to Tain, passing over "one of the pleasantest roads I ever travelled over, and then a green plain of three miles and about nine miles in circumference, upon which fine ground I saw 1000 sheep browsing."

He left Tain on horseback, "as there is no chaise road through Caithness, but through Sutherland a chaise may drive very well." He notes the fine gardens at Dunrobin; indeed, both Bishop Pococke and Bishop Forbes refer frequently to the well-stocked gardens and the variety of fruits everywhere in Scotland.

Staying at Clyne, four miles beyond Golspie, he arranged with Mr Innes, his companion, to start early and get to Helmsdale for their breakfast, which they did, arriving about 20 minutes past 6 a.m., where they got "fine great oates for their horses, and a good dram and a piece of bread for themselves." Here the landlord, John Mitchell, a canty old man of 84, had been bred a gardener, "of which he shewed us a notable specimen, for he led

us to a little snug garden, made out of the greatest wild with his own hand, in which we saw gooseberries, apples, the hundred-leafed rose, white lilies, and small nurseries of firs, ash, beech, oak," etc.

Arriving at Helmsdale Inn, the first house you come to in Caithness, his companion, Mr Innes, said to the landlady: "We have a good mind to breakfast here, if you can give us tea?" She answered very briskly: "Pray, sir, what kind of tea will you desire to have, Mr Innes?" "Well, good woman, what kind can you give us?" "Well, sir, I can give you green tea, Bohea tea, or coffee." Greatly susprised, they had a good breakfast even in the wilds of Caithness. The Bishop had been advised to take a wheat loaf and some good bread along with him, "Caithness being so poor and despicable a country that I could have nothing to eat in it." He found it bleak and mossy, yet one of the most plentiful and hospitable countries in the world.

The Bishop must have been a strong, able-bodied man, for he pushed right on and over the Ord of Caithness to Thurso; from Dunbeath he crossed the country by the Causey Mire, reaching Thurso late the same night—from Clyne to Thurso, 36 Scottish miles, or equal to 50 miles on a good plain road. He says: "Here is a good salmon fishing, and it is well known with two or three draughts of a net in the morning 2000 and some odd scores have been caught." After describing the town and country, he sees some planting, "but very low and scrubby, or so dwarfish that it makes a very poor appearance, for it will by no means thrive in this place." He also remarks: "Here are plenty fine gardens, and wall fruit cherries, and red currants. Here also we had plenty good wine and very fine strong ale."

Returning by the Meikle Ferry, he had a strange illustration of the want of roads. "Seeing in front of the inn a fine gilded four-wheeled chaise, and well coloured with waxcloth, without company or servants, I begged to know the history of it. 'Why,' said the innkeeper, 'the history of it is extremely comical, so very diverting that you perhaps have not heard the like of it in all your travels. The chaise belongs to Lord Reay, who himself came with it in the ship to this place from your south country, and left it here to send a ship or some other vessel to take it about to his own castle at Tongue in Srathnaver, and there is no other drive for it in that country but only to the kirk of Tongue, about three-quarters of a mile.'"

Returning south, he spent a night at Castle Leod, and another at the old Castle of Fairburn. It is interesting to note that all these old castles—Kilcoy, Kinkell, Castle Leod, etc.—were at

that time occupied by their owners. He describes the gardens of Redcastle as abounding with rare fruits of all kinds.

On the 22nd of August he passed through Avoch, noting the kirk and the manse, and stayed over a Sunday at Fortrose, where he preached and confirmed 21 persons. He did not dine till after vespers. A number sat down to dinner in Mr Matheson's house, whereof sixteen were ladies. In the evening he visited Mr Wood, the minister of Rosemarkie, the first of three Woods who occupied the parish. The Bishop returned by Kessock, much pleased with his visit to the Black Isle. Before setting out he had been told that the people in these parts would curse him to his face, but he received every attention, and not one unbecoming word. After visiting the Falls of Foyers, he returned south via Aviemore, and so on to Leith.

Later on we have Johnson and Pennant, but time will not allow me to go further. Pennant is perhaps the most valuable of all as a book of reference, and would well repay a lengthened review. I shall therefore close these notes with some extracts from Macculloch, who wrote some pungent criticisms on the Highlanders, which were bitterly resented.

He is, however, very complimentary to this district. He says: "When I have stood in Queen Street and looked towards Fife, I have sometimes wondered whether Scotland contained a finer view in its class. But I have forgotten this on my arrival at Inverness; and I will not say that I forgot Inverness when I stood on the shore at Cromarty, nor do I know now which to choose. Surely if a comparison is to be made with Edinburgh, excepting its own romantic disposition, the Frith of Forth must yield the palm to the Moray Frith, the surrounding country must yield altogether, and Inverness must take the highest rank. The mountains, as screens, are finer, more various, and more near; each outlet is different from the other, and each is beautiful, whether we proceed towards Fort-George, or towards Moy, or enter the valley of the Ness, or skirt the shores of the Beauly Frith, while a short and commodious ferry wafts us to the lovely country opposite, rich with woods, and country sites, and cultivation". So far good, as a sample of the other side. "As to Nairn what can I say? They build ships in ditches and in the sand, and cut them out when ready. Part of the people speak Gaelic and the rest English, because it is the Highland boundary. The baker and the brewer are not so rich as at Inverness, and the attorney, being poorer, is probably a greater rogue. Those who

trust to the apothecary, die of him here as elsewhere. The old maids abuse their neighbours, and those who have the misfortune to come into the town get out of it again as fast as they can. What can Nairn have done to deserve such a character?

These notes are not intended to give any connected history, but are merely extracts from the various travellers calculated to give you some idea of the impressions formed on their minds, and so throw a side-light on the state of the country at the various times embraced.

20th JANUARY, 1899.

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL DINNER.

The twenty-seventh annual dinner of the Society took place in the Station Hotel, Inverness, on this date. It proved a very successful function, though the attendance was, from various causes, scarcely so large as in some former years. Mr Baillie of Dochfour, M.P., presided, and the croupiers were Dr Alex. Ross, Inverness, and Rev. J. Kennedy, Arran. Dochfour was supported by Provost Macbean, Dr Norman Macleod, Captain the Hon. D. Forbes-Sempill, Seaforth Highlanders; Mr P. Baird, Cameron Highlanders; Major Mackenzie, Maryburgh; Mr James Barron, Ness Bank; while the others present included Mr Wm. Mackay, solicitor; Mr Machardy, chief constable; Councillor J. L. Guild, Councillor Alexander Mactavish, Mr W. J. Watson, Royal Academy; Mr J. S. Watson, W.S.; Mr A. Mackintosh, H.M.I.S., Ness Bank; Mr F. W. Whitehead, music master; Mr Alex. Fraser, solicitor; Mr D. Munro, solicitor; Mr H. M. Graham, solicitor; Mr A. J. Macritchie, solicitor; Mr A. Medlock, jeweller, Bridge Street; Mr D. Davidson, Waverley Hotel; Mr D. Macgregor, Bank of Scotland; Mr Rod. Fraser, Kingsmills Road; Mr A. Fraser, Kenneth Street; Mr John E. Macdonald, Millburn; Mr William Macdonald, builder; Mr Donald Murray, commission agent; Mr Keeble, merchant, High Street; Mr John Macleod, Union Road; Mr Wm. Strachan, Union Road; Mr John Macdonald, Invergordon; Mr R. Macleod, Castle Street; Mr W. Colvin, Church Street; Mr D. F. Mackenzie, Queensgate; Mr J. F. Smith, Wells Street; Mr Hugh Fraser, King Street; Mr A. Fraser, grocer, Tomnahurich Street; Mr Duncan Mackin-

tosh, secretary; and Mr A. Macdonald, Highland Railway, assistant secretary.

Apologies for absence were intimated from numerous members of the Society, after which the usual toasts were proposed and cordially responded to. Thereafter Mr Mackintosh submitted the following report from the Council:—"The Council of the Society have again to report the close of another year of prosperity. Within it one life member, five honorary members, and fifteen ordinary members joined the Society. The membership of the Society stands at present at 34 life members, 41 honorary members, and 359 ordinary members. The treasurer's report is as follows:—Balance from last year, £26 6s 11d; income during year, £135 6s 2d; total, £161 13s 1d; expenditure during year, £102 1s 4d; balance at the credit of the Society's bank account, £59 11s 9d. Out of this balance, however, the volume of Transactions, in printer's hands, has to be paid. The Council much regret the unavoidable delay in issuing the twenty-first volume of Transactions, but it is now all printed, and will be in the hands of the members in a few weeks. It will be found to be the largest that the Society has issued. The study of the questions in which the Society is specially interested has greatly extended since the formation of the Society, and able scholars in the Celtic field are willing to contribute to the Transactions; but the Council feel that they cannot issue to the members volumes of such size as they could with a larger revenue. Donations towards the publishing fund and library will be gratefully received. The Council much regret having to record the death of two prominent members during the year, viz., Sir Henry Macandrew and Mr Alex. Mackenzie, publisher, both of whom took an active part in furthering the objects of the Society."

Dochfour, who was received with cheers, then rose to propose the toast of the evening, "Success to the Gaelic Society of Inverness"—(cheers). He said—To have to address you on the subject of Gaelic, when you know the language—and I don't—puts me in rather a trying position. It is as if I was to lecture my friend, Mr William Mackay, on Urquhart and Glenmoriston, or my friend, Dr Norman Macleod, on the National Church. But one may value a thing one does not understand—(applause)—and I, at least, know the Highland character which the language represents, with all its romance and enthusiasm, its strong poetic instincts, and its impetuous courage. You will remember how Sir Walter Scott tells us in his introduction to "Waverley," that he was led to think of writing the story by finding how closely the

modern life of his day was linked to the vastly different life which existed in the Highlands within the memory of then living men. Ours is the only country in which the manners of the Middle Ages, with their wild romance and rugged picturesqueness, have come down to the very borders of our own time. There is an old lady now living, my grandfather's aunt, whose father was living at Dochfour as a small boy at the time of Culloden. He remembered seeing the great coach-and-six, which was the first carriage to appear in the Highlands, bringing old Simon Lord Lovat to visit his father. Such a thing as a carriage had never been heard of, and there was not a gate in the policies large enough to let it in, and finally a stretch of wall had to be pulled down to give an entrance. This visit was always supposed to be in connection with the Rising, as some of the family took a part of considerable importance in stirring up the Highlands. It was a rough and wild time, and changed as if by magic into a new state of things within one generation. There is hardly a house of any importance which does not speak of the new refinement, for hardly one was not rebuilt during the fifty years after Culloden under the influence of Adams. Furniture and china and books came down from Edinburgh. Parks were formed with handsome iron gates. Woods were planted, agriculture improved, and money came into the country. I should think no country changed i s aspect so rapidly. But we should be sorry to see the change lead to a severance of the links with the past. For good or ill, the past has made us what we are, and we ought to keep alive its memories and traditions, its sentiments and characteristics, so that the Highlands, though refined in manner and advanced in culture, may remain the Highlands still, not losing their individuality, or becoming a feeble imitation of an English county—(applause)—but loyally contributing the forces and powers of their national life towards the maintenance of that glorious British Empire of which they form a part—(applause). There is no way for preserving a nation's character like preserving its language, and we ought to welcome a Society which devotes itself to this end. It is therefore with great pleasure that I have to congratulate you on the progress that this Society has made since I had last the honour of presiding at your annual dinner. Since then the Society has published two large volumes of transactions, and another volume is to be issued to the members. The syllabus for the year shows that there is still interesting and valuable work to do, and the literary members of the Society are more active now than they have been since the Society was started many years ago. We may

also claim that the Society has had the effect of spreading the knowledge of Gaelic literature and Highland history. I believe that field was never better cultivated than at present. Numerous associations are working in it, both in Scotland, in England, in America, and Australia. Several newspapers both in Scotland and Ireland devote a considerable portion of their space to Gaelic literature; and we receive weekly a newspaper from Canada, printed entirely in Gaelic—(applause). Friendly relations have also been established between the Gaels and the Celts of other countries. At the successful Mod held in Inverness in 1897, the Irish and Welsh were represented, and so real does the tie which has been established between the various Celtic countries appear to be, that two weeks ago a Frenchman wrote to one of the Inverness papers, strongly appealing to Highlanders for sympathy with their fellow Celts of France, in the questions which have arisen regarding the French fishing rights in Newfoundland—(applause). In conclusion, then, I would only say, that this Gaelic Society exists for the whole Highlands, and not for the glorification of any clan or family—(applause). Long may it continue to occupy the independent position it has occupied in the past, and long may it continue to flourish—(cheers).

Mr William Mackay gave the toast of "Highlanders and the Highlands" in a few brief sentences, remarking that he would leave the subject in the hands of Dr Norman Macleod, who was one of their most representative of Highlanders, and whose name was a source of pride to the Highland people—(applause).

Rev. Dr Macleod, who was received with loud applause, in reply said—I have to thank you for associating my name with the toast, though, to say the truth, I do not think that it requires any reply at all. It would be strange if at the dinner of the Gaelic Society, which exists for the very purpose of perpetuating all that is best in Highland tradition, Highland literature, and Highland story—nay, more, of promoting, as far as we are able, the best interests of the Highland people—it would be strange, I say, if on such an occasion, the event were not received with a burst of genuine pride and enthusiasm—(applause). Gentlemen, standing where we now do, at the close of the most wonderful century in the world's history, we are naturally disposed to indulge more than is customary in retrospect and anticipation. In connection with such an event as this especially it is impossible not to be influenced by the contrast between the Highlands of to-day and the Highlands of a hundred years ago. No doubt there was in the old simple life of that time a beauty and a charm which are

perhaps lacking in our modern life. There was in it a romance—a poetry—a chivalry which has well nigh passed away. If we suppose that it was barbarous or semi-barbarous as compared with our own days, we are mightily mistaken. Among the upper classes—the lairds, the ministers, the gentlemen tacksmen—there was a refinement and a culture greater, I believe, than was to be found in any other part of the country—(hear, hear)—and though the peasantry—the crofters they are now called—were poorly educated and scantily provided with the means of subsistence, I will venture to say that among no peasantry in the world could finer specimens of humanity have been found. These were common in those days, which are now separated from us by the space of a whole century—(applause). At the same time, gentlemen, it has always seemed to me that in some quarters there is a disposition to draw too unfavourable a comparison between the present and the past. The past was by no means the Golden Age or Elysium which it is sometimes represented to have been. Often there was a deep and wide-spread poverty as great as at any later period—and not infrequently the country was swept by grievous epidemics, the result, probably, of insufficient nourishment and unwholesome surroundings. If the voices of the men of former generations could reach us, they could tell that they, too, had hardships, difficulties, and evils to contend with, not less trying than those which still exist. Be that, however, as it may, of this there can be no doubt, that the past, with its quiet ways, its mutual confidence, and its patient contentment, the feudal spirit of reverence and veneration, has passed away, and we find ourselves to-day in the midst of circumstances which are totally unlike those which formerly existed. During the last twenty years in particular the Highlands have been passing through what is popularly called "a transition period." Upon the whole, I think we may congratulate ourselves on the improvement, in many respects at all events, which has taken place—(hear, hear). I know that there is still much which we would all like to see altered for the better, especially as regards the distribution of the population, if that were possible. In some places, take the Lews, for example, there is a congestion of population, while in other places and throughout the Highlands generally there can be no doubt, in my opinion, that depopulation has been carried a great deal too far—(hear, hear). Much has been said and done during the recent agitation of which we cannot approve. I deplored it at the time as much as any man could do, but it never surprised me that the "Clearances" of fifty or sixty years ago left

a deep scar on the memory of Highlanders which it will take generations to efface—(hear, hear). It is easy to say, and probably with much truth, that these events were only the result of economic causes, which are uncontrollable as the movements of the planets; but an unsophisticated race do not understand the laws of political economy, and it is no wonder that they regarded, as in many instances they had just cause to do, the eviction of their fellow-countrymen as an act of wanton cruelty. I have seen too much of it myself not to be able to sympathise with the feeling of resentment that was provoked, much as I regret the form in which it sometimes expressed itself in word and act. But the agitation has now in great measure subsided, for two reasons—first, because it is more clearly seen than it once was that many of the proposals that were thrust on public attention, often by irresponsible men, were quite impracticable; and, further, because the evils complained of have, to a very considerable extent, been removed by the beneficial action of the Legislature and through the kindly consideration of many of the landlords themselves—(hear, hear). All round there is a better understanding, and consequently less friction and less complaining than we have been accustomed to for some time back. What I should like to see in the Highlands is a much larger number of holdings—not crofts—but moderately sized farms of £50 and £100 rent—(applause). So far as can be seen at present, the day of vast houseless, homeless sheep-runs is pretty well over, and I hope that gradually we shall see not repopulation perhaps in the old sense, but a happy and prosperous tenantry, native to the soil, and animated by the same spirit of loyalty, patriotism, and religion as distinguished so many of our Highland forefathers—(loud applause). Vast are the changes which have taken place since the century began its wondrous course! Think of the material improvement in the opening up of the country by railways and steamers. In a short time we shall see the white smoke of the railway engine at no less than three points of the West Highland seaboard! Who would have expected it thirty years ago? And apparently we are only at the beginning of this extraordinary development, which goes on apace, more to the advantage of the Highlanders, I should suppose, than to the shareholders—(laughter). Anyhow, there it is, and it cannot fail to have a powerful influence in the near future. There are signs, too, of the commencement of industrial undertakings, which are very much needed. Our silent and lovely lakes are about to be harnessed, if you will pardon the metaphor, to the chariot of modern invention and commercial

enterprise. For the sake of the people, I wish all success to these undertakings. Give our Highlanders work to do at home, and they will not be so disposed to seek it elsewhere—(applause). Gentlemen, I might speak in the same strain of the educational and social progress which has taken place. At the beginning of this century the means of education were the scantiest that could be conceived. Here and there, there were schoolmasters who would have been an honour to any profession, but they were poorly paid and miserably housed. Thousands and tens of thousands of the people—I fancy the majority—could neither read nor write. But now I can say with confidence that no part of Scotland is better provided in the matter of education, and there are no children in the country who are better fitted to receive the excellent education that is given—(applause). Therefore, gentlemen, I think that as we turn our eyes to the future, we can anticipate a new era of prosperity for our beloved Highlands and Highlanders —(applause). "The old order changeth, yielding place to the new!" But if the Highland people have faith in their own resources, if they continue to be law-abiding as in the past, if they do not suffer their moral fibre to become deteriorated, if they follow after habits of industry and true piety, I do not doubt that they will continue to advance along that brightening pathway of material, educational, and social improvement which is now opening up before them—(loud applause).

Mr James Barron proposed the combined toast of the "Non-resident Members" and "Kindred Societies," to which Rev. Mr J. Kennedy, Arran, and Mr W. J. Watson, Inverness, responded.

Mr Graham, solicitor, gave the toast of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Inverness, and the Provost replied in brief terms.

Dr Alex. Ross proposed the health of Dochfour, remarking that they would all agree with him in saying that the Chairman that evening had performed the duties with a grace and tact that were much to be commended. There was a formal set of toasts which always came—and rightly so—at meetings of this kind; these were the usual loyal and patriotic toasts. They were usually proposed in a regular stereotyped fashion, and it was indeed difficult to get beyond that method of dealing with them; but they would all agree with him in thinking that Dochfour had, in proposing these toasts, done so in a thoroughly unique and graceful way. Indeed, he had never heard a more appropriate and pleasing expression given to the sentiment of the loyal and patriotic toasts than was given by Dochfour that night.

The toast was pledged with Highland honours and the singing of "For he's a jolly good fellow."

Dochfour said it afforded him great pleasure to be present and preside over so pleasant a gathering. Were his services in the chair of any benefit to the Society, he could assure them he would be glad when opportunity arose to comply with any such invitation—(cheers).

The closing toast was that of the Croupiers, proposed by Mr A. Mackintosh, Inland Revenue, and replied to by Dr Ross and Rev. J. Kennedy, Arran. During the evening songs were sung by Mr R. Macleod, Castle Street; Mr W. Colvin, Church Street; Mr Hugh Fraser, weaver; Mr Wm. Mackay, Mr J. L. Guild, Mr David Munro, Mr J. E. Macdonald, and others. Piper Mackenzie, N. M. gold medallist, supplied much appreciated pipe music, in the absence of Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie.

26th JANUARY, 1899.

At a well-attended meeting on this date the Rev. Father Macdonald, Invercannich, was elected an ordinary member of the Society. Thereafter a paper, contributed by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, LL.D., entitled "The Macdonalds of Achtriachtan, Cadets of Glencoe," was read. The paper is as follows:—

THE MACDONALDS OF ACHTRIACHTAN.

Every Highlander has an interest in, and warm feeling towards, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, of which house Achtriachtan is a cadet.

There seems unfortunately, perhaps necessarily on their part, at the present day among certain of the baser class of Scotsmen, pottering amongst old papers, unable to discriminate but ready to wound, an inclination to besmirch the good name of prominent Highlanders, if Jacobites. The infamous writings and doings of the Dutchman and his willing tools have by certain writers even in the 19th century undergone white-washings, though the more this is attempted the deeper are the stains.

William intended the expropriation of the Glencoe men, and carried it out to the last.

Even after the lapse of two hundred years justice has not fully overtaken the destroyers, from the usurper downwards to the meanest of his engaged assassins.

By what authority did the Dutchman take it upon him to give direct orders for the massacre? There was, at least nominally, legal authority in Scotland through which all orders for the carrying out of prosecutions for non-submission, fell to pass. The Privy Council of Scotland existed, through whom all such orders could alone be legally directed. What were they, if Secretary Johnstone willed it otherwise? What could, however, be expected from Scottish spirit after the Revolution, trampled into dust as were all Scottish rights? A few ambitious Scottish nobles, affecting sympathy, joined those conventiclers, who again lifted their heads, and, steeped in fanaticism and blind folly, prepared the way for the adoption of Patronage.

That odious step, the direct consequence of the Revolution of 1688, came about within twenty-five years, and by destroying the independence of the Church, has proved such a curse to Scotland, that even to this day its prejudicial effects are seen everywhere patent and visible, unceasingly disturbing the land. No regular Parliament was constituted in Scotland during William and Mary's reign.

The Mac-ic-Iains continued, despite all, to flourish, and did so until the time of Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe, who died early in this century, and who, engaging deeply in the nefarious trade of sheep farming, with its eviction of people, all over the Highlands, impoverished his estate. Though the name was kept up, the male line terminated without lawful issue in the person of Dr Macdonald, son of the above named Alexander Macdonald.

The estate now belongs to a successful Canadian, who has shewn excellent signs of wholesome Highland feeling, and has it in his power to revive much of the glory of its historic past.

The old Highland feeling, which allowed to the stranger, without question, protection and hospitality, was infamously taken advantage of, and the actors cannot even shelter themselves from their ill act under pretended sense of duty—

> "And though in them Glencoe's devoted men
> Beheld the foes of all who bore their name,
> Yet simple faith allowed the stranger's claim
> To hospitable cheer and welcome kind."

In 1692, at the time of the massacre, Alexander Macdonald of Achtriachtan was amongst those murdered. In the accounts

of the day, it is stated "that a party under Sergeant Barker fired upon a number of Glencoe men, killing the Laird of Achtriachtan and several others. This gentleman had a protection in his pocket from Colonel Hill."

I do not find anyone of the family proprietor before the above Alexander, who, described as "eldest lawful son of John Macdonald in Achtriachtan," enters into a feu contract with John Stuart, Fiar of Ardsheal, receiving in feu:—

"All and haill the three merk land of Achtriachtan, and all and haill the merk land of Kinlochbeg in Glenco, with houses, biggings, yards, milns, multures, and with the third part of the fir and oak wood of Kinlochbeg in Glenco, and with other woods, isles, rocks, fishings, pertaining and belonging to the said four merk lands, all lying within the parish of Kilmolowack, Lordship of Lorn, and Sheriffdom of Argyle. And also the salmon fishings upon said Alexander, his own side of the water of Leven, and salmon fishings of Achtriachtan."

This contract of feu is dated 4th February, 1686.

The lands of Kinlochbeg had previously pertained to John Cameron of Kinlochmore in virtue of wadset thereof in his favour by Robert Stuart of Appin. Cameron having disponed to Achtriachtan, the latter's brother and successor, Angus, the second Achtriachtan, received a Precept of Clare Constat from Appin upon 8th January, 1704. He was probably the fortunate person of whom it is recorded as follows:—

"A brother of the Laird having been seized by Barker (before alluded to), requested him as a favour not to dispatch him in the house, but to kill him outside the door. The Sergeant consented, as he had received some kindness formerly, but when brought out he threw his plaid, which he had kept loose, over the shoulders of the soldiers appointed to shoot him and escaped."

The extent of the lands of Achtriachtan and Kinlochbeg may be inferred from its taking two days, 14th and 15th January, 1704, to take infeftment upon the above Precept.

There appears to have been some doubt as to the title to Kinlochbeg, as it was found necessary for Angus Cameron of Kinlochleven, son and heir of the above John Cameron, to grant formal renunciation and discharge of any right or pretension he, the said Angus Cameron, or his father, John, had over Kinlochbeg.

Angus Macdonald must have possessed the estate for over fifty years; and by repeated statements on the part of Miss

Fraser Macdonald after mentioned, daughter of the fourth and last Achtriachtan, to her kinsman, Mr Alexander Cameron, accountant, Rose Villa, Ballifeary, Inverness; Angus, a staunch, hereditary Jacobite, took up arms for Prince Charles, being then over seventy years of age, and was killed at Prestonpans in 1745.* By his wife, Flora Cameron of Callart, he had two daughters, and, dying without male issue, the succession passed to another Angus Macdonald, the third Achtriachtan, who, described as "nearest heir male to the deceased Angus Macdonald, his grand-uncle's son," received a Precept of Clare Constat from Dugald Stuart of Appin, the superior, dated 26th July, 1751, upon which Angus Macdonald was infeft upon the 27th July. Angus Macdonald, third Achtriachtan, the heir male, married as his first wife his cousin, eldest daughter of the second laird. The second daughter, Margaret, married Angus Macintyre in Comasnaharrie of Callart, ancestress of Mr Alexander Cameron above mentioned.

Prior to Achtriachtan's making up titles, he, upon 22nd January, 1751, negotiated with Dugald Stuart of Appin for an exchange of Appin's lands of Leckentuim with the lands of Kinlochbeg. The exchange was advantageous to Achtriachtan, for Leckentuim was a two merk land, while Kinlochbeg extended only to one merk. Achtriachtan was afterwards infeft in "the two merk lands of Leckentuim, with the whole pertinents thereof, lying in Glencoe, parish of Lismore and Appin, and shire of Argyle," 27th July, 1751. He also had a long lease of the farm of Achnacon.

In 1754 he had some business transactions with Alexander Stuart of Acharn. This name brings up a frightful instance of Campbell atrocity. The white-washing of Lord Justice General Isla's monstrous behaviour at the trial of James Stewart of Acharn has not, even in these white-washing days, been yet attempted. That it may not be attempted would be unsafe to say.

According to the Bighouse Papers, edited by Captain Douglas Wimberley, of Inverness, the Earl of Breadalbane, writing to a confidant under date 21st November, 1752, shortly after Acharn's judicial murder, narrates with satisfaction an interview with the Lord Chancellor, in which the latter, though well aware that an innocent man had been executed, felt no pity for

* Some trinkets found on the body were taken care of by the deceased's friends, and continued as treasured heirlooms in the family, and by none with greater pride and affection than by their ultimate possessor, Miss Fraser Macdonald.

him; no, his whole mind, as well as that of his concurring auditor, was this:—

"That he wished heartily that the principal actors, and more of the contrivers of that horrid fact, could be found out and brought to justice, that more examples might be made besides James Stewart."

So much for the Lord Chancellor, now for the noble Earl's own views:—

"In answer to another letter which I writt to him after the other, in which I advised taking proper methods to pursue this affair further while it is warm, he says that I am certainly in the right in thinking that the utmost diligence and vigilance ought to be exerted in finding out the other persons concerned in this barbarous murder, not only in order to punish them for that crime, but to exterminate them out of the country, but that stronger orders can not be framed than those which have been sent from London to all the King's officers, civil and military, in Scotland, for both those purposes, and he thinks they ought to be reminded of them.

"I have transcribed his own words as far as can be done in an extract.

"He says he has given a hint (as I writt to him) that enquiry should be made in France relating to Allan Breck's being come back to his regiment, that we may be able to judge if he is still in this country."

Leckentuim lay well into the estate of Dalness, and how the best part of the whole estate fell into the hands of poor Achtriachtan's law agent and confidential adviser, Coll Macdonald, W.S., of Dalness, is mentioned hereafter.

Achtriachtan proper had a fine sheiling attached called "Grianan." Achtriachtan married, secondly, Anne Campbell, daughter of John Campbell of Ballieveolan, and a post-nuptial contract betwixt them, with consent of the lady's father, bears date 10th December, 1753. She appears to have been first married to Stuart of Appin.

The connection of a Macdonald with a Campbell seldom boded good to the former, and in this case the small tocher brought was dissipated by the Campbell connections.

Achtriachtan had lawyers busy in Fort-William, Glasgow, and Edinburgh, getting more involved every year, but struggled on until his death on 28th December, 1798.

A friend in Edinburgh, under date 4th January, 1799, is found writing:—

"Poor Achtriachtan died here this day eight days after a very short illness. The bursting of a blood vessel was the immediate cause of death."

Among the papers delivered up by his Edinburgh agent after his death, there was a bundle "No. 5, consisting of papers relative to Achtriachtan's processes with Cameron of Kinlochleven, being in number forty-three."

Nothing, however, had been sold, and had the eldest son lived, entire relief from pecuniary distress seemed certain. Achtriachtan had eight sons and three daughters, Isobel, Janet, and Betty. From a letter dated 14th August, 1817, it would appear the ladies had all married, but I have no information on this point. Of the sons, Alexander, the eldest, died unmarried in the East Indies in 1793. Adam, the second son, succeeded to the estates. Angus, the third, who had been specially called to the succession after the death of the eldest brother, died shortly before his father. James, the fourth son, I find a clerk in the Sheriff Clerk's Office in Inverness in 1781. The youth and his impecunious master, the Sheriff Clerk (for processes of debt became common in the Sheriff Court against the Keeper of the Records), naturally did not part on amiable terms. Allan, fifth son; John, sixth son; Evan, seventh son; and Robert, eighth son, all died without issue prior to 1815. Old Achtriachtan left a Trust Settlement in favour of Major John Campbell of Airds, Alexander Campbell, younger of Dunure, Captain Peter Campbell at Ardshiel, and others, including Coll Macdonald, W.S., named 'sine qua non,' before and after alluded to.

Alexander, the eldest son, died as above mentioned in India, Captain in the East India Company's service. He left a considerable sum, but as a great portion was life-rented by his Indian housekeeper, "Julia," his heirs had much difficulty in forcing a division after Julia's death by the surviving trustee, whose rank alone in the army, if otherwise destitute of honour, demanded a prompt settlement of his deceased friend's affairs. Had Captain Alexander lived to return to Scotland, Achtriachtan would in all probability have continued with the Macdonalds. But it was not to be; Captain Macdonald, disappointed in securing a passage by one of the latest vessels of the season, had to remain for a few months, and, overtaken with fever, died. Upon the news reaching home, old Achtriachtan for good reasons, as may be judged from the sequel, called his third son,

Angus, to the succession, but unfortunately Angus died very shortly before his father, who, even if he wished to do so, was then too ill to make a new destination.

I have no information regarding Allan, the fifth son. John and Hugh, the sixth and seventh sons, were in the service of the East India Company, and died there, their representatives in 1814 getting certain moneys from Chelsea Hospital and a share of the "Helder" money. Robert, the eighth and youngest son, ensign in the Company's service, is specially referred to in the settlements of his eldest brother, Captain Alexander Macdonald.

The first notice I have of Adam, the second son and the fourth Achtriachtan, occurs in 1779, when he draws a bill for a small sum upon one Kenneth Stewart at Corran. At the time of his father's death Adam Macdonald was in the West Indies, and had been for some years in Jamaica, but judging from his after history he had realised nothing, in fact had to be assisted home by a brother Mac.

The only sensible thing I have to record of this last Achtriachtan was his marriage in 1801 to Miss Helen Cameron, eldest daughter of Ewen Cameron of Glennevis. To this worthy lady's credit it can be recorded that, during many trials and hardships, she enjoyed the respect and friendship of all who knew her early and continuous troubles. One of Helen Cameron's sisters married the Laird of Glenmoriston, another, the Laird of Kilcoy. Adam Macdonald's sister married Cameron of Clunes, and was mother of the late Donald Cameron of Clunes, and Colonel Cameron, Clifton Villa, Inverness.

Achtriachtan I see thus described by one who knew him long and intimately, who, from his age and legal experience, was well qualified to judge:—

"Mr Macdonald has shown from his youth the most flexible, facile, and unresisting disposition, a mind the most unsuspicious, weak, and pliable, and a habit of life inconsistent with the ways of prudent men. In short, he showed himself the easy victim of designing men, and especially of such as by connection and otherwise had title to the least influence over his deliberations and actions. It is not wonderful that such a person as this should in his circumstances have soon felt the fatal effects of his facility. Accordingly he had been but a very few years at home when he became very much embarrassed in his circumstances, and deeply involved in debt, arising from his cautionary obligations, into which he had been artfully inveigled, and from hopeless and ruinous law suits to which he had been most unproperly encouraged."

Had Achtriachtan settled down quietly he might have prospered, but, quite unfit to manage his patrimonial estate, he must needs not only give his name to needy and unscrupulous men, but actually enter upon unremunerative leases of sheep farms. Through his close connection with Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe, he doubtless imbibed the idea of making his fortune by sheep farming, and lost frightfully by becoming tenant or liable for subtenants of large farms in Strathconon, belonging to General, afterwards Sir, Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn. He had also a large farm from the Marquis of Tweeddale, and took in as subtenants certain farmers named Rankin upon the advice of his law agent, which involved him deeply with the landlord. At the termination of the lease, Achtriachtan's name, though he had ceased to have any interest, was used to defend some of the Rankins.

Mrs Macdonald endeavoured in vain to extricate her husband, who still had faith in his agent.

Achtriachtan had also a farm upon Ardsheal, where the family resided until Whitsunday, 1817, when it was by the exertions of the trustees sub-let to Captain Cameron. Ten or twelve crofters had previously been ordered to be removed, "in case the incoming tenant should wish the farm clear." It further appeared a dozen servants and shepherds, about and on the farm, had been paid no wages for years past, and the annual loss in working of Ardsheal exceeded £200, and probably amounted to £300.

The estate of Dalness was large and important, but a slice of Achtriachtan would come in very handy. The remainder of Achtriachtan might be depreciated by that operation, but that was of no consequence to Dalness, whose plans had been long maturing.

Achtriachtan went to Edinburgh deeply embarrassed, and while there lost a heavy law suit, and, sanguine and easy tempered as he was, became much dispirited. Anything to tide over present difficulties he was ready to grasp, and so without consulting or having time to see any friend, he entered into an agreement for the sale of a large part of his estate. It specified the exact bounds, but as the acreage was unknown, while the whole estate was let as one holding, a pretence of fair dealing was made, viz., that the proportion of the whole rent should be allocated by accountants appointed by the purchaser, with whom alone they communicated, and twenty-seven years' purchase was fixed as the price. This allocation was hurried through and the title completed before the transaction became publicly known. The price worked out at £3600, of which less than £100 came to Achtriach-

tan, all the rest going to purge an old debt of £2000 incurred by Achtriachtan's father, and certain debts for which Mr Coll Macdonald had become cautioner. This occurred in 1816, and the result was, that not only was the proportion of the whole rent of Achtriachtan applicable to the portion sold unduly diminished (working out at the twenty-seven years' purchase), but it proved an extraordinary bargain to the purchaser, and, at the same time, a serious loss to the seller, as afterwards shown when the remainder of the estate came to be disposed of.

This sale had one good result, in respect that it enabled Achtriachtan's trustees to dispense with the agent as such.

The dismissal was, however, resented, and the agent bought up some of the debts for a trifle, harassed the operations of the trust, prevented realisations and settlements, and heaped up expenses in the form of reductions, multiple-poindings, etc.

Notwithstanding the sale to Dalness and that of Inshrigg to Mr Downie of Appin, the trustees for a time had the hope of saving the last of the estate. It was found, however, that the expenses and obstructions to the working of the trust were insurmountable, and a sale by public roup in the month of June was ordered. The upset was fixed at £8940, being with that given by Dalness the sum reckoned to be the value of the whole original estate. No purchaser appeared, and it then became clear that the sale to Dalness destroyed to a great extent the value of what remained. In the end the trustees had to accept £6000, offered by Mr Downie on 5th November, 1817, thus shewing that the private and secret sale to the agent involved a loss of nearly £3000 in the ultimate realisation.

The persecution did not cease, for arrestments were laid on the price, and years of litigation ensued. In the end the ordinary creditors had to accept a composition, thanks alone to the reckless and wanton, but studied legal expenditure.

Achtriachtan and his family were reduced to depend upon the interest of Mrs Macdonald's moderate fortune and upon her jointure, which was of course a preferable debt. I have seen a letter mentioning that Achtriachtan was buried in Eilean Mhunna with Highland honours, nine pipers accompanying the remains to their last resting-place on Loch Leven's sacred isle.

After his death Mrs Macdonald and her daughters lived much respected in Fort-William, were most hospitable and kindly in disposition, and were held in great esteem by all the people, not only for their unmerited misfortunes, but also for their own worth. The family consisted of three sons, Colin, John, and Hugh, and four daughters. The sons who survived left for the West Indies

or Australasia, and the only reference I find among the papers to them is under date October, 1888:—

"On the 18th inst., at St Faith's, Stoke Newington, by the Rev. Frederick Cox, Vicar of St Philips, Dalston, Henry Edward, second son of the late John Bennet of Chester, to Isabel Jane, third daughter of the late Colin John Macdonald of Achtriachtan, Glencoe, Argyleshire."

The above Colin Macdonald, the eldest son, held a high position in the Post Office at Brisbane, New Zealand.

The eldest daughter, whom I recollect as a particularly handsome and stately specimen of the old Highland lady of the past, married Mr Mackenzie, commonly called "Munlochy," brother of the late General Alexander Mackenzie and also of Mrs Gibson, wife of the late Rev. Dr Gibson of Avoch. Another of the Achtriachtan ladies married Mr MacLellan, Officer of Excise, and some of their descendants have thriven in Australasia. The two youngest, Misses Isabella and Jane Fraser Macdonald, whom many will recollect, died unmarried, both accomplished women, and, like their mother, such charming exponents of the Gaelic that while even to hear them speak in that language was a pleasure, their old Gaelic songs were a still greater delight. At Inverness, where they lived for some years, their memory is still green.

That most competent, most delightful, most kindly delineator and exponent of the Highlands in the past and present, the Rev. Dr Stewart of Nether Lochaber, mentions that old Achtriachtan was dead prior to the Doctor's settlement in Nether Lochaber, but he was well acquainted with the lady, whom he describes as "a highly accomplished and charming old lady." Like her late husband, she was interred in the sacred isle with all honour, for Dr Stewart, who was present and officiated, states that it was the largest seen in Lochaber for sixty years, and conducted with all the music and profusion usual of old at Highland funerals of the "gentry."

The steady disappearance from the Highlands of old families of minor rank has been going on for a long time, whereby the country is much the poorer. If their places were taken up by Highlanders there might not be so much to regret, but in few cases do new comers supply the loss of the old and careless, but kindly and sympathetic landlords, the ladies combining the courtliness of hereditary culture with the warm and friendly intercourse so congenial to the Celtic race, knitting peer and peasant. All were "gentle" in its highest and truest sense.

2nd FEBRUARY, 1899.

At the meeting on this date the following elections were made:—Honorary Member—A. Grant, Esq., Maryhill, Inverness; Ordinary Members—Mr Thos. Munro, architect, Inverness; Mr Andrew Urquhart, M.A., Rosehall, Invershin; Mr Geo. Sellar, merchant, and Mr Alex. Macpherson, baker, Kingussie; and Mr Alex. Mackenzie, Dochfour Estates Office, Inverness. Thereafter Mr A. Macbain, M.A., read a valuable paper on "The Culdees." The paper is as follows:—

THE CULDEES.

The separation in literature and tradition between the Gael of Scotland and those of Ireland, brought about in the seventeenth century by the Union of the Crowns, and especially by the Protestantism which began to prevail in the Highlands, caused the Scottish Gaels soon to forget their literary heritage, and the eighteenth century saw James Macpherson play his "fantastic tricks" with the broken remains of the ancient history and poetry of the race. It was the same in Church history. Hector Boece, however, is responsible for the first error in this matter. Finding that Palladius was sent in 431 to the "Scots believing in Christ," he thought these Scots were in Scotland, while, as a matter of fact, the people of Ireland were meant; and accordingly he dates the introduction of Christianity into Scotland as far back as 203, and fills the period between 203 and 431 with monks or Culdees, as he calls them, translating the name as "cultores dei"—worshippers of God. He knew, of course, about the Culdees, or, rather, the Cele-de, of the Celtic Church of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and so antedated them by a thousand years. The second step in error was taken by Protestant writers, who regarded the followers of Columba as Culdees; the terms Culdee and Columbite have been used indifferently as signifying the same class of ecclesiastic. A third step made the Culdees into Presbyterians. Bede tells us that the Abbot of Iona was always a presbyter, and, if a presbyter, why, he must have been a Presbyterian! Q.E.D. This wonderful argument is still believed in by nearly all Highland Presbyterians, who forget Milton's famous gibe at their predecessors, where he gives the right history of the word—

"For presbyter is but priest writ large."

And so it is: priest is derived from presbyter or prester, and meant in Bede's time the same as priest does now. "Sacerdos" was another synonym.

The renaissance of matters Celtic is in the minds of some connected with the advent of W. B. Yeats and Fiona Macleod; but it really happened some sixty years ago, simultaneously and independently, in Ireland and on the Continent. The great Irish scholars, O'Currie, O'Donovan, Petrie, and Todd, resuscitated the literature and history found in ancient Irish MSS. Zeuss and his compeers on the Continent placed the Celtic languages on a sound philological and historical basis. And so real Celtic scholarship began, and has flourished ever since, save in England, and, sad to say, in Scotland it is not much better. Although Reeves and, after him, Skene have clearly expounded the story of the Celtic Church, Highlanders—and their clergy—still go on believing and teaching the old fallacies. Even the Divinity Colleges are scarcely yet aware of the truth in regard to the Celtic Church. It is therefore with much pleasure that one finds Professor Cooper, of Glasgow, coming forth as an exponent of the newer light on this subject. The present writer has known many Highland Divinity students who have been taught little or nothing about the Church of their forefathers—and that little was usually wrong. It is to be hoped that the new interest taken just now in Celtic studies may reach even our Sassenach professors of Church history.

The Celtic Church.

The Celtic Church of Scotland had its origin in the older Scotia, known better as Ireland. Prosper of Aquitaine, a contemporary, says that Palladius was sent in 431 by Pope Celestine as bishop to the Scots believing in Christ. This implies that Christianity was already introduced into Ireland. Several considerations make it probable that the southern portion of Ireland (Leth Moga) became Christian in the fourth century. It is here that the Ogam monuments are found, and the Ogam alphabet, a purely Irish invention, was undoubtedly founded as far as sound is concerned on the Latin alphabet. South Ireland had close connections with Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. There is an inclination among the present-day students of Celtic Church history to change Prosper's Romanising statement into something like this:—"In 431 Bishop Germanus and the British Church Councils sent Sucat, further named Palladius, as first Bishop to the Scots believing in Christ." The name Palladius means "War-

like," or "Belonging to the war-goddess Pallas," and Su-cat or So-chath (Welsh 'hygad'), "Good at fight," "Warlike." The name Patricius he adopted as he was of good or noble family. At any rate, Bishop Patrick was sent that year or next (432). He was a Briton, born probably at Rose-neath (older Nevet, Nemptor being named as Patrick's birthplace), captured and kept a slave for some years in Antrim in his youth, and therefore no doubt acquainted with the language as well as the people. The scene of his labours was Leth Chuinn or Northern Ireland. Patrick represented the ordinary or secular clergy as opposed to the cloistered clergy. These last, however, were destined to be the real powers that converted and captivated Ireland into Christianity. Monachism, a growth of the fourth century, had become extremely popular in Gaul about 400 A.D., and from there the system was transferred to Ireland. Here it ousted every other form of Church government. Each tribal district received its tribal monastery; the secular clergy—bishops, priests, deacons, and the rest—were drawn into the monasteries, and all had to obey the abbot, whatever his ecclesiastical rank might be otherwise. The diocese was the tribal district; the monastery supplied all religious wants, and planted its kirklets and oratories around with lavish hand. These monasteries sent out fit missionaries to plant like monasteries in other provinces; for the Celtic Church was nothing if not a missionary church. The abbot either belonged to the family of the founder, as in Iona, or to the family of the tribal chief. The doctrines and dogmas were those of St Jerome, St Augustine, and the Bishop or Pope of Rome in the first half of the fifth century; the ritual was that of Gaul and Britain for the same date. In fact the Irish was a reproduction of the Gaulish and British Church in monastery form. The British influence upon the Irish Church is shown in the change of such words as 'pascha' and 'purpura' into 'caisg' and 'corcur,' because Welsh 'p' answered phonetically to Gaelic 'c.' Even Patrick's name in the succeeding age was changed into Cothraige (properly Cathriche).

The Celtic Church of Ireland reached the acme of its fame and usefulness in the sixth and seventh centuries. It is in the sixth century that we get properly acquainted with it; and this near acquaintance is due to St Columba, who founded the monastery of Iona in 563, and converted Pictland thereafter. Adamnan's Life of Columba (700) is the most valuable document in Celtic history, and from it and other ancient sources we can construct a fairly full and accurate picture of the Irish Church. Columba's success in Pictland fired the imagination of his

countrymen, and many of them came to the Continent to do missionary work among the destroyers of the Roman Empire. Numerous monasteries were planted by these energetic men in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Lombardy. From Iona came Bishop Aidan and converted the Northumbrians. Many Anglo-Saxon students went over to Ireland in the seventh century to study under the famous scholars there. It was they who gave their alphabet to the English and started them on the path of written literature.

For nearly two hundred years this Church had gone on alone, apart and untouched by the general Christian Church. This was due to the Teutonic invasions of Britain, Gaul, and Italy; the Roman Empire had collapsed in the fifth century, and the Franks ruled in Gaul, the Anglo-Saxons settled in England. The Irish Church was thus cut off from Rome and from—progress. Early in the seventh century the two Churches met—Rome and Iona. The missionaries on the Continent were the first to meet the shock of change. They were looked upon as some Rip Van Winkles that had been asleep while the world jogged on; they had "come back to trouble joy." Columbanus (d. 615) was checked for holding the Easter according to an antique calendar, and he was as far as a month wrong at the time. Pope Gregory himself he attacked on the Easter question in a manner more frank than courteous; but he, as well as the Celtic Church, rather regarded the Bishop of Rome, as he was in 400, as "primus inter pares," and not as Gregory then was, arbiter of the Western Church.

The dispute between Rome and Iona was, as often happens in ecclesiastical matters, a quarrel over trifles of ritual—(1) The holding of Easter on a wrong system; (2) the tonsure—the Roman being coronal, the Celtic being the shaving of the hair in front from ear to ear; (3) some irregularities about ordination (the Celts did with one bishop) and baptism. Curiously, the matter of Church government did not intervene. The South of Ireland conformed to Rome on the Easter question in or about 633, and Iona and the rest gave in in 716. The Picts, under Nectan, had conformed in 710, and so zealous was he that he is said to have expelled the Columban monks. That may have been the case, and possibly monks from the South of Ireland were the cause of it, for we find Ogam inscriptions in Pictland, no doubt due to them, as were also the Ogams of South Wales and old Cornwall. Rome was eager to fully assimilate the Celtic Church to herself in every particular, and she would have succeeded but for the intervention of the Danes and Norsemen from

800 onward. Decadence may have been creeping in before 800; the monastic system was breaking down, mainly because the lands were falling into lay hands. During the Norse period (800-1214), even the abbots became married men, and handed on their dignities and lands to their sons; the monastic side of their duties was done by substitutes. The secular clergy, where this existed, were married. There were no dioceses, and therefore no bishops independent of those in the monasteries, except the Bishop of St Andrews—primate of Scotland. This state of things lasted till the time of Alexander I.

The Culdees.

The Monastic Church was attacked by the Roman system of government from the outside; it also lost internally. Some of the most pious members withdrew into desert places as anchorites or hermits. Columbanus himself left his monastery of Bobbio for a cave opposite to it, where he died as a hermit. Many monasteries had a 'disert,' or 'desert,' attached to them as part of their land. The Scotch place-name Dysart comes from the 'disert' of some ancient anchorite. These holy men had many names in Latin, and especially Deicolæ, worshippers of God, even Colidei, which so much resembles the Gaelic Céle-dé that some have taken them to be the same. This is not so: Céle-dé means one "espoused or devoted to God." The word 'céle' was used to make personal names, just as 'gille' and 'maol' were (Gille-colum, Maol-colum). Hence Cele-clerech, Cele-crist, Cele-pedair, etc. The most famous of them was Angus Céle-dé, Angus the Culdee, author of an important Martyrology, who lived circ. 800.

The exact way in which these anchorites came to club in a body of 13, one of whom was the prior or superior ('cenn'), is not easy to discover. Possibly several anchorites retired from the monastery to live singly in the 'disert' lands, and then gradually came together under one head in the course of time. The Irish Céle-dé of Armagh, whom even the Norsemen spared in 921 in the general sack of the place, held their own till the Reformation. Several other Irish monasteries had Céle-dé. But as in Scotland they became secular clergy, and took to marrying and amassing property.

In Scotland we find the Céle-dé in many places in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Jocelyn (circ. 1190), in his Life of St Kentigern (circ. 600), gives us a glimpse of the Culdees as they should be:—"St Kentigern joined to himself a great many disciples whom he trained in the sacred literature of the divine

law. They all with godly jealousy imitated his life and doctrines —fastings, vigils, prayers, and meditations, sparing in diet and occupied with labour. For after the fashion of the primitive Church under the Apostles and their successors, possessing nothing of their own, they lived soberly and righteously, godly and continently, as did Kentigern himself, 'in single cottages,' from the time they became mature in age and doctrine. Therefore these solitary clerics are called in common speech Culdei." Such were not the Culdees of St Andrews in later times. About 1100 there was a community of Culdees there, thirteen in number, inclusive of a prior; they had wives (but after becoming Culdees the wives must not live in the official houses with them), property, and a church of their own, and they had a voice in the election of the bishop. An attempt was made to disestablish them by appointing canons to the Cathedral, and they were commanded to enrol themselves as canons regular. But they held out for two centuries. The Culdees of Loch Leven claimed to have been established by the last King of the Picts; Macbeth, the King, and his wife Grnoc granted them lands twice. In 1145 they were placed in subjection to the canons regular of St Andrews and practically suppressed. At Dunkeld an attempt was made in 1127 to oust the Culdees by canons (canonici nigri), but the former held on for some two centuries. There were Culdees at Brechin, Rosemarky, Dunblane, Dornoch, Lismore (Culdees were first the chapter and then dean and chapter), Iona, Abernethy (Culdees became canons), Monymusk (where the Culdees became canons), Muthil, and Monifieth.

In regard to the wives of the Culdees, it is clear they did not put them away on taking the Culdee vows. What happened was that the wives were banished when the Culdees' term of ministration was in progress. So the historian of Dunkeld (1485) tells us.

The following two accounts of the Culdees—those of Dunkeld and those of St Andrews—are the most important documents we have on the subject. The Dunkeld account was written in the 15th century, and is as follows:—

"In this monastery Constantine, King of the Picts, placed religious men, commonly called Kelledei, otherwise Colidei, that is, God-worshippers, who, however, after the usage of the Eastern Church, had wives (from whom they lived apart when taking their turn in the sacred offices), as afterwards grew to be the custom in the church of the blessed Regulus, now called St Andrews. But when it seemed good to the supreme controller of all Christian religion, and when devotion and piety had

increased, St David, the sovereign, who was the younger son of King Malcolm Canmor and the holy Queen Margaret, having changed the constitution of the monastery, erected it into a cathedral church; and, having superseded the Kelledei, created, about the year 1127, a bishop and canons, and ordained that there should in future be a secular college. The first bishop of this foundation was for a time abbot of that monastery, and subsequently a counsellor of the King."

The following extract is from the old records of St Andrews Priory (written in the 12th century) :—

"There were kept up, however, in the church of St Andrews such as it then was, by family succession, a society of thirteen, commonly called Keledei, whose manner of life was shaped more in accordance with their own fancy and human tradition than with the precepts of the holy fathers. Nay, even to the present day their practice continues the same; and though they have some things in common, these are such as are less in amount and value, while they individually enjoy the larger and better portion, just as each of them happens to receive gifts, either from friends who are united to them by some private tie, such as kindred or connexion, or from those whose soul friends, that is, spiritual advisers, they are, or from any other source. After they are made Keledei, they are not allowed to keep their wives within their lodgings, nor any other women, who might give rise to injurious suspicions.

"Moreover, there were seven beneficiaries, who divided among themselves the offerings of the altar; of which seven portions the bishop used to enjoy but one, and the hospital another; the remaining five were apportioned to the other five members, who performed no duty whatever, either at altar or church, and whose only obligation was to provide, after their custom, lodging and entertainment for pilgrims and strangers, when more than six chanced to arrive, determining by lot whom, and how many each of them was to receive. The Hospital, it is to be observed, had continual accommodation for a number not exceeding six; but from the time that, by God's goodness, it came into the possession of the canons till the present it is open to all comers.

"The above-mentioned beneficiaries were also possessed of their private revenues and property, which, upon their death, their wives, whom they openly lived with, and their sons or daughters, their relatives, or sons in law, used to divide among themselves: even the very offerings of the altar at which they did not serve—a profanation which one would blush to speak of, if

they had not chosen to practice. Nor could this monstrous abuse be corrected before the time of Alexander of happy memory, a sovereign of exemplary devotion to God's holy Church, who enriched the church of the blessed Apostle Andrew with possessions and revenues, loaded it with many and valuable gifts, and invested it with the liberties, customs, and royalties which appertained to his royal donation. The land also called the Boar's Chase, which the above-named King Hungus had presented to God and to the holy Apostle St Andrew at the time that the relics of St Andrew arrived, but which were subsequently usurped, he restored to their possession, with the professed object and understanding that a religious society should be established in that church for the maintenance of divine worship. Because hitherto there had been no provision for the service at the altar of the blessed Apostle, nor used mass to be celebrated there, except upon the rare occasions that the king or bishop visited the place: for the Keledei were wont to say their office after their own fashion in a nook of a church which was very small. Of which royal donation there are many witnesses surviving to this day. And it was further confirmed by his brother Earl David, whom the king had constituted his heir and successor upon the throne which he now occupies."

The Celtic Church in Scotland in the eleventh century was in a state of decrepitude. There was only one bishop—that of St Andrews. The abbots were laymen, and the Abbot of Dunkeld was married to the King's daughter, and was father to the hapless King Duncan. The sons of Queen Margaret tried to rectify matters. Alexander appointed three bishops—St Andrews, Dunkeld, and Moray. King David added six more. By this time the Scottish Church was in full unison with Rome.

9th FEBRUARY, 1899.

At the meeting on this date Mr Cnas. Fergusson, Nairn, read an interesting contribution, entitled "The Early History, Legends, and Traditions of Strathardle—No. VII.," in continuation of his valuable series of papers on the subject. The paper is as follows:—

SKETCHES OF THE EARLY HISTORY, LEGENDS, AND TRADITIONS OF STRATHARDLE AND ITS GLENS.

No. VII.

1689.—We have now come to the time of the Revolution, when Protestant William of Orange came over and took possession of the throne of Catholic James VII., and so caused all the great Highland risings of '89, '15, and '45, in which the gallant clansmen fought so bravely, and suffered so much, in the cause of the "Auld Stewarts," their own native race of Kings; and of all the leal and true clansmen in the Highlands, the Athollmen were always the most enthusiastic Jacobites—always the first to draw the claymore and the last to sheath it, always in the van, under Montrose, Dundee, Mar, and Bonnie Prince Charlie—aye, and even to this very day it is the most thoroughly Jacobite district in the Highlands. In all the straths and glens within the wide bounds of the district of Atholl, almost every man was a staunch Jacobite, but in Strathardle it was different; there the chief leader of the district, the Baron Ruadh of Straloch, was a very keen Whig, coming, as we have already so often seen, of a very rigid Covenanting family; so his influence not only kept his own clansmen, the Robertsons of Straloch, but also some others of the Strathardle clans from going out for the Stewarts along with the rest of the Athollmen at this time. We will even see, from a letter which I will quote, from Dundee to Cluny Macpherson, that the Baron's influence at this time was strong enough to keep even that Ishmael of Highland chiefs, Spalding of Ashintully, from joining Dundee, though the Fergussons, Rattrays, and other Jacobites in Strathardle all joined Dundee and fought at Killiecrankie.

The following is the account given in the "Family of Straloch" of the Baron's doings at this time:—"In June, 1689, the Viscount of Dundee was raising the Highland clans against King William, and to restore the late King James. He ordered Halliburton of Pitcur, Stewart of Ballechin, Fullarton of that Ilk, and some others of his friends, to take possession of the strong castle of Blair-Atholl, and keep garrison in it, to open a path for him and his army to descend to the country. They having done so accordingly, King William commanded the late Duke of Atholl, then Lord Murray, to raise his father's men to dislodge that people. The said Lord Murray accordingly raised

all the fencible men in Atholl and Strathardle, and laid siege to the castle. He had no great guns to batter it, nor any other way to force it but by a blockade. His Lordship had his head-quarters in the park above Blair, and commanded one full company after another to guard the castle gate, that none might go out or in. About that time John Farquharson of Inverey was giving disturbance to the Government in the Braes of the shire of Aberdeen, and having entreated Dundee to reinforce him, he sent two or three hundred Highlanders, under the commond of one M'Donald of Gallichoill, to assist him, with orders to march the way of Blair-Atholl, and to endeavour to throw fifty or sixty men into that castle for the relief of the gentlemen that were in it. The Atholl people were generally so much inclined to the Jacobite interest that Gallichoil and his people got close to the castle walls before the Lord Murray heard anything of them. It happened Baron Reid of Straloch with his men to be that night on the guard of the castle, and was relieved but a few minutes before Gallichoil and his Highlanders appeared to approach the castle. But as the Baron was, with his men, marching up the green towards the camp, he observed the Highlanders marching close to the castle gate, and Balnagaird and his company like to give way to them, so he returned in all haste, and planting himself and his men at the castle gate, with their backs to the wall and their faces to the enemy, and with remarkable courage and resolution disputed the entry against triple their number without, and all that were within the house—his successor, Balnagaird giving him no assistance. Thus he defended the gate in the utmost danger until Lord Murray and his troops came from the upper park for his relief, and chased away the Highlanders. This, so eminent a piece of service, the late Duke could never forget, and the truth is, it was a remarkable service done to him. The Marquis had King William's favour, and his son, Lord Murray, was now on his good behaviour, and was to be preferred or disgraced according to his conduct in this affair. And it is evident that had Gallichoil got into the castle at this time, as certainly he had if the Baron had not made this noble stand, he had irrecoverably lost the King's favour, and his honour and reputation had suffered extremely."

The Baron here, as usual, showed himself to be a brave, courageous leader, whose heart was in his work, as he was staunch for King William, whilst Balnaguard, who left the Baron to do all the fighting, was, like most of the Atholl gentlemen, just as staunch for King James; and, besides, was it not his nearest

neighbour and greatest friend, Ballechin, whom they were besieging, which accounts for his conduct.

Lord Murray and his Atholl men, assisted by the Baron Ruadh and Spalding of Ashintully, with their Strathardle men, kept up the siege of Blair Castle for a time, till Dundee sent a party of his men, under Alexander M'Lean, to relieve it.

At this time General M'Kay had returned to Edinburgh to try and get the Government to agree to his pet scheme of overawing the Highlands by building a fort at Inverlochy, to which the Convention at length agreed, and M'Kay was ordered to take four thousand men to carry it into execution, and he was to march through Atholl on his way to Inverlochy, to reduce that rebellious district. It was also arranged that Lord Murray should return to Atholl before M'Kay, to try the effect of feudal influence upon the Atholl clansmen, and in particular to rescue Blair Castle, if possible, from Ballechin. Lord Murray went to Atholl early in July, and at once sent the fiery cross round, and gathered all his father's vassals. To Lord Murray's great surprise, these Atholl clansmen, though the humble and faithful ministers of his will on other occasions, fairly rebelled against fighting for King William and his usurping Government. At first they believed that they were called out to fight for King James, and in a very short time fifteen hundred of the men of Atholl gathered in front of Blair Castle, but they soon found out their mistake; for on seeing Lord Murray refuse to receive a message which Dundee had sent him, they took alarm, and with one voice demanded to know his intentions, avowing that if he would join Dundee they would willingly go along with him, but that if he did not, they would immediately quit his service. He first cajoled and then threatened them, but all to no purpose. As General Stewart of Garth tells us, vol. I., p. 65:—"These men believed that they were destined to support King James, 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 Murray. Instantly they rushed from their ranks, ran to the adjoining stream of Banovy, and, filling their blue bonnets with water, drank to the health of King James;" and then, with colours flying, and pipes playing, "fifteen hundred of the men of Atholl, as reputable for arms as any in the kingdom" (as their opponent, General M'Kay, calls them in his Memoirs), put themselves under the command of Ballechin, and marched off to join Lord Dundee (then on his march from Badenoch to Blair), whose chivalrous bravery and heroic and

daring exploits had excited their admiration more than those of any other warrior since the days of Montrose. They knew him, not as the "Bloody Clavers" of the southern and western districts; on the contrary, to the Highlanders he was always kind and condescending. To them he was "Iain Dubh nan Cath," Black John of the Battles.

Lord Murray had no better success in his attempts to get possession of Blair Castle, though that house was his father's property; for Balcarras tells us that on his summoning it to surrender, Ballechin told him over the walls "that he kept the castle by Dundee's orders for the King's service."

Immediately after the main body of the Atholl men, including the Fergussons, Rattrays, and other Jacobites from Strathardle, had declared for King James, and marched off for Drumuachdar to meet Dundee, Lord Murray was again joined by the Baron of Straloch and Spalding of Ashintully, and their men, with whom he again invested Blair Castle; but only for one night, as Dundee approached Blair next day, upon which Lord Murray retired down the country with a few of his personal attendants, and the Baron and Spalding returned to Strathardle, as their men refused to join M'Kay, and were only with the utmost difficulty prevented from following the rest of their countrymen to join Dundee.

As it was well known to the Government that the Strathardle men were mostly all for King James, except the Baron of Straloch and his kinsman, Leonard Robertson of Wester Straloch, it was arranged that the feudal influence of the House of Atholl (Lord Superior of the Earldom of Strathardle) should be brought to bear on the clansmen to try and keep them quiet. So, in accordance with orders received from Lord Murray, Stewart of Ballechin, Bailie of Atholl, called a meeting of the Marquis of Atholl's vassals, when the following proceedings were agreed:—

"Logierait, 28th May, 1689.—The same day Patrick Stewart of Ballechin, and the most of the gentlemen of Strathardle and Glenshee being convened. They find it necessary for the safety and securite of the countrie to use the following method:—It is thought fit there be a man raised out of every two merk land, which men are to be in rediness to ansyr of the several captains; and ilk two merk land, get 2 pecks meal. Besyd yr. severall souldiers with your arms to be always readie. John Robertson of Easter Straloch, and Leonard Robertson of Wester Straloch, Captains of my Lord Marquis' interest in Strathardle and Glenshee, who are to divide same in two equal companies."

As both the Baron and Wester Straloch were very zealous supporters of King William's Government, they at once agreed to become captains, and soon raised the men, and were very successful in keeping the country quiet for a time, and all went well with them till the ever keen and watchful Dundee, hearing tell of their doings whilst still in far Lochaber, wrote a very sharp letter, both to the Baron and to Wester Straloch, ordering them instantly to raise every man they had, with their best arms, and to go at once and wait him at Blair Castle. This urgent summons very much alarmed them both, as well as it might, for they well knew their man, "Iain Dau nan Cath" (Black John of the Battles). They knew his determined, fierce, energetic character, and that if they did not at once obey him, they need expect no mercy, and here he was coming like a fierce hurricane on them from the North, at the head of a strong army of the Northern clans, burning for blood and plunder; and though both these Robertsons were very brave, bold men, they well knew that if Dundee got to their country their lands would be plundered, all their cattle taken, and their houses burnt, just as had been done to them by Montrose. So alarmed was Captain Leonard when Dundee's letter reached him that he at once, yea, even at "11 o'clock at night," wrote to Lord Murray, enclosing Dundee's letter, and beseeching his Lordship to come at once to Strathardle as the only means of protecting them:—

"Straloch, 14 July, 1689.
"11 o'clock at Night.

"My Lord,—Letters of the tenor of the enclosed, directed to me and everie particular gentleman in both cuntries of Strathardle and Glenshie. There is lykewise 300 Kintyr men and hilanders come yeist neight to Blair Atholl, and joined Pitcurr, who lyet here with his associates.

"Its said they are all to lie in our countrie. Its concluded yr. Lordship's countrie's inevitable ruin is hard at hand, except protected by yr. Lordship's personal presence, which with all convenient heast is appealed by

"Yr. Lordship's most humble servant,
"Mr Leo. Robertson."

The bold Baron of Straloch was quite as much alarmed as his kinsman, as his son tells us in his history of the "Barons Ruadh":—"In July, 1689, the country—but more especially such persons as had a sincere love to religion and liberty, and feared the abominations of Popery and slavery—were mightily frightened with

tidings that the Viscount Dundee had raised a mighty army among the Highland clans to dethrone King William and restore King James, and was on his march through Badenoch to invade Atholl, and by that way to make a descent on the low country, and was to burn and destroy all before him that would not join his army and take part with him. But the terror was increased when the Baron had a letter from the said Viscount delivered to him, commanding him to be ready with all his fencible men, in their best clothes and arms, to join King James' forces at Blair Castle, against the 26 July curt., under the pains of military execution. The Baron and his friends and neighbours were in consternation, not knowing how to behave. He resolved not to join Dundee, be the event what it may, but was in great perplexity, minding that his father's whole bigging (building) was burned by another Graham in 1644, and knew not but he might happen to undergo the same fate. He knew not where or how to dispose of his family and plenishing in a place of safety," etc.

Now, no doubt the Baron was in great perplexity, as his rev. son here tells us; but he was a brave man, and a shrewd, wise man—a much wiser man than his kinsman of Wester Straloch; so instead of rushing off and writing letters at "11 o'clock at night," he went quietly off to bed at "11 o'clock at night," and instead of asking help and protection from my Lord Murray, like Captain Leonard, he, decent man, applied to his wife. And he was not mistaken, for she, a worthy daughter of the gallant house of Invercauld, rose to the occasion, and dreamed a dream, and saw a great fiery dragon coming flying from the west, spitting balls of fire, and seemingly to swallow them all up. But as her dazzled eyes saw better, she noticed a great chain tied to the dragon's leg, which chain only let it come as near as Killiecrankie. So in the morning "she understood it to signify Dundee with his barbarous army, and had no more fear about him; but told us in the morning that he would be suffered to do but little harm, and none to her, as there was a chain to his foot." Such is the story as her son, the Rev. James Robertson, minister of Glengairn, tells it. And indeed it was well for the whole race of Straloch that the chain did not allow Dundee to get beyond Killiecrankie. Had he lived to reach Strathardle, I am afraid the Baron might truly have got his famous Skye piper, Angus M'Crummen, to play the old warning piobroch—"Mnathain a Ghlinne seo, 's mithiche dhuibh eirigh"—

> "O matrons of this glen, of this glen, of this glen,
> O matrons of this glen, 'tis time you were waking;
> Your cattle all lifted, your men wounded and torn."

But Dundee fell on the field of Rinrory, and so Strathardle escaped "that time."

As Lord Murray had enough to do at his own "bigging," trying to get possession of Blair Castle, he paid no heed to Straloch's urgent "11 o'clock at night" appeal to come to Strathardle to protect them; so, following the example of Mahomet, who went to the mountain, when the mountain would not come to him, both the Baron and Straloch went to Blair and joined Lord Murray.

In volume XX. of the "Transactions of the Gaelic Society," Provost Macpherson of Kingussie, in his most interesting and valuable paper, "Gleanings from Cluny Charter Chest," gives a fac-simile of Dundee's autograph letter to Cluny, dated from Blair Castle, 26th July, 1689—the evening before the Battle of Killiecrankie—in which he mentions the Baron and Spalding being with Lord Murray:—

"For the Laird of Clunie in Baddnoch.

"Blair Castle, July 26th.

"Sir,—My Lord Murray is retyred doun the contrey. All the Atholl men have left them saive Stratherel, Achintully, and Baron Reid Straloch, and they will not byd my doun coming to morou. The rest of the heritors will be here to morou. They will join us, and I supose to morou you will have ane answer, so if you have a mynd to preserve yourself and to serve the King be in arms to morou that when the letter comes vou may be here in a day. All the world will be with us, blessed be God.—I am, Sir, your most humble Servant, "DUNDIE.

"My service to all the loyall gentrey of baddnoch."

On the next day, the 27th July, was fought the ever-famous Battle of Killiecrankie, the story of which is so well known that I need not enter into its details here, except to give a few of the anecdotes and traditions which even to this day linger amongst the old people of Atholl of the gallant deeds done "Air Latha Raon Ruairidh" ("On the Day of Rinrorie"), as they always call it, and of the fearful and wonderful blows dealt there by the Highland claymores, of which the author of the Memoirs of Dundee says that "there was scarce ever such strokes given in Europe." The first blood was drawn by a famous Atholl marksman and hunter, called "Iain Ban Beg Macra" ("Little fair John Macrae"), who, during M'Kay's march up the Vale of Atholl, kept along opposite, on the south side of the river, till they came to the narrow pass, where he was within easy shot of the enemy. As he had only one bullet, he wished to make sure that that

bullet would find its billet, so he took aim at a cavalry officer who was leading on his men on the opposite side of the river, and shot him dead. The place where he fell is indicated by a well, still called "Fuaran-an-trupair" ("The Trooper's Well").

After M'Kay got through the Pass, he at once drew up his army in battle array on the level ground, whilst the Highlanders were drawn up on the face of the hill above the house of Urrard. Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiel, with his Cameron Clan, was stationed in the centre front rank; and it so happened that his second son was on the opposite side, being a captain in M'Kay's own regiment, the 21st Scotch Fusiliers. When observing the Highland army, M'Kay noticed the standard of the Clan Cameron, flying proudly, as usual, in the van, and, turning round to Lochiel's son, who stood next to him, he said: "There is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," answered young Cameron, "what I would like; but I would recommend 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 it happened.

The two armies lay watching each other that summer afternoon till about eight o'clock, when Dundee gave the order to the clans to charge, when they dashed down the brae with all the impetuosity proper to a Highland onset. M'Kay began the battle by a discharge of his artillery, which consisted of a few leather cannon, carried betwixt two horses, and which he had placed at the extremities of his line. But these primitive cannon did very little damage, as the story is still told in Atholl of how Grant of Sheuglie, in Glen-Urquhart, was knocked down, but not injured, by a ball from one of these leather cannon striking his target, upon which he at once rose again, with the light remark: "Och, Och, 's cinnteach gu'm beil na bodaich a cheart da 'rireadh nis" ("Och, Och, surely the boddachs are in real earnest now"), and continued his advance with the rest.

The Highlanders had stripped, for the sake of lightness, almost to their shirts, stooping as low as possible, and, holding their targets before them, they rushed impetuously down the hill. The first to reach the enemy were the Macdonnells of Glengarry, under their gallant chief, Allister Dhu, and his brave son, Donald Gorm. Before the fight began, an old, experienced officer in M'Kay's army, with that respect for the Clan Donald so general amongst the other clans, counselled his General to place a double file of men in that part of the line opposite the M'Donalds, which M'Kay accordingly did. Even that, however, was not enough to

withstand the fury of the Glengarry men, though they are said by tradition and history to have found more difficulty in routing the troops opposed to them, and to have lost more men in the charge than any other clan, owing to the double file of men opposed to them being six men deep. Sixteen gentlemen of the clan fell that day, and, amongst them, Glengarry's gallant son, Donald Gorm—Blue-eyed Donald, who, before he fell, killed no fewer than 17 of the enemy with his own hand, and all within such a space, according to the Atholl tradition, "as it would have required a lippy of lint seed to sow." There was another M'Donell who killed 18 of his enemies; and as for Allister Dhu himself, his victims were too numerous to be counted, as he bore a prodigious two-handed sword, with which at every step he took he killed two men, one on each side. It is told that a soldier in the sixth, or rearmost, rank of M'Kay's line observed the career of this terrible warrior while there were yet three men between them. He had only time to throw himself upon his guard, when Allister, having hewed down the three intervening men with two strokes of his weapon, came up to him, and seemed ready to serve him the same. The soldier charged the chief with his bayonet, but one sweeping stroke of that terrible claymore cut his musket in two, and left him with only the butt in his hand, which, in desperation, he threw at Glengarry's head, and fled as hard as he could downward, and plunged into the Garry and was carried down by the stream. Allister Dhu followed him hard, and when he saw the man going down the stream he cried to a friend on the opposite bank: "Glac am fear tha 'n sin dhomhsa, tha latha foghair aige ri thoirt dhomh"—"Catch that fellow for me; he owes me a day in harvest." The person so called upon did not observe the soldier, who was going down the stream; but, seeing another rise out of the water and ascend the bank, made up to him, and with one stroke cleaved him down to the breast. He then called out to Glengarry: "Will that please you?" and Glengarry being equally ignorant of the identity of the man, replied: "Yes, that will do very well at present;" after which he coolly returned and joined his clan. This fact was ever after told by the real fugitive, who, having glided under a bush overhanging the water, saw himself killed by proxy, and heard the consequent badinage of the Highlanders with feelings of no ordinary character.

Gilbert Stewart of Fincastle, in Atholl, also slew twenty of the enemy. He was very lame, which hindered him on his march across the hills from Fincastle to Killiecrankie, so that when he arrived on the south bank of the pass, and was descend-

ing to cross the river at the ford of Dalmuch, as M'Kay's fugitive troops poured down the opposite bank, he at once stationed himself on the south bank, and cut down every man who successively rose out of the stream.

One of the principal men who fell on M'Kay's side was Colonel Balfour, who, when his men fled, got his back against a tree, and defended himself for a long time against two Atholl men, one of whom was Allister Ban Stewart, brother of the Laird of Ballechin. At length Allister Ban's son, the Rev. Robert Stewart, a young clergyman, who had come out to fight with the Athollmen, came up, and being shocked to see his father engaged in such an unfair combat, cried out in Gaelic: "Shame! shame! The like was never heard of before! Give the brave man his life." He at the same time addressed some friendly words to Colonel Balfour, who, however, replied by an expression of contempt and defiance. The exact words of that reply are not fit to be repeated, but their effect was instantaneous and powerful upon the feelings of the young Highlander. "Earth to my body," he only stopped to exclaim, "and peace to my spirit, and one fair stroke at you!" after which, substituting himself in place of the two former combatants, and flourishing his claymore over his head several times, he brought down such a heavy blow upon the shoulder of the unfortunate officer that he cut a complete seam athwart his body from the collar to the thigh, and laid him at once lifeless upon the ground.

The renowned hero who performed this deed afterwards joined with great vigour in the running fight which took place on the way to the Pass. He is described by Atholl tradition as having cut from right to left and from left to right among the ranks of the enemy, just as if he had been mowing down thistles. In consequence of his great exertions his hand swelled in the basket-hilt of his claymore, and could only be released by having the network of that receptacle cut away from around it. He experienced great compunction afterwards for having spilled so much blood, and, being a Catholic, thought proper to fast and pray three days, by way of expiating his supposed guilt. He also made a vow never to draw a claymore or spill blood again, which afterwards kept him from going out in the rising of '15; but though he discarded the claymore, yet the fighting spirit was so strong in him that he afterwards was engaged in many a scrimmage, and numerous stories are still told in Atholl of his great strength and determined courage. Being once present at a marriage in Atholl, the country of the bride, who was getting

married to a Breadalbane man, who, as usual, was accompanied by a strong force of his countrymen, when, after a time, district jealousies began to crop up, angry words followed, and from that they soon came to blows, dirks were drawn, and blood was spilt on both sides. Father Robert, restricted by his vow after Killiecrankie, dare use no weapons, but he seized two of the Breadalbane men, and thrusting their heads under his hams, sat down and forcibly held them in that awkward situation; then, taking hold of other two with his hands, he cried to his friends: "Come, come, men of Atholl, exert yourselves; I cannot fight for you, but I will at least keep some of your enemies from engaging."

The noise of the battle at Killiecrankie was so terrible around Urrard House that a boy, a son of the proprietor, died of fright. A maid and a man-servant were sent away with some of the smaller children to seek a place of safety. When they had got some distance from the battlefield, the man expressed a wish to return, that he might share in the work of death, and the girl, he said, might now make her way alone. "How can you go?" said she; "you have no weapons to fight with." "No matter for that," says he; "if I can but throw a stone at some rascal, it may be the means of saving one of my friends; and fear not, I will soon get some better weapon." He then left the girl, who proceeded alone for some space, till, as she was crossing a field of whins, three dragoons appeared in sight, and rode furiously up to her. She screamed with terror, but at that moment a protector appeared most unexpectedly, in the shape of a wild Highland youth from Strathardle, making his way to the battlefield with a good claymore in his hand. He sprang to her side and told her to keep silent, "as God and he should be her defenders." On account of the narrowness and difficulty of the path through the bushes, the dragoons were advancing in single file at some distance from each other. The youth struck down the first dragoon with one stroke of his broadsword. The second he met in deadly and better matched strife, but him he also succeeded in cutting down, when the third turned round and fled. The girl, amazed at his prowess, began to thank the youth, but he scarcely waited a moment to listen to her, but hurried on to the battlefield, eager to be in the fray.

The stories of mad heroism and hairbreadth escapes which the people of Atholl tell regarding this singular fight are almost innumerable. A Highlander on the left of Dundee's line, after killing a great number on the field, followed one particular soldier who took flight, and whom he discerned to be also a Highlander.

The fugitive made clear away down to the river side, which he reached at a particular spot where there is a precipitous rock on both sides, with a chasm between of at least eighteen feet. Just as he jumped from the hither bank the pursuer aimed a stroke at him, exclaiming at the same time: "Could you not have as well let me kill you as the river drown you?" for he never supposed that his fate would be anything else than to perish in the turbid waters of the Garry. To his great amazement, however, and no less to his mortification, the terrified Highlander jumped right across the chasm and alighted safe on the other side; an astonishing feat, when it is considered that the sword of his pursuer inflicted a wound of several inches long upon his back at the very moment he made the leap. Immediately after alighting, he turned about and cried with a sneer, "Feuch an dean thusa sin" —"Try if you can do so, too"—to which the other only replied that it was a pity he did not assume his bold look a little sooner. He survived this adventure many years, being employed upon the formation of the Highland roads by General Wade. Till the very last he used to relate the story here commemorated, which he always illustrated by showing the scar of his wound. The place where he jumped across the Garry is still called "The Soldier's Leap," and is one of the principal sights of the battlefield of Killiecrankie.

Another of our district lairds who fought bravely at Killiecrankie was Rattray of Corb Castle, as Dr Marshall tells us in his "Historic Scenes in Perthshire." "In 1689, Rattray of Corb was a Jacobite. Late in the evening before the battle of Killiecrankie, Corb ordered his servant to have his horse, as well as his own, ready immediately. When Corb came out to mount he had his cloak on; but his man knew by his weight as he dropped into the saddle that he was in armour. He started at a slow canter, followed by his servant, up Strathardle and Glenbrierachan and by the Bruchmore to the back of the hill behind Killiecrankie. Turning round, he said to his servant: "Stop here until the sun goes down; and if I don't return, go home." Corb rode on and joined Dundee's forces, and fought at Killiecrankie. He returned to his servant as arranged, and rode home by the same route. In the battle, the basket-hilt of his sword was crushed in on his hand, which could not be withdrawn. He had to ride home in this state, and went to bed, laying his hand on a table at his bedside, while some of his family bathed it with hot water to reduce the swelling. This sword was afterwards in the possession of the Rattrays of Brewlands, and as lately as 1867 it was shown to your

correspondent by the late Patrick Small, the representative of the family.

It became known to the Government that Corb had been at Killiecrankie with Dundee, and he had therefore to go into hiding. One very stormy, snowy night, Corb skulked into his own house to take the luxury of a bed. Being a stern, severe man, he was not well liked in the neighbourhood, and information was given to the authorities that he was sleeping in his own house. Hessian troops were at that time encamped on the Muir of Blairgowrie. A detachment of them came up Glenericht, and about the break of day surrounded the house. The alarm was given, but too late for Corb to escape. He disguised himself in the grieve's clothes, hoping thus to escape detection. When examining him they said, "The clothes may be the clothes of the grieve, but the hands are the hands of a gentleman."

Corb was sent a prisoner to London, and tried for high treason. Two of his tenants, named M'Intosh and Barrie, went to London to give evidence in his favour. They swore that Corb was "pressed," and gave other false testimony. He was acquitted and got home. It was supposed he had other friends in London helping him to save his head. The two witnesses, on their way home by sea, encountered a storm. They thought the ship would be wrecked, and were bewailing their fate, when a sailor passing them on deck said: "Get out of the road, you old fellows; what are you crying at? We are in five fa'ms of water." M'Intosh said: "If five be fa'n in the water, we are sure to be a' in it, too. Oh! if I had a grip of a rash bush in the Howe o' Badmorris, I would never go to sea again." Corb, when afterwards speaking of these men, though they saved his head, called them "missworn dogs."

We are told that Corb was a stern, severe man, and not well liked. This is amply proved by the following anecdote, given by Dean Ramsay in his "Reminiscences of Scottish Life":—"In the neighbourhood of Bamff House, Perthshire, the seat of a very ancient branch of the Ramsays, lived a proprietor who bore the appellation of Corb, from the name of his estate. This laird was intensely disliked in the neighbourhood. Sir George Ramsay was, on the other hand, universally popular and respected. On one occasion Sir George, on passing a morass in his own neighbourhood, had missed the road and fallen into the bog to an alarming depth. To his great relief he saw a passenger coming along the path, which was at no great distance. He called loudly for his help, but the man took no notice. Poor Sir George felt

himself sinking, and redoubled his cries for help. All at once the passenger rushed forward, carefully extracted him from his perilous situation, and politely apologised for his first neglect of his appeal, adding, as his reason, 'Indeed, Sir George, I thought it was Corb!' evidently meaning that had it been Corb he must have taken his chance for him."

We have already seen that Baron Reid fought for King William at the siege of Blair Castle, and that he went home to Strathardle before the battle of Killiecrankie, and we now find him defending his own country of Glenfernate against a raid of King James's men, as we are told in the "Robertsons of Straloch." "In August, 1689, after the Battle of Killiecrankie, the Highland army marched northward to the Duke of Gordon's country to recruit. But for the safety of their friends in Atholl, and to keep open that pass, they left a strong garrison in Blair Castle. The governor sent frequent threatening orders to Strathardle for necessaries for the garrison, threatening military execution in case of refusal or delay. Yet all the time nothing was sent. The garrison being at length provoked by the refusal, ordered 400 of the Stewarts of Appin, who were marching to join the Highland army, to march the way of Strathardle and chastise these Cameronians, as they were pleased to call them. They came accordingly, and fell a-pillaging and plundering the brae of the country. The cry went to the Baron Reid to come to their relief, who, upon sight, sent fiery crosses through the parish to call all the fencible men together for the defence of the country, appointing them within two hours to meet him, with their best clothes and arms, at Tom-an-Turc, at the west base of Tulloch hill. The Baron's third son, James (afterwards minister of Glengairn), happened to be then at home from school in Dundee, where, along with his other education, he had learned to beat the big drum. So, getting a drum, he beat a gathering at Tom-an-Turc, the place of rendezvous, and then marched up Glenfernate. As soon as the Stewarts heard the drum beat regularly, and the bagpipes played by a Highland piper, Angus M'Cruimmen, one of the famous family of Skye pipers, they left off pillaging and got to arms; and they marched on the south side of the water of Fernate, and the Baron's men on the north side. The Appin men encamped that night at Stron Ernaig, and the Strathardle men in Loin-a-Vorain (on the banks of Auld-Corryhark, near Craiglosgte), watching one another all night. At length, finding they could gain nothing at our hands, they sent a deputation to deal with us, and agreed to depart upon getting a little viaticum to

carry them to the next country. And thus, by the Baron's courage and conduct, the country was at this time defended from military execution, as they termed it. And the action was the more bold that General Cannon, with his victorious army, was then come as far as Glenisla in his march to Dunkeld."

1690.—Amongst those of our district clans who did not go out with Dundee were the Shaws, though they were the most intensely Jacobite of the lot. Their chieftain at this time was Duncan Shaw of Crathinard, whose father, James, had fought gallantly under Montrose, and five of Duncan's sons were out with Prince Charlie in the '45. The reason for Duncan's not joining Dundee was that he had married a niece of the Earl of Mar, and had been appointed chamberlain to that nobleman, who, at this date, and for some time afterwards, was on the side of the Revolution Government. But when the Earl changed sides, and headed the rising of 1715, Duncan and all his clan were only too pleased to join him. On June 26th we find General M'Kay granting a Protection to Shaw and his clan, in which he says:—

"That he had hitherto behaved himself loyallie and dutifully to the present Government, and had hindered all his tenants and servants from joining those in rebellion against their Majesties King William and Queen Mary; and these are prohibiting and discharging all officers and soldiers of their Majesties armys to trouble or molest the said Duncan Shaw, his family, tenants, or servants, or to take away spoyll or meddle with any of his or their goods, gear, cornes, cattell, or others whatsoever belonging to them, as they shall be answerable upon their peril. Given at the camp at Auchintoul, at the head of Gairn, 26th June, 1690.

(Signed) "Hugh M'Kay."

That such a "Protection" was more than needed on the Braes of Ardle and the Braes of Mar, after Killiecrankie, is terribly evidenced by what M'Kay wrote to Lord Melville on 29th August, 1690:—"I burnt 12 miles of a very fertile country (Strathdee), at least 1400 houses, but had no time to go the length of Braemar." When reading here how the "pious M'Kay" regrets that he had not time to burn all the way to Braemar, one feels inclined to cry out, like the old Highland chief at Sheriffmuir, when he saw Mar show such incapacity, "Oh! for one hour of Dundee." Had Bonnie Dundee and his Killiecrankie men one hour of M'Kay when he was burning those 1400 houses on the Braes of Mar, I am afraid he would not have "crawed sae crouse."

Duncan Shaw also raised, and was captain in command of, a company of twenty men for protection against "the Catterans,"

one of the companies which were the precursors of the Black Watch, which was not regularly embodied into one regiment till 1739. These companies were very much required at this time, and nowhere more so than in Strathardle and its glens; for after Killiecrankie many broken and outlawed men had taken shelter in the wild mountain ranges that lay between the Braes of Atholl and the Braes of Angus, and where it was quite impossible for regular soldiers to follow them, and from which they descended and plundered and carried off the cattle of the people in these quiet glens, for which the Government neither could nor would do anything.

1692.—Shortly after the massacre of Glencoe, Breadalbane proposed to King William to raise a body of 4000 Highlanders, under 40 officers, to aid in case of insurrection at home or invasion from abroad. Amongst them, Spalding of Ashintully was to furnish 30 men. However, this was not carried out.

1696.—We have already seen that the Earl of Atholl in 1669 got a charter for holding the yearly fairs and weekly markets of Kirkmichael at Dalnagairn, above Kirkmichael, instead of at the Siller Burn, between Kirkmichael and Balnald, where they were anciently held; and we now find the Marquis of Atholl getting a confirmation Act of Parliament for the same:—

"Our Sovereign Lord considering that it is expedient for the advancement and encouragement of trade within this kingdom that there be yearly fairs and weekly mercats appointed in several places that are most convenient situate for that purpose, and that the Blair of Atholl in Perthshire, and the Toun of Dalgairn in Stratharle, both belonging to John Marquis of Atholl, for having ye weekly mercats underwritten keept thereat, not only to the advantage of the place and advancement of trade therein, but also to the ease of His Majestie's subjects inhabiting the places adjacent thairto. Therefore our said Sovereign Lord, with the advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, gives and grants to the said Marquis of Atholl, his airs and successors for ever, the privilege of holding and keeping two weekly mercats, one at the said Blair of Atholl, and the other at the said toun of Dalgarne, upon each Fryday, for horse, nolt, and uther merchandise, with the haill tolls, customs, and causalties of the said mercats, with power to the said Marquis and his forsaids to hold both the said weekly mercats upon ye day foresaid, and to make such orders for the right regulation thereof as they shall think fit, and to take, uplift, use, and dispose upon the causelties thereof abovespeit, and to do all other things competent to be

done in the lyke cases by any having the privilage of weekly mercats within the kingdom."

1698.—At this time Simon Fraser (afterwards the notorious Lord Lovat of the '45) was trying to get possession of the title and estates of Lovat; but his right was, however, disputed by Lady Amelia Fraser, eldest daughter of the late Lord Lovat, who, under her father's marriage contract, claimed both the estates and the succession to the title. Her mother was Lady Amelia Murray, daughter of John, Marquis of Atholl, and sister of the first Duke of Atholl. Simon thought that the quickest and surest way of getting possession of the estates from the daughter was to marry the mother, and as he knew he could not do so by fair means, he did not scruple to do so by foul, so he accordingly seized Castle Dounie, where she resided, took her prisoner, and married her by force. When the Marquis of Atholl heard of this he at once dispatched two of his sons, Lords James and Mungo Murray, with a large body of men, to the north to her assistance. Two strong companies of Strathardle men accompanied this expedition, the one of the Robertsons of Straloch, under Leonard Robertson of Wester Straloch, and the other consisting of 80 men of the Spaldings, under the command of David Spalding, yr. of Ashintully, as Lachlan Rattray in his MS. tells us:—"At this time the Marquis of Atholl got a warrant from Parliament to raise all the shires in arms to go to Lovat country, and young Spalding of Ashintully was ordered by his father to go there with fourscore men, of which William Farquharson, Sanders Rattray, and I were appointed to be the officers, till we were disbanded after Candlemas that year."

But so strongly did the Clan Fraser support Simon that this strong party of Athollmen, though backed by all the powers of the Government, could not then rescue the Dowager; but Straloch had an interview with her at Castle Dounie, and he, along with Forbes of Culloden, saw her again at the Isle of Aigas, as told in the "History of the Frasers," p. 240:—"Leonard Robertson of Wester Straloch said that he had negotiated articles of stipulation for the Dowager Lady of Lovat and Lord Mungo Murray; that she signed them, but that instead of being released in terms of them, the sentinels were doubled, and Robertson himself was imprisoned. Having complained to Captain Simon, he was allowed to see her ladyship, 'whom he saw in a very disconsolate position,' and she softly spake in his ear, 'For Christ's sake, take me out of this place either dead or alive.' He observed that her face was swollen, and she fell into a swoon while he was

present. The next time he saw my Lady was that when the Laird of Culloden and deponent came to the water side near the Isle of Aigas, in Strathglass; and Captain Simon having come over to them by boat, the deponent desired to see my Lady, which he shunned, telling him that my Lady did not desire to see him; and the deponent replied that it was not done like a comrade, seeing that it was reported in Inverness that my Lady was dead, or near expiring. Captain Simon replied that she should soon be cleared of the contrary, and, returning into his boat, he caused bring out my Lady in their sight, but so weak that she was supported by two men, and then carried her back again to a little house upon the island."

In spite of all the power of the Government, and the law, and of the very powerful influence of the Marquis of Atholl and his son, Lord Tullybardine, who was then Secretary of State for Scotland, Captain Simon would not give up the Dowager Lady Lovat, and even though several powerful military expeditions were sent against him, yet so wild and inaccessible were his countries of Stratherrick, Strathglass, etc., and so faithful and powerful the Clan Fraser, that the Dowager could neither be relieved nor Simon captured; so all that could be done was to try him in absence before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh. So, on the 27th June, an action was commenced against Captain Simon, his father, and other nineteen gentlemen of the Clan Fraser "for high treason, in forming unlawful associations, collecting an armed force, occupying and fortifying houses and garrisons, imprisoning and ravishing persons of distinguished ranks, and continuing in arms after being charged by a herald to lay them down."

After a long trial, all the parties were found guilty as libelled, and the Court adjudged them to be executed as traitors, "their bodies to be dismembered, their goods to be forfeited, their name, fame, memory, and honours to be extinct," etc. Terrible as this sentence seems, delivered by the highest Court in Scotland, it had no effect whatever on the bold Simon, who secure in his mountain fastnesses, bid defiance to all his foes; and as his father, Thomas, 12th Lord Lovat, died next year, he succeeded to the title and estates. He continued many years afterwards under sentence of death and an outlaw, till, by cunningly representing to the Duke of Argyll that if Atholl was allowed to crush him and get the Fraser estates, then Atholl would be much more powerful than Argyll; and believing this, Argyll set about getting a pardon for Lord Simon, which his great influence with the Government afterwards got.

During the time that the Lords James and Mungo Murray, with their Atholl and Strathardle men, were in the Lovat country trying to relieve their sister, the Lady Lovat, some dispute arose between the Chisholms of Strathglass and the Strathardle gentlemen, very likely caused by that firebrand, young Spalding of Ashintully, whose tongue and claymore were equally ready on all occasions to take or give offence. The Chisholms, being Lovat's nearest neighbours, very likely assisted Captain Simon in some way. However, the matter ended in the Atholl men making a two days' raid on Strathglass, and carrying off a large creach. In the "History of the Frasers," p. 232, we read:—"I am indebted to Mr William Mackay for a copy of a paper entitled 'Ane Account of the Chissolms' Losses be the Marquis of Atholl's Children, the eigth and ninth days of Feb. 1698.' The total amount of the loss sustained, according to this account, was £260 18s 4d Scots, the places spulzied in Strathglass being Kerrow, £94 9s; Meikle Comar, £12; Comar Kirkton, £10; Carrie in Glencannich, 134 9s od (one of the sufferers being William Mac Allaster, from whom was taken, among other things, 'six quarters of tartan at a merk the ell, and a dirk worth 16s'); and Breckach, £40."

1700.—During the expedition to Lovat's country, Thomas, the fifth son of the Baron of Straloch, then a young officer of 22, and Lord Mungo Murray, son of the Marquis of Atholl, became such very great friends that when the latter now joined the unfortunate Darien Expedition, young Thomas and a band of gallant young Strathardle men went with him; but none of them ever returned, as they perished there.

In this year the heritors of Perthshire presented the following petition to Parliament:—

> "Unto His Grace His Majestie's High Commissioner and the Right Honble. the Estates of Parliament, the Representation of the Heritors of Perthshire, Humbly Sheweth—
>
> "That we having these years past suffered extremely by the calamities of War, and lykewise by very bad Crops, which has reduced many of our people to the last degree of poverty; and besides these which we have had in common with other parts in the Kingdom, we have been, and still are, exposed to inconveniences which are peculiar to those who dwell on the borders of the Highlands, continued murders, robberies, and depredations,

which have brought many who might have wrestled with their other difficulties to such a condition that our countries are now become deserts, and lie absolutely waste.

"All these calamities we suffered without complaining during the war, and contributed our shares both of men and money for the support and maintenance of it, hoping that peace would put an end to these our miseries. And being sensible that nothing could conduce more to the flourishing of our nation and to relieve us under these hard circumstances to which we are reduced than the advancement of trade, we no sooner had the encouragement of His Majestie's gracious promises, Acts of Parliament, and Letters Patent for enabling the nation to carry it on but to demonstrate our zeal for the weal of our native country, we closed with these proposals which were made for opening trade to Africa and the Indies, and contributed to the utmost of our powers for carrying on so good and great a work. What has been the hinderances and obstructions to that trade we think it unnecessary to trouble your Grace and the Hon. Eastates of Parl. with, these being so well known to His Majestie and to the Hon. Estates of Parl. by the several Addresses, Petitions, and Representations made by the Council of the Company trading to Africa and the Indies.

"And seeing we have His Majestie's expected promises for encouragement of trade, as alsoe his Letters Patent, and Acts of Parl. establishing the African and Indian Company; and lykwise the address of the last Session of this Parl. to His Majestie in favour of the said Companies, and also His Majestie's gracious acceptance of our late Petition for the meeting of Parl., wherein His Majestie expects that the sentiments of the Nation as to the African and Indian Company will be known, for all which we are encouraged to intreat.

"That it may please your Grace and the Right Hon. Estates of Parl. to take the premises to your serious consideration, and to find out effectual methods for asserting the honour and independance of this Kingdom, which our predicessors have hitherto maintained for so many ages, and which seems now to be so much encroached upon by the repeated and great discouragements to our rightful and lawful Collony of Caledonia, as also to take proper measures for employing the poor and freeing the country of stealing and and oppression, and that now in the time of peace we be eased of these great and heavy burdens we lie under."

The Strathardle lairds who signed the Petition were :—

Andrew Spalding of Essentillie.
— Robertson of Daltharney (Glenfernate.
Leonard Robertson of (Wester) Straloch.
Patrick Small of Dirnanean.
William Farquharson of Tonie.
John Robertson of Craig.
John Robertson of Bleaton.
— Spalding of Whitehouse.
Alex. M'Intosh of Cornes.
John Bruce of Dalnabroik.
Alex. Robertson of Inverchroskie.
W. Robertson of Dounie.
Patrick Rattray of Persie.
James Murray of Kindrogan.
Alex. Murray of Soylerie.
Alex. Aysane of Beluntume.
John Robertson of Ennoch.
Alex. Aysone of Ballmill.
John Doulich of Merkland.
Duncan Robertson of Stroneymuk.
Do. Robertson of Coltalonie.
Paul Farquharson of Rochallie.
David Rattray of Rannagullion.
Alex. Herring of Callie.

1705.—The Duke of Atholl, in his recently published magnificent work, "The Chronicles of the Atholl Family," gives a full muster roll of the Fencible men of the Eardom of Atholl, giving the names of the men of each township who were bound to follow the Atholl family in war, or to the great deer hunts so often held in the Atholl forest.. Every laird had to supply so many men according to the value of his lands, and, of course, it was only the best picked men who were chosen. After each man's name is a note of whatever arms, if any, he possesses. For example, in Dirnanean we have—

Patrick Small of Dirnanean—Armed.
John M'Intosh—Has a gun and sword.
Donald Buttar—Has a gun.
Walter Leslie—Has a sword.
James M'Pherson—Wants arms.

Of course, so far as the list of arms goes, I don't expect it is very correct, for in those troublous times, when good reliable arms

formed part of the necessaries of life, it is not likely that either laird or vassal would care to let all the world know all the arms they possessed. Old Straloch (Baron John VIII.) was a bit of a wag, so in his list of 54 men he carefully describes all their arms till he comes to "Donal M'Pherson, with his fiddle." We have already seen that the Baron always went to war with his famous piper, Angus M'Crummen, in front of him, and that his grandfather was so fond of the pipes that even on Sunday he made his piper play before him to church; but this is the only instance I know of in which a fiddle was used in warfare, either as a weapon of offence or defence. They were very musical all these Barons, down to the very last of the race, General John, the 15th Baron, who composed "The Garb of Old Gaul," and founded the Chair of Music in Edinburgh University.

1707.—The Duke of Atholl was a very keen sportsman, more especially for hunting the deer, so he did all he could to improve the Atholl Forest. In this year we find him appointing Paul Beg Robertson to be his head forester in Glenfernate and Glenshee. The following are his terms and instructions:—

"Paul Beg Robertson's Commission to be Forester in Glenfernate.

"Blair Castle, June 28th, 1707.

"These are nomenating and appointing you, Paul Robertson in Glenfernate, to be our Forrester of the Braes of Glenshee and haill Glenmore, in the Forest of Freecombie, within which bounds you are to take particular care to preserve our deer, and for that end you are carefully and exactly to observe, keep, and perform all and every one of the succeeding instructions relative thereto, and to assist the rest of our Forresters when there is occasion; for doing of all which we hereby give you full power, authority, warrant, and commission, and for your encouragement and pains herein we allow you to pasture and graze 40 head of cattle belonging to yourself and sons in any part least prejudiced to the Forest, and your care and inspection, and these present we appoint to continue during our pleasure only. "Atholl."

The instructions alluded to included:—

"Dispossessing all persons of what sheals they possessed in the Forest, without His Grace's written order.

"To shoot all dogs found in the Forest, and exact 20 pounds Scots from the master of each dog.

"As likewise we order you to kill, or bring alive, any eagles, old or young, you can take alive or shoot in the Forest, and for

your encouragement we shall give you a warrand for killing a deer for your own use for each eagle, old or young, brought in by you, upon producing to us William Murray in Mayns of Blair his receipt for same."

As every man in these good old fighting days always went fully armed, and knew how to use his arms, and generally was ready enough on every occasion to do so, it was necessary wherever there were large gatherings of men from different districts for those in authority to appoint keepers of the peace. As an example of this custom, I may here give a commission from the Duke of Atholl to two young Strathardle lairds to keep the peace at the Kirkmichael market of this year:—

"Blair Castle, Sept. 29th, 1707.

"Commission from His Grace the Duke of Atholl to Alex. Robertson, yr. of Balnacraig, and James Robertson, yr. of Dounie, to be Captains of the Guard for Kirkmichael Mercat, holding the 30th of this month.

"You are to see that good order is preserved, and to secure persons guilty of Drunkeness and Swearing until they pay their fynes according to the Laws, and to secure such as be guilty of Ryots, or other crymes, until they find caution to appear, or till we be acquainted, or one of our Baillies to give orders about them, for which this shall be your warrand. "Atholl."

The Strathardle men, like all the rest of the Atholl Highlanders, were very much opposed to the Union with England, and one of the greatest gatherings ever seen of the men of the strath took place at this time, when all the different septs rose to a man under their various chieftains, and marched over the hills to Blair-Atholl to join the Duke of Atholl, who mustered his full strength to oppose the Union. All the different clans of Atholl, of course, acknowledged the Duke as their general leader, but each clan and sept had its own chief and chieftains, who had entire direction of their followers, yielding obedience to the superior only in general movements. Very often these clans took different sides in those troublous times, or even different septs of the same clan, as at Killiecrankie, when the Robertsons of Atholl all were out with Dundee, whilst the Robertsons of Strathardle, held back by their chieftain, the Baron of Straloch, took the other side, and stayed at home. But on this occasion of the Union, "Whig and Tory all agreed," and every clansman within the bounds of Atholl, fit to bear arms, turned out, so that the Duke was able to march to Perth at the head of 7000 of his

clansmen, as General Stewart of Garth tells us (Vol. I., p. 70):—"The Atholl Brigade, which was sometimes so numerous as to form two, three, or more regiments, was always commanded by the head of the family of Atholl, in person, or by a son or friend in his stead. At the beginning of last century, as we learn from the Lockhart Papers, 'the Duke of Atholl was of great importance to the party of the Cavaliers, being able to raise 6000 of the best men in the kingdom, well armed, and ready to sacrifice their all for the King's service.' In 1707, his Grace took the field with 7000 men of his own followers, and others whom he could influence, to oppose the Union with England. With this force he marched to Perth, in the expectation of being joined by the Duke of Hamilton and other noblemen and gentlemen of the south; but as they did not move, he proceeded no further, and, disbanding his men, he returned to the Highlands." General Stewart adds a note to this:—"A friend of mine, the late Mr Stewart of Crossmount, carried arms on that occasion, of which he used to speak with great animation. He died in January, 1791, at the age of 104."

1710.—In August of this year the Duke of Atholl held one of those great "Tinchels," or deer hunts, for which the Atholl Forest was so famous. The following orders were issued on August 1st:—

"Orders to John and Alexander Robertson, Foresters in Glen Fernate (sons of Paul Beg).

"These are ordering you to advertise all the fencible men, belonging to us, either in property or superiority, in Glen Fernate and Glen Brierachan, to attend His Grace at the foot of Ben Vurich, the following night, with a day's provision, for a deer hunting the day after."

On August 12th, similar orders were sent to the united parish of Blair and Struan, Kirkmichael, Moulin, Cluny, Glenalmond, Logierait, Weem, Dull, and Fortingall, directed to the several officers.

Invitations were also sent to Farquharson of Inverey and Mackenzie of Dalmore, as follows:—

"I designe to have a deer hunting this year, which is to begin on Wednesday, the 23rd inst., in Beaniglo. If you please to come there that day with some pretty men, and as many dogs as you can provide, you shall be very welcome.

"Blair, August 14th."

In obedience to the above orders, the vassals and tenants convened, and were drawn up on the Green of Blair on the day appointed.

August 23rd.—All the men were drawn up on Druim na h-Eachdra, at the head of Glengirnaig, where the following orders were read out to all the officers before the Tinchell was sent out:—

"I. That none shall offer to fire a gun or pistol in the time of the deer hunting.

"II. That none shall offer to break up a deer, or take out a grealloch, except in His Grace's presence, where they are to be disposed on.

"III. That none be drunk, or swear an oath.

"Whoever shall transgress any of these rules shall be fyned and taken into custody, as His Grace shall aprove."

1711.—Another great deer hunt took place this year, when orders were issued on August 17th to the parishes of Blair and Strowan, Moulin, Kirkmichael, Taywood and Forest of Cluny, Glenalmond, Guy, Kilmorich, Logierait, Fortingall, Weem, Strathtummel, Dull, and Balquhidder, desiring the vassals and fencible men out of every merkland to parade at Blair Castle on August 21st, in the evening. The hunting began in Benagloe, on Wednesday, 22nd, when no deer were killed; on Thursday, in Carn Righ, where there were 25 deer killed; and on Friday, in Beinn Vurich, where 32 were killed.

Spalding of Ashintully being in bad health, and not able to attend, wrote as follows to excuse himsef:—

"Ashintullie, Aug. 21st, 1711.

"May it please yr. Grace,—In obedience to yr. Grace's desyre I have sent about ane hundereth men to yr. Grace's hunting, Quch is all possable for me to get appointed in cloathes and armes, considering the very short advertisement, for I only received yr. Grace's letter on Sabbath. Quch if I had got sooner I would have endeavoured to have sent als monie more, and would have waited on yr. Grace myself according to my deutie wer it not that I have been tender of a long tyme, so that I cannot traivell without my hurt and prejudice. And this from, may it please yr. Grace, your Grace's most obt. and most humble svt., "D. Spalding."

2nd MARCH, 1899.

The paper for this meeting was a contribution by Mr Alex. Macdonald, assistant secretary, entitled "Scraps of Unpublished Gaelic Poetry and Folklore from Lochness-side—No. II.," in continuation of his interesting series of articles on that subject. The paper is as follows:—

SCRAPS OF UNPUBLISHED POETRY AND FOLKLORE FROM LOCHNESS-SIDE—No. II.

I can scarcely claim for the first piece which I am to submit to you this evening that it is unpublished. It is, if not entirely, at all events mainly, an Ossianic ballad, known by the name of "Conull Ghuilbinn." I believe it has appeared in one of the early collections; but the book is now scarce, and this beautiful ballad is not nearly so well known as it should be. It is not in "Leabhar na Féinne," nor, so far as I know, in any of the more modern collections, and I think it should appear in the Society's "Transactions." I took it down from my own father, who at one time possessed a remarkable store of Ossianic ballads; some of which he learned from books, and some from old people, who had never seen them in books. The ballad describes in excellent language a great contest between the Fingalians and Conull Ghuilbinn, "Mac àrd righ Allt-Eire." Particular prominence is given to the valorous deeds of Oscar, the son of Ossian, by whom the bold Conull was engaged in single combat, and by whose hand he fell. But let the ballad tell the tale:—

"Sgéulachd air Conull Ghuilbinn,
Mac Ard-Righ Allt-Eire,
Tighinn a dhioladh bàs athair 's a sheana'ir,
Air seachd Caithaibh na Féinne.

"Oisein uasail mhic Fhinn,
Laoich fhialaidh bu mhòr prìs;
Thoir dhuinn sgéula Chonuill Ghuilbinn,
An laoch mear, mòr, mìleanta, meanmhnach."

"Bheir mise sin duit-sa sgéulachd
A Phàdruig, ma 's àill leat a h-éisdeachd—
Sgéul air Conull mùirneach, macanta,
Mòr chliùiteach, fiùghantach, neartmhor:—

'La dhuinn an teachd na h-Olla,
'S ar sluagh uile binn-ghlòrach,
Thubhairt iad nach robh fear g'ar bualadh
'An Cuig Cuigaibh na h-Eirinn.
Mar sin dhuinne gu tràth-nòina;
Briathran buadhach aig ar n' òig-fhir—
Nach robh còmhraig fear fo fichead
Da 'r Fianntaibh 's na Cuig Cuigaibh—
'S e 'chunnaic sinn an luingeas shiùbhlach
A' caitheamh a' chuain mhòr da 'r n' ionnsuidh;
'S aon fhear mòr, fuathach, fearail,
Air a h-uachdar mar chaoireach teine.
Chuir e uamhas air an Fhéinn
A bhi ga 'fhaicinn mar bhéinn a' carachadh;
Eideadh mar aon teine,
'S e 'tarruing a luingeas gu calla.
Shuidh e air an tulach 'na 'r còir,
An curaidh curanta, tréubhach,
Uamhasach àrd, uamhasach neartmhor;
Chuireadn e le 'chleasaibh borb
Eunlaith suas anns an iarmhailt;
Mar bhéum sléibh no mar shruthaibh;
Mar fhuaim tàirneanaich ri 'creagan;
No mar chloich a' ruith le easan
Os ar cinn gu 'n cluinnte 'thatar,
'S an Fhéinn uile 'bhi ga 'fhaicinn.
Thuit ar mnaoi an trom ghaol uile
Le aon rùn do 'n a' gharbh churaidh.
Bu lionmhor dealbh leòmhainn 'us leopairt
Air éideadh sròil a' mhòr ghaisgich;
'S e fo làn éideadh 'us inneal,
Le airm chogaidh ghéur, ùrghlan;—
Bha lùireach mhòr, mhaiseach, bhallach,
Bha scapull cruaidh, sgaiteach, calma,
Bha gòrsaid an fhir dhealbhaich, dhualaich,
Loinneach mìn-bhreac, buadhach;
Bha dà shleagh nan seachd seang
'N a 'dhòrn cogaidh deagh-mhaiseach;
Nach mearaichdeadh aon léud ròinaig,
Aig an fhear mhòr, àrd, uamhasach gu còmhraig.
Bha claidheamh leobhar, leathann, liomhaidh,
Mar shradan teine 'tighinn o 'n ghriasaich,
Ri taobh an fhir mhòir, bhuadhaich, bhéumnaich,
Ard-chruadalach, àrd-uamhasach, oillteil;

Bha 'cheanna-bheirt agus éideadh uchdaich
Gu dealrach, mìn-bhreac, buadhach;
Fo cheangal de 'n airgiod leaghte,
Le moibeanaibh de 'n òr loisgte;
Bha ann an dòrn toisgeil a' ghaisgich
Sgiath churaidh air 'm bu lionmhor gearradh,
'S gu 'n deanadh iòmhaidh an treùn laoich solus
Ged 'bhiodh an iarmhailt gun aon ronnag:
'S e comhairle 'chinn aig ar Féinn,
'S aig ar cinn-chogaidh deagh-mhaiseach,
Diarmad a chur a ghabhail sgéul
De 'n fhear mhòr, bhorb, éu-céillidh.
Ghluais Diarmad donn le fàilte—
Fear bu ghìle, 's bu ghlaine gàire—
Gu seimh, socrach, sith-fhàilteach, fearail,
A ghabhail sgéul de 'n fhear chrodha, reachdmhor.
Dh' fheòraich Diarmad 'am briathraibh filidh—
'Co thu fhéin no co do shloinneadh;
No ciod a chur air tìr an taobh-s' thu?'
''S mise mac àrd-righ Allt-Eire,
Conull Ghuilbinn nan créuchdan,
Buaidh gach blàr 's an robh mi fhathasd—
Le cruas mo làmh gu 'n d' fhuair mi roimhe.
Feumaidh mi fhaotuinn o 'r Féinne
Ceann Fhinn 's a theaghlach uile
Mu 'n deanar a chaoidh leam pilleadh.'
'Cha 'n urrainn dhuit an Fhéinn a mhilleadh,
Ach gheabh thu 'chòmhraig is toigh leat—
Ma 's e fear no fichead no céud e,
A màireach mu éirigh gréine.'
'Cuig céud de 'r Fianntaibh dh' fhéumainn fhaighinn,
A' màireach air thùs an là,
'S gu 'n cuirinn mar dhuslach roimh na ghaoith iad,
A dh' aindeoin Fhinn 's a mhòr theaghlach.'
Bha 'n oidhche sin duinne còmhla,
'Caitheamh gu dubhach, déurach, brònach,
'S a' màireach mu éirigh gréine
Gu 'n do ghluais cuig céud de 'r Féinne.
Thug e ruathar fir gun riaghailt;
Bu luaithe e na 'n driug 's na nialaibh,
'S rinn e ar cuig céud a' sgainneart,
Mar 'dheanadh fitheach dùn sheangain.
Chuir sinn dà chéud eile 'na chòmhail—
Air chrith a chum gaisge 'n tùs còmhraig—

Gun duin' ach mac righ 's ceann-feadhna
De dh' àrd cheannarta ar teaghlaich.
Thug e ruathar fir air bhoile,
'S bu luaithe e no bréid luinge;
Rinn e ar dà chéud a mhilleadh;
'S cha d' fhuair fiu h-aon diu pilleadh.
Bu dubhach dhuinne 'bhi ga maicinn
Ri léumnaich, ri boile, 's ri gaisge;
'S an deigh ar seachd céud a chosgairt,
Bu luaithe e no fiadh air faiche.
Lionadh Osgar làn de dh' àrdan—
Mo mhac cliùteach, mòr-ghràdhach;
Ghluais e 'na 'chulaidh chruadhach,
'S an Fhéinn uile g' éigheach buaidh leis.
Ghluais iad gu tulaich, na cosgairt,
An dà churaidh a dh' fhéuchainn 'an gaisge.
Mar churrach le mòr shoirbheas,
Bha 'n tulaich air chrith le mir chatha;
Mar sheobhag a' dol 'an aghaidh éilde,
Osgar a' dol 'an aghaidh 'ghaisgich,
A ghabhail a chorra-chleasaibh crosda;
Bhiodh sleaghan ruadha ga 'n cur tharta
Mar dhealanach os cionn nan laoch;
Thair churraichd chìte dealradh chlàidheamhan;
Cha robh fraoch no féur mu 'n tulaich
Nach do chuireadh leo 'n a 'theine;
Le léumnaich Chonuill 's le 'mhire
Bha 'n talamh 'géilleadh fo 'bhonnaibh:
'Dol gu 'ghlùnan air gach léum dha,
Anns gach àite dha gun ghéilleadh.
Ochd là agus trì tràithean,
'G ùrachadh feirge 's gach aon là dhiu;
'N am di 'n ochdamh là 'dhol seachad
Lotadh Osgar air a chìch dheas leis.
Leig an Fhéinn gair' uamhan fheagail
Ri faicinn Osgar air a liodairt;
Mar bhéum tuil a' ruith le sléibhtean,
Fuil mo mhic a' sruthadh o 'chréuchdan.
'N uair chunnaic Osgar a bhi leòinte,
'S na Fianntaibh dubhach, dall-bhrònach,
'S ann a thug e 'm béum a bha fuileach,
'S chuir e ceann Chonuill thair an tulaich.
'N ath ghàire bu mhò do 'n Fhéinn,

Le sòlas agus mòr aoibhneas,
Air do choluinn Chonuill tuiteam,
'S a cheann a bhi bhuaith' air asdar.
Ghluais sinn, na bha 'lathair de 'n Fhéinn,
'Us Osgar, gu tigh Fhinn le 'chéile;
'S cuig ràithean da ga 'leigheas
An tigh Fhinn, àrd righ nan cathan;
A h-uile seòrsa de cheòl 's de chluithaibh
Aig maithaibh oga, dearbh-mhaiseach,
'G aiseadh sùgraidh da m' mhac gràdhach.

Gu 'm b' fheàrr le Fionn mar 'thachair—
Conull le Osgar a chruaidh-ghleachdadh—
No urrad eile god a thuiteadh
De na Fianntaibh geala, gasda.'

" Sin agad-sa 'Phàdruig sgéulachd
Air Conull Ghuilbinn 's cha bhréug i;
Chunnaic an Fhéinn uil' e 'tuiteam,
'S rinn iad bròn ga 'chur fo leacan."

It would be unnecessary to make this ballad the subject of any contention. It is indisputably an ancient ballad, so far as the narrative is concerned; but it certainly contains some words, and even sentiments, which modernise it considerably. Yet it deserves to be well known, and there is no reason to mistake its importance as a beautiful Celtic epic, of a very high order linguistically, and of no mean significance historically; as well as an excellent specimen of the kind of Ossianic ballad that at one time was particularly popular with the Gaelic race.

It is a far cry from Ossianic times to the commencement of the eighteenth century, to which period my next song relates. It is the composition—so far as I can ascertain—of Donald Macdonald, " Domhnull Donn," a famous raider, who frequented the districts between Lochaber and Caithness. Macdonald was a native of Lochaber, and is believed to have been well connected. His father held the farm of Bohunntin from the family of Keppoch, from whom he is said to have been descended. Donald was a wild and wayward youth, and found ample scope for developing his naturally predatory propensities at hand on Locharcaig side, where " Colla-nam-Bò " and " Donald Bàn Cailloch " were carrying on " reiving " on a remarkably large scale. Tradition also says that Donald had the misfortune to have accidentally killed his sweetheart while out one day shooting wild ducks, and some

references in his songs would seem to substantiate the story; but it is more likely that it was the son of John Macdonald, "Iain Lom," the famous Jacobite bard, whom young Macdonald slew in a duel, an event in his life which is believed to have really taken place, and to have greatly influenced him. Donald had the misfortune to have formed a secret courtship with the daughter of the then Laird of Grant, much to the dislike of the lady's father, who forbade all acquaintance between the lovers. But Donald saw the lady frequently, having taken up his abode in a wild and almost inaccessible cave in a part of the Red Rock, on the Glen-Urquhart side of Allt-Saigh—a mountain stream dividing the Glen-Urquhart and Glenmoriston estates. From this centre he visited his lady-love, or helped himself to other people's cattle, as best suited his taste. It was in such circumstances that he composed the following song, which is, to say the least of it, a most pathetic production:—

Is i do nighean-sa 'Dhonnchaidh
Chuir an truime-cheist mhòr orm.

Air an d' fhàs an cùl bachlach,
'S a dhreach mar an t-òr.
Air an d' fhàs, etc.

Cha b' e dìreadh a' bhruthaich
'Dh' fhàg mo shiubhal fo leòn.
Cha b' e dìreadh, etc.

No teas an là ghréine
Ged a dh' éirich i orm.
No teas an là, etc.

Ach cur 'us cathadh fodh m' fhéusaig
'S nach léir dhomh mo bhròg.
Ach cur 'us cathadh, etc.

Dé cha léir dhomh nis faisg dhomh—
Fiù 'bhata na m' dhòrn.
Dé cha léir dhomh, etc.

Ged a cheannaichinn am buideal
Cha 'n fhaigh mi cuideachd ga òl.
Ged a cheannaichinn, etc.

Mur tig buaichaill' an t-seasg-chruidh
Mu 'n cuairt am fheasgar o 'n t-Sròin.
Mur tig buaichaill', etc.

'S e mo bhuideal gach lodan,
'S e mo chopan mo bhròg.
'S e mo bhuideal, etc.

'S e mo thubhailt mo bhreacan,
'S e na leacan mo bhòrd.
'S e mo thubhailt, etc.

'S e mo thigh mòr na beanna',
'S e gach creagan 's gach scòrr.
'S e mo thigh mòr, etc.

Greis air mhucagan fàsaich,
Greis air fàsgadh nan dòrn.
Greis air mhucagan, etc.

Greis air smeòraich dhubh dhrisean,
'S greis air bhristeadh nan cnò.
Greis air smeòraich, etc.

'S truagh nach robh mi 's tu 'ghaolach
Anns an aonach 'm bi 'n ceò.
'S truagh nach robh, etc.

Ann am bothan beag barraich
Gun bhi mar-ruinn ann beò.
Ann am bothan, etc.

Mur biodh ruagairan leinidh
A cheileadh sid òirnn.
Mur biodh ruagairan, etc.

Na 'm faighinn cead do na frìthean
Bho 'n Righ 's bho 'n Iarl Og.
Na 'm faighinn, etc.

Gu 'm biodh fuil an daimh chabraich
'Sileadh pailt air feadh feòir.
Gu ' mbiodh fuil, etc.

I find that a number of these verses—or verses nearly word for word the same—appear in a song given at page 28 of Vol. VIII. of the "Transactions," as the composition of a Farquhar Macrae, at one time a well known man in Kintail, who had got into trouble with the authorities, and was, as the old people would say, "fo 'n a' choille." While it is not unlikely that two songs composed under somewhat similar conditions may have got mixed, I give the above as the Lochness-side version of a poem believed

there by all to have been composed by Donald Donn Macdonald, and the reference to "buachaill' an t-Sròin," Glenmoriston's herd, who is known to have been there at the time, is strong circumstantial evidence. I have also seen some of these verses recently in print, but the story was not given, and both should go together, I think.

Macdonald composed a number of songs that have considerable merit in them. I hope to get a few of them together that have never been published. The story of his adven urous life is well known. After several successful raids, daring adventures, and clever escapes, he was, it is said, betrayed into the hands of his enemies, at a place called Allt-Saigh, and eventually beheaded in Inverness. A beautiful poem, in which he describes his capture, is already in print. It is to be found at page 263 of "Campbell's Language, Poetry, and Music of the Highland Clans," and at page 145 of "Highland Legends, etc.," by "Glenmore," where it appears as the production of Peter Roy Macgregor —another noted freebooter—which must be a mistake.

The story attached to my next piece is as follows:—A well-to-do lady in Glenmoriston was courted for some time by a man from a neighbouring district, who represented himself to her and her relatives as a gentleman of position and means. She eventually married him, but found on going home with him that his possessions were meagre in the extreme, and, besides, that he was an undesirable match for her. In her disappointment she is said to have composed the following sorrowful lines, still sung in the district to a beautiful and plaintive air:—

Dh' fhalbh mi le na lùban laghach,
Dh' fhalbh mi le na lùban;
Na lùban, na lùban laghach,
Bu roghainn leam na lùban.

Gheall thu dhomh tigh mòr 'us sabhall,
'S an taghailleadh na céudan.

Gheall thu dhomh tigh mòr 'us sabhall,
Ged a chuirinn féum orr'.

Ach bothan beag àm bun a' bhruthaich,
Bh' aig mo phiuthair chéile.

'S cha robh aic' ach beagan mìne,
'S cha b' uilear dhi fhéin e.

'S cha robh aic' ach beagan bainne,
'S cha b' aithne dhi 'ghréidheadh.

'S truagh nach mise bha na m' luighe,
Seachd seachduinnean gun éirigh.

Mu 'n do fhreagair mi 'n fhead-ghlaice,
Bh' ann an taic an spréidh rium.

An uair a' rànig sinn am baile
Fhuair sinn iad gun éirigh.

'S dh' fhàg mi am buachaille galach,
'S a' bhanarach déurach.—

An crodh laoigh gun leigeil,
'S na laoigh bheaga 'géumnaich,

'S b' e mo roghainn tilleadh dhachaidh
Na 'm biodh m' athair réidh rium.

The songs and poems of Alasdair Mac Iain Bhàin—a Glenmoriston poet of more than ordinary ability—have already mostly appeared in the Society's "Transactions." But since the publication of Vol. X., which contains Mr Wm. Mackay's collection of these, I have come across another, which deserves also to be preserved. It was inspired by the bard receiving tidings of Grant of Glenmoriston being seriously ill, and it reveals the nearness of landlord and people to each other in the olden time:—

Moch 's a' mhaduinn Diciadain,
Fhuair mi litir gun sgriobhadh,
'S léugh mi 'n naigheachd nach iaruinn
'Thighinn mo dhàil gus an liathainn—
Mu Mhac-Phàdruig 'tha m' iarguinn,
'Na luighe 'n dràsd' ann am fiabhrus,—
A' chraobh fo bhlàth 's i gun chrionadh;
Ach ma 's àill leat a Chriosd e,
Cum an àird i 's an fhionan an còir dhi.
Cum an àird, etc.

'S ged a tha i na luighe,
Na leig crionadh dhi fhathasd;
Thig 'us réitich an rathad,
'Us fuasgail cuibhraichean ceangail;
Glac a' chùis na do lamhan,
'Us tog an àird i gu aighear 'us solas.
'Us tog an, etc.

Mo sgéul cràiteach ri fhulang
Fhad 's tha d' dhòrainn a' fuireach,
Am bun do lòch-léin a' tuineadh ;
Thug e dhinn ar craobh-mhullaich,
Dh' fhàg sinn ar crionaich gun duilleach,
Mar luing air chuan 's i gun chumbaist,
Gun stiùir, gun chrann, no gun urrad na seòil oirr'.
Gun stiùir, gun, etc.

Dh' fhàg thu sinne 'n ar n' éiginn,
'An eilean mara ga 'r léir-sgrios,
Gun fhios cia 'n rathad a théid sinn,
'S an tonn le onfhais ag éirigh ;
Mar dh' iath na neòil air na spéuran,
Gun réult 's an adhar is léir dhuinn ;
Gun stiùir gun philot 'ni féum dhuinn,
'S chaidh 'n Cuataran gréine dhe 'sheòl oirnn.
'S chaidh 'n, etc.

Na 'm b' fhear le naimhdeas no diùmbadh
A thigeadh ort air do chùl-thaobh,
Gu do lot le droch dhùrachd
Cha bhiodh an tuaircneadh gun diùladh ;
'S iomadh bratach a rùisgteadh,
Ann an Alba mu d' chùise.—
Sgéul 'tha dearbhte gun dùisgeadh iad còmhla.
Sgéul tha, etc.

Dh' éireadh garg 's a' choimh-shreip leat
Mac Dhòmhnuill nan Eilean,
Le laimh dhearg 's le lann shoillear,—
Suinn nam fearra-bhuillean troma,
Bu neo leanabaidh 's a' choinneamh ;
A sgaoil 's an Eipheid o Cholla,
'S a ghabh seilbheachd air feadh na Roinn-Eorpa.
'S a ghabh, etc.

'S thig o Lòchaidh nan geala-bhreac—
'S b' fhiach a' chòir ud a dhearbhadh—
A thaobh càirdeas do sheana-mhath'ir,
Mac Dhòmhnuill Duibh 's Cloinne Chamshroin,
'N caithream catha 's neo leanabaidh,
'N uair a dh' éireadh an fhearg air an t-seòrsa.
'N uair a, etc.

'S thig o Lòchaidh a rithisd—
Bho thur Chreagan-an-Fhithich—
Fir shunntach 'shiùbhladh an t-slighe,
Le méud an rùin duit o 'n cridhe,
'S e dh' fhàgas ciùrrt' iad fo lighich,
Mar a faic iad thu t' uidheam ri 'm beò-shlaint'.
Mar a faic, etc.

Dh' éireadh Guinnich am feachd leat,
'S thigeadh Gréumaich fo d' bhrataich,
Griogair Ruadh-Shruth 's Cloinn Ailpein,
'S Iarla Shìphort 's a' ghaisgich—
'S sheasadh dìlis am mach mar bu chòir doibh.
'S sheasadh dìlis, etc.

Bi'dh mi 'guidh' air mo Shlànfhear
'Thighinn le spionnadh 's le tàbhachd
Greas dean ungadh le d' ghràsan,
'S glan hissop a chràdh-lot,
'S bean le d' mheoir ris an àite
'S am bheil a thrioblaid, 's an slànuich thu 'dhòruinn.
'S am bheil, etc.

Ach mas a bàs dhuit gun liathadh,
'S gun tig do Shlànfhear ga t' iarraidh,
Tha mo dhuil anns an Trianaid,
An Triùir is àirde tha 'riaghladh,
Gu 'm bi thu 'm Pàrras an siochaidh—
A' chraobh fo bhlàth 's i gun chrionadh;
'S mar a caomhainn thu 'Chriosd' e
Gur i 'n litir gun sgriobhadh a leòn mi.
Gur i 'n, etc.

The following is a very sweet love-song, which I have never seen in print. Verses to the same air appear in Dr K. N. Macdonald's "Gesto Collection"—an excellent work on Highland music and song—but these words are entirely different, and they are in great favour along Lochness-side:—

'S na hù e-ho-ro hù o!
Gur a tù mo nighean donn bhòidheach,
'S na hù e-ho-ro hù o!

Mo nighean donn bhòidheach, bheadarrach,
Cha beag orm do chòmhradh.
'S na hù, etc.

Mo nighean donn dhòidheach mheal-shuileach,
Bhiodh fir a' bhaile 'n tòir ort.
'S na hù, etc.

Tha mise 'n so air m' uilinn,
Agus mulad orm an còmhnuidh.
'S na hù, etc.

Mi m' shuidhe muith air cùl an tigh,
'Us tusa 'stigh a' pòsadh.
'S na hù, etc.

Cha 'n 'eil mi na mo thuathanach;
Cha chur 's cha bhuain mi eòrna.
'S na hù, etc.

'S ann tha mi na mo mharaiche,
Toirt m' aran as na ròpan.
'S na hù, etc.

'Us shiùbhlainn fada, fada leat,
Is fhaide no tha m' eòlas.
'S na hù, etc.

Rachainn do Chinntìre,
'S do dh' Ile ghlas an fheòir leat.
'S na hù, etc.

'S rachainn do Chaol Mhuile leat,
'S am bì na luingeas 'seòladh.
'S na hù, etc.

Shiùbhlainn 'n-Ear 'us 'n-Iar leat,
Gun each, gun srian, gun bhòtan.
'S na hù, etc.

'S is truagh nach robh mi 's m' àilleagan
Air àiridh feadh nam mòr-bheann.
'S na hù, etc.

I used to hear another song, which, I believe, was at one time a particular favourite; but I have never seen it published, nor heard it sung since long. I have never been able to ascertain whose composition it is. Perhaps we may come at the authorship by-and-bye. It is a peculiarly convivial song, and breathes a sound sentiment all round. It goes—

A luchd comuinn mo rùin
Suidhibh sùnndach mu 'n bhòrd,
'S na biodh cùram an t-saoghail
'Tighinn aon uair nur còir;
Biodh ar cridheachan gun ghruaimean,
Gun smuairean, gun smal;
O 'n a fhuair sinn riabh ar fòghnadh—
'S mar a dh' fhòghnas gu 'm faigh.
'S mar dh' fhòghnas, etc.

Lion an còrn so fo shràchd
De lionn làidir nach gann,
'Chuireas blàths ann ar pòran,
'Us ceòl ann ar cainnt;
'S o 'n a b' àbhaisd duinn 'bhi cridheil,
An am suidhe dhuinn mu 'n dram,
Cia'rson nach òl sinn cuach mar b' àbhaisd,
O 'n a thàrladh dhuinn ann.
O 'n a thàrladh, etc.

Le deagh rùn agus càil
Olam slàinte da 'n righ,
Agus buaidh le 'chuid armachd
Air fairge 's air tìr;
Air co-lionmhoreachd nan naimhdean
An am 'dhol 's an t-srìth,
Bhiodh aig Breatunnaich buaidh làraich;
'S mar a b' àbhaisd gum bì.
'S mar a b' àbhaisd, etc.

Guidheam slàinte da 'n tuathanach,
'S buaidh air a' chrann,
Agus duais da 'n a' ghniomhaich
O thùs bliadhna gu 'ceann;
'S an uair thig oirnn cur 'us buain—
Mar is dual tighinn na 'n am—
Gheabh gach neach mar bhios an dàn,
'S cha bhi fàilligeadh ann.
'S cha bhi, etc.

The air to which I have heard these verses sung is that known as "Sae will we yet," of which song they would appear to be somewhat in the nature of a translation, so far as they go.

We have heard of marrying for money and repenting; in the olden time they did more than repent—they composed songs, in

which they gave expression—and generally very effectively—to their disappointment. It is a story of that kind that the following song tells. If I remember rightly, I think I heard its nativity referred to as Lochness-side. It is a well-worded composition, and sings sweetly to a beautiful air:—

'S ann ormsa 'bha 'n truaighe
'Dhol a phòsadh nighean Ruairidh;
Ged tha 'crodh air a' bhuaile
Cha 'n fhuaigh i mo léine.

Hill-ì-oro-ù-o!
Hill-iù-oro-éile!
Hill-ì-oro-ù-o!

Thug an gionach 's an sànntas
Oran pòsadh ri bànntraich;
'S gur truagh nach robh mi 's an Fhrainge
Mu 'n do shànntaich mi féin i.
Hill-ì-oro-ù-o! etc.

'S ann ormsa bha 'm breamas
A dhol a phòsadh na caillich;
'S o 'n a chuir mi 'n snaim daingeann,
Cha dean aithricheas féum domh.
Hill-ì-oro-ù-o! etc.

A nighean donn a' chùil chleachaich,
'S nan gruaidhean dearg daite;
B' e mo mhiann-sa 'bhi d' thaice,
Ghaoil bu taitneach leam féin thu.
Hill-ì-oro-ù-o! etc.

'S a nighean donn a' chùil chiabhaich,
'S ann 'a d' cheann a bha 'n riaghailt;
'S o 'n a chunna mi riamh thu,
B' e mo miann a bhi réidh riut.
Hill-ì-oro-ù-o! etc.

Bi'dh mo chion air an òg-bhean,
A tha gu foinnidh, deas, bòidheach;
Ged a thréig mi an òighe
Airson òr na té léithe.
Hill-ì-oro-ù! etc.

I will close my collection of this class of songs to-night by submitting a Gaelic version of a well-known one, commonly referred to under the name of "My heart's in the Highlands," and always much in demand at "céilidhs" and other meetings in the district that I am laying under contribution. The words are:—

Tha mo chridh' air an fhireach,
'S cha 'n 'eil e 'n tìr chian;
Tha mo chridh' air an fhireach,
A dian ruith nam fiadh;
A dian ruith nan ruadh-bhoc,
'S nam maoislichaibh 's bòidhch';
Tha mo chridh 'n tìr nan àrd-bheann,
Tìr àill nam beann mòr.

Tìr nan Gàidheal 's nam breacan,
Slàn leat tìr mu Thuath;
Tìr nan tréun laoch 's nan gaisgeach,
Far am faighte 'n fhior uails';
Ge be àite da 'n téid mi,
Na rioghachd gu 'seòl,
Bithidh mo rùn da t' àrd shléibhtidh,
An cian bhios mi beò.

Gum a slàn da na beanntaibh,
Th' air an còmhdach le sneachd',
Gum a slàn da na gleanntaibh,
'S gach còmhnard ghorm-ghlaic;
Gum a slàn da na frithaibh
'Us dlù-choill' nan crann,
Gum a slàn da gach gorm-chroc,
'S gach torman bhras allt'.

Gum a slàn airson ùine;
Cha di-chuimhnich mi
Tìr m' aithrichean gràdhach
Nach do shàradh fo chìs;
Bithidh mi 'caoidh gus an till mi
Da t' ionnsuidh a rithisd,
A thìr m' athair 's mo mhàthair,
Mo thìr 'nàdurrach fhìn.

I cannot remember having ever seen these words in print, and I consider them well worth a place in our "Transactions."

I know nothing in Highland literature that would form a more interesting chapter in an ideal collection of Gaelic song and music than the fireside lilts and lullabies, so numerous in the country at one time, and yet so persistently overlooked by most collectors. These verses usually are associated with some of the very best melodies in existence, and throw interesting side-lights upon the domestic life of the people in the times of old. Generally several different versions are sung to the same air, thus showing that the airs travelled a good deal about. These fugitive verses are peculiarly reminiscent of the pastoral character of the people's mode of living, and no small number at every turn suggest the shealing seasons. The one fault with regard to these scrappy pieces is that in all cases the composers were not quite so careful with the wording as present-day society demands. The following scraps suggest themselves to me now, and I cannot resist the temptation of "throwing them in":—

An gille donn 's a' bhanarach,
An gille donn 's a' bhanarach;
An gille donn a bha 's an t-sabhall
Cha tig bhoidhe 'bhanarach.

'S gur bòidheach a' bhanarach,
'S gur bòidheach a' bhanarach,
'S gur bòidheach a bhios an gille
'Mireadh ris a' bhanarach.

An gille donn 's a' bhanarach,
An gille donn 's a' bhanarach;
An gille donn a th' air an àiridh
Thug e gràdh do 'n bhanarach.
'S gur bòidheach, étc.

And somewhat similar is the following:—

A nighean donn an àiridh,
Gu dearbh shuidhinn cuide riut;
A nighean donn an àiridh,
Gu dearbh shuidhinn cuide riut;
A nighean donn an àiridh bhuidhe,
Dheanainn suidhe cuide riut,
Air mullach nam beann àrda,
'S air àiridh nan uchd nan.

Fast on the heels of the foregoing naturally comes—

Ged bhiodh na laoigh 'an cois a' chruidh,
'S i 'nighean bhuidhe 's docha leam;
'S ged bhiodh na laoigh 'an cois a' chruidh,
'S i 'nighean bhuidhe 's docha leam;
'S i 'nighean bhuidhe 's fhearr leam,
'S i 'nighean bhuidhe 's docha leam;
'S i 'nighean bhuidhe 's fhearr leam,
'S is docha leam, 's is docha leam.

And—

Tha mi air mo chur, ho-rì,
Tha mi air mo chur, ho-rò;
Tha mi air mo chur, ho-rì,
A' buachailleachd a' chruidh, ho-rò.

A' buachailleachd a' chruidh, ho-rì,
A' buachailleachd a' chruidh, ho-rò;
A' buachailleachd a' chruidh, ho-rì,
H-uile latha muith ho-rò.

H-uile latha muith, ho-rì,
H-uile latha muith, ho-rò;
H-uile latha muith, ho-rì,
Air an Lurgain-Duibh, ho-rò.

Air an Lurgain-Duibh, ho-rì,
Air an Lurgain-Duibh, ho-rò;
Air an Lurgain-Duibh, ho-rì,
A' buachailleachd a' chruidh, ho-rò.

Before newspapers and books became so common as they now are, many a long winter evening was pleasantly passed at Highland firesides diddling those sweet airs, which seemed to associate themselves with every mood peculiar to the Highland mind. There is generally an easiness about both melodies and words which suggests their production by a people light-hearted and cheerful. Until within comparatively recent times, two or three could scarcely meet together at a Highland fireside without having recourse to this music, which seemed as natural to them as to the mavis and lark to sing. "Canntaireachd," or "Port-a-Béul," was much in vogue; but everybody diddled or sang as the spirit moved. Often when waiting, perhaps, the food to get ready, or while rocking a child to sleep, one would start something such as the following:—

Tha fear 'am béinn an t-Slochdain-Duibh,
A bhios a' ruith nam boirionnach;
Tha fear 'am béinn an t-Slochdain-Duibh,
A bhios a' ruith nan gruagach;
Fiorionnach 'us boineid air
A bhios a' ruith nam boirionnach,
Fiorionnach 'us boineid air
A bhios a' ruith nan gruagach.

Another would respond—

Thug iad bhuam, bhuam, bhuam,
Thug iad bhuam-sa mo leannan;
Thug iad bhuam, bhuam, bhuam,
Thug iad bhuam-sa mo leannan;
Thug iad bhuam, bhuam, bhuam,
Thug iad bhuam-sa mo leannan;
Thug iad bhuam-sa mo luaidh,
Nighean ruadh an fhuilt chlannaich.

And to the same air—

Horionn-i-ou-i,
Rinn am fìdhleir mo mhealladh,
Horionn-i-ou-i,
Rinn am fìdhleir mo mhealladh;
Horionn-i-ou-i,
Rinn am fìdhleir mo mhealladh,
Rinn am fìdhleir mo leòn
Ann an Cnòideart a' bharraich.

This would probably suggest such as the following—

Gun d' chuir mo leannan cùlthaobh rium,
Gun d' chuir mo leannan cùlthaobh rium;
Gun d' chuir mo leannan cùlthaobh rium,
'S cha teid i leam a dhannsa;
Cha teid i idir, idir, ann,
Cha teid i idir ann domh;
Cha teid i idir, idir, ann,
Cha teid i idir ann leam.

And not infrequently a long list of those "rannagan" might end with such a picture of female attractiveness as the following presents:—

Nighean na cailliche crotaiche crùbaich,
Thionndadh i 'cùlthaobh 's throdadh i rium,
Bhreabadh i 'casan mu seach air an ùrlar,
'S thionndadh i 'cùlthaobh 's throdadh i rium;
Thionndad i 'cùlthaobh, thionndadh i 'cùlthaobh,
Thionndadh i 'cùlthaobh 's throdadh i rium,
Nighean na cailliche 's miosa 's an dùthaich,
Thionndadh i 'cùlthaobh 's throdadh i rium,

The following—a sweet, pretty lullaby—has the genuine touch of nature about it:—

Mo chiaran 's mo chumhasan,
Mo chumhasan, mo chumhasan;
Mo chiaran 's mo chumhasan,
Bi'dh bogha caol de 'n iughair ort.

'S na hò-i 's tu m' ruagair thu,
'S tu m' ruagair thu, 's tu m' ruagair thu;
'S na hò-i 's tu m' ruagair thu,
'S tu mac mo ghaoil do 'n bhuachaill' thu.
Mo chiaran, etc.

'S na hò-i 's tu m' mhealladh thu,
'S tu m' mhealladh thu, 's tu m' mhealladh thu;
'S na hò-i 's tu m' mhealladh thu,
'S tu mac mo ghaoil àm falach thu.
Mo chiaran, etc.

'S na hò-i 's tu m' luaidhe thu,
'S tu m' luaidhe thu, 's tu m' luaidhe thu;
'S na hò-i 's tu m' luaidhe thu,
'S tu mac an t-sàr dhuin' uasail thu.
Mo chiaran, etc.

'S na hò-i 's tu m' phàisdean thu;
'S tu m' phàisdean thu, 's tu m' phàisdean thu;
'S na hò-i 's tu m' phàisdean thu;
'S gu 'n rachainn fhìn do Gheàrrloch leat.
Mo chiaran, etc.

And so also has this:—

Cha téid mi 'Choir'-Odhar,
Tha 'n latha 'n diugh fuar;
Cha téid mi 'Choir'-Odhar,
Tha 'n latha 'n diugh fuar;

Cha téid mi 'Choir'-Odhar,
Tha 'n latha 'n diugh fuar,
'S air eagal nan gillean,
Bhi 'n iomall nam bruach.

O falbhaidh mi 's fàgaidh mi
Fàsach nan aighean;
O falbhaidh mi 's fàgaidh mi
Fàsach nan aighean;
O falbhaidh mi 's fàgaidh mi
Fàsach nan aighean,
'Us bheir mi 'n reith' geamhraidh
'S a' ghleann 's am bi 'n ceath'ch.

The following words are those commonly sung to the air of "Seann-triubhais":—

Cuiridh mi mo bhriogais diom,
Bho nach 'eil i sgiobalt' orm,
Cuiridh mi mo bhriogais diom,
A nise bho nach fhiù i;
Briogais dhubh nan dusan toll,
Biodh i dubh na biodh i donn;
Briogais dhubh nan dusan toll,
Coma leam co-dhiù i.

But much as I should wish to give further examples of this class of Gaelic poetry, I must now make an effort to approach the end of this paper, which is already much longer than I intended it to be. But I must not conclude without referring to one poet, whose works, still unpublished, ought to have a place in our "Transactions"—I mean the late Thomas Macdonald, bard of Abriachan, commonly called "Tòmas an Tòdhair." Thomas composed a number of songs and poems; but, like many a Highland bard, he confined the most of them to local subjects. Those that have any general interest, however, are really of a comparatively high order. Thomas Macdonald was descended from a family of Macdonalds, who, it is said, migrated at one time from Glen-Urquhart, and settled in Abriachan. From the same Macdonalds is believed to have sprung the famous Bishop John Macdonald of Alvie.. There was brain among them all, beyond the average Highlander, and Thomas was by no means the least talented. One of the most prominent features of his compositions is their sarcastic wit, an instrument which he could use at times with very considerable power. Though he died only about

a dozen or fifteen years ago, some of his best productions are now somewhat difficult to get. The following come readily to hand, and will, I hope, be read with interest. The first is a song in praise of Glen-Urquhart:—

ORAN DO GHLEANN URCHADAIN.

Tha Gleann Urchadain cho àluinn,
Fo sgàil nam beann ciar,
Le fior oibre Nàduir
A' fàs ann an rian;
Gach raon agus àite
Is àilleanta sgiamh,
Le neòneanan sàr-gheal
Gu àirde nan sliabh.

Tha Meall-fuar-mhonaidh shuas,
Fo shuaicheantas làn,
Le 'bhàrr mulaich an uachdar
Thair' stuadhaibh nan càrn;
'S gach taobh dheth air iathadh,
O iochdar gu bhàrr,
Le fuaranaibh ciatach
'An iochdar gach sgàirn.

Tha Eanruig 'us Coilltidh
'Cur loinn air a' ghleann,
A' tuirlinn tromh 'n oighreachd
Le gleadhraich na 'n deann;
'S tha fonn-chrith le gaoir
Aig gach caochan 'us allt',
Gu mearganta 'taomadh
O aonach nan gleann.

Tha Creag-Neigh 's Creag-Mhònaidh
Air an còmhdach le coill,
'Cur dian air a' chòmhnard
O dhoinneann nan sion;
Tha iasg 'an Loch-Mhioclaidh
Agus eunach 's a' bhéinn,
'S tha Rùsgich 'us Diòmhach
Na 'm frith aig na féidh.

Tha tigh-foghluim na h-òigridh
  Air còmhnard na dùthch',
Gu greadhnach 'an òrdugh
  Le sheòmraichaibh ùr;
'S na h-uaislean cho rianail
  A' riaghladh a' Bhùird,
'S iad macanta, ciallach,
  Gun fhiaradh gun lùb.

Tha 'n Caisteal air crionadh
  Le sianntaibh nan spéur,
'S a bhaidealan àrda
  Air sgàineadh o 'chéil;
'S cha 'n 'eil eachdraidh no seanchas
  A dh' fhàg dearbhadh o chéin,
Air an àl 'chuir an àird e
  No 'dhaingnich a stéidh.

Tha Loch-Nis nan tonn siùbhlach
  Ag ionnlaid nan sgòrr,
Le fìor uisge cùbhraidh
  Toirt dùbhlan do 'n reòth';
'S tha Caolas Ghlinn-Urchadain,
  Gu h-uirealach stòlt',
'Tighinn o aigeann a chonfhaidh
  'S nam borb bhoinne mòr.

'S bi'dh gach éun anns a' chrò-choill'
  Co-chòrdadh r' a' chéil',
Le 'n cèilearadh bòidheach,
  'Cur an òrdugh nan téud;
'S bi'dh a' chubhag 's an smeòrach,
  'S an òg mhaduinn Chéit,
Le an òranan ceòlmhor
  Air meòraibh nan géug.

'S tha 'n ealtuinn an còmhnuidh
  Co òrdail na 'cùrs',
'N uair a ghoireas iad còmhla
  Le cò-sheirm a' chiùil;
Le 'n aighearachd thaitneach
  'Chuireadh m' aigneadh air sunnd,
'S mactalla 'toirt caismeachd
  Air ais as na cùirn.

'N uair a theirgeas an geamhradh,
Thig an samhradh 'n a dhéigh,
'S tuitidh ùr-dhealt na Bealltuinn,
'Toirt fàs air an fhéur;
'S bi'dh flùraichean àillidh
Fo bhlàth air gach géug,
'S bàrr-guchd air gach meanglan
'S a' Mhòr-Lanntir gu léir.

'S o 'n a fhuair sinn am Maidsear
A mhàn 'a Strath-Spé,
'S leis dùrachd gun àicheadh
An luchd àitich gu léir;
'S tha càirdeas 'us fàbhar
'N a 'nàdur gu réidh,
Nach cuireadh e bàir-linn
Gu fàrdach luchd féich.

'S ann an airmailt na Bann-Righ
A b' ainmeil a chliù,
Le prasgan de Ghàidheil,
Làn àrdain na 'n gnùis;
Le 'n géur lannaibh stàilinn
Neo-sgàthach na 'n dùirnn,
A' toirt buaidh air an nàmhad
Ann am fàbhar a' chrùin.

'S bha 'm Màidsear co éudmhor
Ann an séidse Lucnù,
A' cur daingnich nan réubalt'
'S na spéuraibh na n smùid;
'S luchd breacan-an-fhéilidh,
'S am béugnaidean rùisgt',
'Cur chéudan de nigearan
Sint' air an ùir.

'S gun òl sinn deoch slàinte
An Mhàidsear le sunnd,
Le glaineachan deàrr-lan
Ga 'n tràghadh gu 'n grunnd;
De stuth mireanach, làidir,
Soilleir, taitneach, 'us grinn,
O cheath' poite tarruingte,
'Chuireadh stàirn 'n ar cinn.

'S e dùrachd mo chàileachd
Gu dàn 'chur 'an céill,
'Chum 's gu 'm faighinn teachd dàn
Air a nàdur gu léir;
Cha d' ìmich 's cha d' thàinig,
'S cha 'n fhàg e a dhéigh,
Fear eile 'bheir bàrr air
Gu bràth a' Strath-Spé.

The references in this song to the late Major Grant were, as we and many others all know, well deserved, and for the reason that it contains these references, apart from the merit otherwise of the piece, it has a claim upon our Society for preservation.

The second song by Thomas Macdonald that I shall include on this occasion is in praise of a man we all knew and respected and liked—the late Bailie W. G. Stuart, for many years one of our best known members. From the verses it is clear that the bard esteemed the Bailie as highly as all who knew him did:—

ORAN AIR MR W. G. STIUBHART.

Air fonn—"A' nochd gur faoin mo chadal domh."

Le fiòr-ghean gràidh, céud soraidh slàn
Do 'n fhleasgach àluinn, òg;
'S na 'n d' fhuair mi iùl gu d' àrdachadh,
Cha 'n fhàgainn thu 's a' cheò;
Is ceann-iuil air thus nan sàr thu,
'N uair thàrladh tu na 'n còir,
Le d' òraidean ga 'n gléusadh dhaibh,
Gu soilleir, réidh-ghlan, fòil.

'S gur lionor buaidh tha sinte riut,
Nach tàr mi innseadh 'n dràsd;
Is Gàidheal foinnidh, fìnealt thu,
Bho chrùn do chinn gu d' shàil;
'S tha macantachd a's mìleantachd
Co-shìnte ri do ghnàths;
'S tu smachdail, beachdail, inntinneach,
Gun mhi-run gun chion-fàth.

Thug Nàdur gibht mar dìleab dhuit,
Le inntinn fhiòr-ghlan, réidh,
'Toirt eachdraidh bheachdail, chìnntich dhuinn
Air iomadh lìnn o chéin;

Le éudmhorachd ga mìneachadh,
Gun dichuimhn o do bhéul,
'S iad uile làn de dhiòmhaireachd,
'S an fhirinn annt' mar stéidh.

Tha tùr 'us mùirn na d' ghiùlan,
Gu fearail, sùnndach, fòil;
As gealtaireachd cha d' ionnsaich thu,
'S cha d' thug thu rum do phròis;
Air nail', cha tugainn dùlan duit
An ùine bhios mi beò,
'S mo dhùrachd cheart cho dlùth riut,
'S a tha n driùchd air bharr an fheòir.

'S ann fhuair mi 'n eachdraidh chìnnteach
Air an t-sìnnsireachd o 'n d fhàs
An gaisgeach àluinn, fìnealt ud,
Gun chron, gun ghiòmh, gun ghaoid,
'Us air an stoc o 'n bhuaineadh e—
Cha shuarach e ri ràdh—
'S e 'shiol nan rìghrean Stiùbhartach,
Bha roimhe crùinte 'n Scàin.

Tha d' aigni'an air an stéidheachadh
Le béusalachd 'us gràdh,
'S gach chleachdaidhean cho réusanach,
Gun ghruaim, gun bhéud, gun ghaoid;
Le inntinn ghrinn d' a réir sin,
Gu géur-chuiseach, gun mheang,
'S gach buaidh tha dùint le d' chréubhaig,
Cha léir dhomh chur an cainnt.

Gur marsant' ealámh, ionnsaicht', thu,
Gu tairis, mùirneach, stòld',
'S e fialaidheachd 'us fiùghantachd
An tùrn 's na chuir thu d' dhòigh;
'S tha faoilt 'us aoidh na d' ùrlar
Gu fallain, sunndach, òg,
'S gur iomadh gruagach dhlùth-ghléusach
A dhùraichdeadh dhuit pòg.

'S tu thalaidheadh na h-ìghneagan
Le faoilt 'us briòdal beoil,
'S le d' aighearachd 'cur iompaidh orr',
'S le riòmhadh de gach seors';

'Sgàileagan de 'n t-sioda
'Us a h-uile nì is boidhch',
'S na 'n ceannaicheadh iad da-rìreadh iad,
Cha bhiodh a' phrìs ro mhòr.

Tha gliocas agus tàlantan
A' tàrmachadh na d' choir,
Gu misneachail, neo-sgàthach,
A' cur àbhachdais air seòl;
'S tha mùirn as ùr gach là dhuit,
Anns gach àit aig sean a's òg,
'S gur tric do chluith 's na gàsaidean,
'S gach ceàrna de 'n Roinn-Eòrp'.

Le deònachas no ain-deòineachd,
Thoir beannachd uam, gun dàil,
Da 'n àrmunn àghor, cheanalta,
Cho tairiseach air fàs;
'Us fear do cheird' gur ainneamh e,
Cho barraicht' riut thar chàch,
Ged 's mòr a tha de cheannaichean
'S a' bhaile 'm beil thu 'tamh.

'N uair theid thu choir nan àbhachdan,
Le feala-dhà gun bhéud,
'S i cainnt na Féinne s fheàrr leat—
A' Ghàidhlig àluinn réidh;
'S tha seanchaidhean ri fàistinneachd
Gur i bh' aig Adhamh féin,
'S gur mùirneach rinn e h-àrach dhuinn,
Fo dhùbhar sgàil nan géug.

'S tu marcach an eich rùidhleinich
Is aotrom shiùbhlas sràid,
Le luaths an fhéidh 'cur mìltean deth;
'S cha ghabh e sgiòs gu bràth;
'S cha 'n iarr e coirc no innlinn,
A's cha phàigh e cis no càin;
'S am fear a dhealbh an innleachd ud,
'S i 'inntinn nach robh 'n tàmh.

Ach 's fhéudar bhi co-dhùnadh,
'S nach d' fhuair mi iùl fir-dàin;
'S na 'n robh mi eagnaidh, ionnsaichte,
Gu 'm biodh a' chùis na b' fheàrr;

Tha uaill air sluagh na dùthcha,
Gu 'n d' fhuair thu cliù thar chàch;—
'S na 'm faighinn trian mo dhùrachd,
Cha bu chùram dhuit gu brath.

To enable Dr K. N. Macdonald, Edinburgh, to include Thomas Macdonald among his "Macdonald Bards," I drew his attention to this notice, and he makes ample acknowledgment of the favour.

In further illustration of the folk-lore of the district (see Vol. XXI.)—and, at the same time, of a belief in the supernatural, widely spread over the Highlands—a somewhat representative story may be related. That certain persons in the olden time enjoyed the acquaintance of fairy sweethearts ("leannain-sìth"), and fairy companions, was not doubted by the generality of the people. The belief was no less entertained that some held appointments with certain of the powers of darkness, even with no less a potentate than his Satanic Majesty himself. Of this class of stories the following should be a good example:—Some time ago, when it was quite common to attribute anything, unexplainable by the easiest possible methods, to the interference of the supernatural with the natural, there lived in a certain Highland glen a farmer, who, to assist him in the management of his worldly concerns, engaged a servant, a young man of good repute. The servant was usually out during the most of the daytime, and when he would return home at night he would be, as a rule, so tired as to have little will to leave the house till fully rested. One evening, however, just as he was sitting comfortably at the fireside, a neighbour came in and told him that he would have to go for one of the farmer's sheep, which evidently had died or been killed, and was being eaten up by dogs at a certain place, a long distance away from the house. The man felt very much displeased at the intelligence brought him. There was none other about to go for the dead animal; but he was wearied with the day's exertions, and the idea of going far from home that night was to him most repulsive. Getting into a fit of angry rage, he swore by all the demons in Hades that he would not go a single step on the errand that night. But by-and-bye the farmer interfered, and the result was that he was ordered off to bring the carcase of the dead sheep home at once. There being thus no alternative the poor man had to submit, and he left the house, much against his will, to make the best of his way to where the dead sheep lay. The night was dark and dreary, and, as he neared the spot to which he was directed, he thought he felt some

peculiar sensation passing through his whole system. He was not in the best of moods, as can be easily imagined; and he did not mind this much. But when he came to within a few yards of the carcase, he saw what he took to be an animal of some kind standing right before him. He took no time to consider whether he should interfere with this animal or not, but again made use of forcible language in getting the animal out of his way. However, in a moment's time the animal seemed to take a form something like the human image, but decidedly more horrible and more unearthly than ever man was known to be. This of itself was bad enough for the servant; but matters got still more serious when the figure spoke, in firm tones, claiming the poor man's life in fulfilment of the man's own words and conditions. What then transpired between the two has never been known; but the man is said to have had by far the worst of the meeting. He managed somehow to crawl home before the morning, and lay in bed for months afterwards suffering from the shock that he had experienced from coming in contact with this unexpected and unwelcome acquaintance. When questioned as to the circumstances of the occasion, he merely gave ominous replies, which were understood to indicate that he did not feel at liberty to speak freely, and that he possessed a secret which was not to be communicated to any. But one thing was clear, namely, that he considered himself the unwilling victim of some evil power, from whose terrible grasp he had no escape, and whose influence doomed him to grief all his days. He from time time, when unwell, betrayed considerable uneasiness to get strong again; and when able to rise and move about, one of the first acts he performed was to go of an evening to a certain solitary place, where, it was all round believed, he had an appointment with the being whom he had met with before, and whom all the people identified with an "evil spirit." And as time passed on it became generally known that these appointments were of frequent occurrence in the life of the servant, and it was observed that there seemed to be something of more than ordinary moment weighing down his mind, as he was seen to have lost all liveliness and spirit from his first meeting with the "fiend." He usually got particularly gloomy as the time of the appointment drew near; and on several occasions he was known to leave the society of his companions and friends, and walk deliberately out of the room to hold his appointed communion with whatever power it was that exercised such influence over him. The story says that attempts were made more

than once to keep him from fulfilling his appointment. But all in vain. He would slip out between people's hands, and hasten to the appointed place as if his very life depended upon his observance of punctuality. In point of fact, there did exist a belief to the effect that such persons as were unfortunate enough to find themselves in the power of an "evil spirit" could only get away with life on condition that they would hold secret meetings with that "spirit, just as dictated to. But it was understood that these meetings were merely a putting off from time to time of the sad event that always closed any dealings between a member of the human family and a supernatural being, such as this case was supposed to be—the death by violence of the former by the latter. This belief is not confined to the Scottish Highlands alone, for it is frequently to be found in Continental legends, between which and Highland legends there can be drawn not a few similarities in this direction.

We can scarcely conceive how unfortunate it would be considered in the Highlands to fall under the power of a being from whose destroying hand there could in the end be no way of escape. It was common, however, to credit such parties with the gift of prophecy, the faculty of second-sight, and sundry other potentialities generally attributed to the beings of another world. This was so in the case in point; people soon came to the conclusion that the man foretold future events with the strictest accuracy. But he soon tired of his existence, and sought means of putting himself once more side by side with other men. He was advised to consult the minister as to his circumstances. This he did; but after all he had little peace from the "demon" that forever haunted him. At length he resolved to quit that part of the country. He accordingly removed to where he thought he might pass the rest of his days in comparative quiet. He found that the "evil spirit" did not trouble him so much in the midst of his new surroundings as before; but, though this was so, it was as difficult for him to get rid of his ubiquitous follower as Shakespeare makes it for the notorious Richard the Third to flee from himself, or as we find depicted—a case somewhat similar—in "Frankenstein." In a very short time people came to know that the strange man had a habit of withdrawing himself from company occasionally, even against the earnest persuasions of all present; while it was also noticed that he always returned from his mysterious excursions in a half-dying condition—perfectly exhausted. For days afterwards he was known to complain of

illness—of a languishing weariness, as if all his bones had been unmercifully squeezed against each other. Thus the poor fellow lived on, and time after time attended meetings with the dark spirit of his fate. But he was evidently getting more and more exhausted; and it was clear that he had now but little time before him. Those who knew him well could understand that he foresaw his own end. He mixed but little in company, and appeared to be always heavy-minded and dull. He met with a few friends on one dark night, and they all adjourned to an inn. The company sat there for a little time, enjoying a quiet glass. But by-and-bye he slipped away in his usually persistent manner. No further notice was, however, taken of the circumstance, and no more was heard of him until it was reported next morning that his body had been found, in such a bruised and mutilated condition as to indicate that his death had been brought about by violence of some kind—a circumstance which the people, of course, found ready means of explaining.

One short fairy story, and I am done. The stealing of children by fairies has frequently been the subject of much interesting narrative and enquiry. It does not appear, however, that the snatching of grown-up persons by them has received so much attention. That the fairies sometimes attempted such may be learned from the following, and to obviate being stolen during sleep, "charms" or "amulets" were worn by persons fearful of being made victims. I have heard it related that a married woman had a narrow escape one night after she had gone to rest. Before she had rightly closed her eyes in sleep she was disturbed by the tongues of a few shadowy-looking women in the house, seemingly discussing her own fate. She understood that they meant to carry her away, and her very speech left her as she counted nine of them coming deliberately to her bedside. She tried hard to utter a cry, but her powers of speech and sound were gone, and she felt as if there was some tremendous weight pressing her down upon the bed. "Shall we take her?" said the queen of the nine. "Yes, certainly," exclaimed the others with one voice. She advanced to lift the woman up. "Ah! we cannot touch her," she said; "she has a silver heart in her breast." The whole nine left, and the terrorised woman could once more breathe freely and fearlessly.

Of both these stories very probable explanations on rational grounds will undoubtedly strike most readers, and they are none the less interesting from a psychological point of view.

16th MARCH, 1899.

At this meeting Mr Thos. Gibson, of Messrs Mactavish & Gibson, Inverness; Alister Macpherson-Grant, Esq., Ballindalloch; and Mr J. Matheson, Ordnance Survey, Edinburgh, were elected ordinary members of the Society. Thereafter the Secretary read a paper by Mr A. Fraser, of the "Toronto Mail," Toronto, on "The Gael in Canada," which is as follows:—

THE GAEL IN CANADA.

There is no ethnological problem in Canada. Such questions as "Who were the Picts?" "Who the Feinne?" we have not to solve. We begin with a clean and new leaf: with Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Germans, etc., with their well-defined race divisions; and beyond the colonies which swarmed to our shores during the period from one hundred to one hundred and fifty years ago, there is but little inclination to push research. Our prehistoric Indian races excite an interest scarcely greater in Canada than in Inverness. Yet there is genuine pride of race. The severance from the Fatherland has not loosened the ties of blood. The Englishman is more loyal to Lancashire or Devonshire—that he has left it behind, or that his father or grandfather left it behind—than the average resident of Lancashire or Devonshire is. So with the German, the plodding Lowland Scot, and so in a very special degree with the Scottish Gael. The progress of racial homogeneity must needs be slow. It is interesting to watch it grow in new soil. The wonderful commercial and industrial development of the United States has carried with it a rapid process of assimilation of race, and a distinctive people, or it may be more correct to say distinctive peoples, are being formed in a marvellously brief period of time. In Canada it is different. The sparser population, the quieter modes of living, and the greater segregation of the people geographically have been less favourable to change from the original types. Thus, in Nova Scotia, considerable sections of the country are inhabited by Gaelic-speaking people from various parts of the Highlands of Scotland, who for three generations have preserved not only the language, but the peculiarities of dialect and pronunciation of the district whence their people emigrated more than a hundred years ago. Many years ago I met a gentleman in Glasgow, who spoke Gaelic fluently and well, and with a pronounced Mull

accent. He asked me to guess, from his mode of speech, what part of the Highlands he hailed from. I thought the guess easy; I replied, "From Mull." I was wrong. He had been born and brought up in Nova Scotia, where his grandfather had been born also; and was only on a brief visit to the land of his fathers. His forefathers, however, had been Mull people, which accounted for his accent. This is a fair example of the condition of things in many parts of Canada, and it shows how long a time the peculiarities of speech, and I might add of manners also, cling to a people in a strange land.

French Canada, or the Province of Quebec, affords an example of a different kind. There the first European settlers were from Normandy, Brittany, and Wolfe's soldiers, especially the soldiers of the Forty-Second, Montgomerie's, and Fraser's Highlanders, were given the option, at the close of the war, to remain in Canada as colonists, or to return home to be discharged on the disbanding of the regiments. Many of them settled on the banks of the Lower St Lawrence, below Quebec. They intermarried with and soon were absorbed by the French-Canadians, so that it would be almost impossible at the present day to trace their Highland names or Highland features in their "Frenchified" surnames and puny physique. Mackintoshes, Macdonalds, Mackenzies, Frasers, and Macleods have undergone curious transformations, and to-day a Beddoe or a Broca might pick out a Fraser as a typical French-Canadian, although Fraser's ancestor might have been, so recently as 1758, a crofter in the Aird of Lovat, while the Gaelic language, of course, passed away with the first mixed generation. Where two races meet and intermingle, the mother's language usually prevails, and it would appear that the mother rather than the father influences the physical characteristics. This Province of Quebec excepted, the Gael in Canada has lost but comparatively few of his old national traits.

If the Dominion offers a hospitable home to the Highlander to-day, it is because Highland soldiers practically won Canada for Britain from the French years ago. The Highland broadsword went before the ploughshare. At Louisburg the Highland regiments covered themselves with glory, but at Quebec—the key to the country—it is questionable whether Wolfe could have got within reach of Montcalm at all, were it not for the coolness of Captain Simon Fraser, younger of Balnain, who afterwards, as Brigadier-General, fell at Saratoga, in answering the challenge of the French sentry, as the Heights were being reached from the river. As related by Smollet, the story is as follows:—"The first boat that contained the British troops being questioned, a

Captain * in Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered without hesitation to 'Qui vive?' the challenging word, 'La France.' Nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demand—'A quel regiment?' the Captain replied, 'De la reine?' which he knew by accident to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. . . . . In the same manner the other sentries were deceived, though one, more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called, 'Pour-quoi est ce que vous ne parlez pas haut?' ('Why don't you speak with an audible voice?'). To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the Captain answered, with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, 'Tai toi nous serens entendues!' ('Hush, we shall be overheard and discovered'). The sentry retired without further altercation." If the sentries had not been thus deceived the troops could not have effected a landing, much less have succeeded in scaling the precipitous heights, and had the British failed in doing that, then Quebec, the key to Canada, would have remained in the hands of France. The "Plains of Abraham," on which this fateful battle was fought, were named after a Highlander, Abraham Martin, a Perthshire man, who owned the land, and whose name figures often in the annals of that time. The end of brave Simon Fraser, whose tact gave the Highlanders a landing, was a sad one, although his death was glorious. He was second in command of the British forces, under General Burgoyne, during the Revolutionary War, and was an officer of great ability. His skill in tactics was conspicuous at Saratoga, at which battle his management of the army baffled every attempt of the enemy to carry the day. This was the more noticeable, as it was evident that General Burgoyne had lost his grip of the situation. General Morgan, on the American side, observed Burgoyne's blunders, and how they were retrieved by Brigadier-General Fraser. He called two of his riflemen, and said, "You see that fine fellow on the white horse? It goes against my heart to do it, but you must pick him off, or we lose the battle." The riflemen watched their opportunity, and it was not long before Simon Fraser fell mortally wounded. It was an easy victory then for the Americans.

[* The Macdonalds claim that the officer who rendered this signal service was Captain Donald Macdonald of Clanranald, who was undoubtedly an accomplished officer, and most useful to the officer commanding. I have been unable to clear the point from doubt to my own satisfaction. In the Aird the tradition favours

Captain Simon Fraser. In Quebec the same opinion holds. Indeed, so far as I have been able to find out, the general opinion of Highlanders is in favour of Captain Fraser. I have, therefore, adhered to it in this paper. At the same time, the question is worthy of, and admits of, further investigation. I believe some correspondence which passed between soldiers of Fraser's Highlanders has been deposited in the Canadian archives, and interesting information may be forthcoming when it shall have been examined].

As already noted, many of these Highland soldiers, drawn largely from Inverness-shire, settled in Canada, on the Lower St Lawrence and in Nova Scotia. They were heard of again as the 84th Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment in the Revolutionary War. This may be taken as the beginning of Highland colonisation in Canada. Afterwards came the settlement of Glengarry, that of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton, then the Selkirk Colonies. To a later, or intermediate, period belong the Argyleshire and Sutherlandshire Colonies, which settled in Western and Northern Ontario.

It would be interesting to trace a stream of emigration from its source to its destination. A large number of Highlanders from Glengarry, Knoydart, and adjoining places settled in the beautiful Mohawk Valley in the Province of New York, under the leadership of the Macdonells of Aberchalder, Leek, Scottos, and Collachie. Their lands were about thirty miles from Albany, and were under the protection of Sir William Johnson, of Indian fame. When hostilities broke out between Great Britain and the American Colonies in 1775, these Highlanders remained loyal, and about two hundred of them crossed country to Montreal, and formed the nucleus of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, with Sir John Johnson, son of General Sir William Johnson, as Colonel. The list of officers contains the names of the following gentlemen, who afterwards settled in Glengarry, Canada:—Captains Alexander MacDonell (Aberchalder), Angus MacDonell, John MacDonell (Scotos), Archibald MacDonell (Leek), Lieut. Hugh MacDonell (Aberchalder), Ensign Miles MacDonell (Scotos); and of the second battalion of the same regiment, Capt. James MacDonell, Lieut. Ranald MacDonell (Leek). In the famous corps known as Butler's Rangers the following MacDonells held rank:—Captain John MacDonell (Aberchalder), First Lieut. Alexander MacDonell (Collachie), Second Lieut. Chichester MacDonell (Aberchalder). These names are of singular interest, not only as those of the pioneers of Highland emigration, but of men who, being men of standing and substance

in Inverness-shire, were among the first victims of the evictor there. In Dr Fraser-Mackintosh's "Antiquarian Notes," second series, p. 125, is the following reference to their eviction. Describing the conduct of Duncan MacDonell of Glengarry and of Marjory Grant, his wife, he says:—

"The first step was to give notice to the wadsetters, every one of whom it would have been noticed were Macdonells, and connected more or less with the chief. Being of old date, and prices advancing rapidly, their position was excellent, for it may be taken as certain that, besides sitting in their own personal occupancies free, the interest of the wadset moneys was more than paid by their numerous subtenants, crofters and cottars. Further, being men of education with an assured position in the country, it was galling for them to think of subsiding into the new position of tenants, burdened with a large increase of rent, and hence they nearly all emigrated, taking along with them the choicest of their followers. The emigration which was to the New England States, was the wisest step for them to pursue, and proved beneficial to them; but it drained the cream of manhood of Glengarry, to the great detriment of the district."

Here we see how these Macdonells came to leave their native land, and we see also that loyalty to that land and to the British Crown was not left behind, but that the people who gathered to the Jacobite standard in 1745 drew the sword in America for the House of Hanover in 1775, and in consequence suffered hardships at the hands of the United States as severe as were endured by their fathers after Culloden, at the hands of Cumberland.

We have seen that the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment was composed largely of the veterans of Fraser's and Montgomerie's Highlanders and of the Black Watch, who settled on the Lower St Lawrence and in Nova Scotia. That regiment bore a distinguished part in the Revolutionary War, the 1st Battalion under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Allan Maclean, and the 2nd Battalion under Major-Commandant John Small. Colonel Maclean with his Highlanders defended the citadel of Quebec from the attacks and siege by the American General, Arnold, and saved the stronghold from falling into the hands of the Americans. And here again it is to be noted that to the Highlander is due the credit of saving Canada from the Americans, as of previously winning it from the French. The 2nd Battalion settled, in 1784, in Nova Scotia, and the 1st in Quebec. Many of the men who settled in Nova Scotia moved westwards, eventually settling in Glengarry, above Montreal. Although soldiers,

they had acquired a rare experience of such life as was suited to the forest wilds of an unopened country. They were hardy sons of the hills, seasoned by the winters and wars of Quebec, and inured to the toils of pioneer life in Nova Scotia, at a time when the tomahawk and musket were as necessary in the field as the spade and the plough. They travelled long distances to their new homes, through trackless forests, swamps, and rough broken land. The Nova Scotians went through the fastnesses of New Brunswick to the St Lawrence, and by its waters up to Montreal. Some came from the Carolinas—Skyemen, men from Lochbroom and Kintail—for, earlier than to Canada, Highlanders settled in South Carolina. As Murdo Macleod's song has it—

"'N uair bhois mo chlann-sa làidir,
'S a dh' fhasàs iad crionta;
Gu 'n d' theid mi null air sàil leo;
Gu Stàid Charolina;
Sin an uair a dh' fhaodar,
Gach aon a chuir ri gniomh dhiubh;
Gach aon a chuir ri gniomh, dhiubh;
'S mi fhein a bhi diomhain."

The mode of travel varied. The people from the South—such as those from Carolina—travelled mostly in covered vans, driving their cattle before them; those from Nova Scotia had no waggon paths, and had to use pack horses and oxen. Referring to the difficulties of travelling in those days, the late Sheriff Mackellar, of Hamilton, Ontario, had this anecdote to relate:—"Among the settlers in Glengarry were some not conversant with Scripture, one of whom listened with incredulous astonishment to the story of the children of Israel's wanderings through the wilderness. At the close of the service he taxed the minister with drawing the long bow. Being assured that the Israelites took forty years to reach Palestine, he warmly exclaimed: 'Cha robh ann am Maois ach an t-amadan; threoraich mise cuideachd de mhnathan agus chloinn bho Halifax gu Glinne-Garaidh, troimh choillteau 'us suampaichean gun chunntais, ann an sé seachdainean, 's cha do chaill mi ceann no cas diu.'" He alluded to the parties of women and children that were conducted from Nova Scotia to Glengarry after the war. In many cases the women and children had to be left behind, and they endured persecution and cruelties almost incredible at the hands of the victorious Americans. Petitions are on file from soldiers who had served in the Highland regiments, and afterwards in the Royal Emigrant Regiment, to the British authorities, imploring protection for the helpless

families held as prisoners by the United States Government. One of these petitions is from John and Alexander MacDonell, captains in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, who complain that the former's family are detained by the Americans, destitute of every support except such as they receive from a few friends. The family was thus held from 1777 until 1779. Another petition is signed by twenty-four soldiers of the same regiment, whose families were similarly treated for several years. A letter of more than ordinary interest was written by John Fraser to General Haldimand, dated 31st May, 1784, reporting the ill-treatment of his sister-in-law's family in the United States, in consequence of their loyalty to Britain. John Fraser, the writer of the letter referred to, was of the Frasers of Guisachan, Strathglass. His mother was Margaret, daughter of John MacDonell of Ardnabi, and grand-daughter of Glengarry. It was she who possessed the manuscript of Gaelic poetry that figures in the Ossianic controversy.

While the Revolutionary War was in progress, and while the Highland regiments were contributing so much to the strength of the British army, the Highland people were being driven off the land of their fathers, and matters coming to a head on the Glengarry estates in 1786, a second colony hived off, under the guidance of a notable man, Alexander MacDonell, of the Scotos family, a priest, whose ministrations extended beyond things spiritual. About five hundred and fifty people comprised this party, which naturally made for Glengarry, attracted by the first settlement there of their countrymen. The name of the ship they sailed on from Greenock was "Macdonald." Their leader, Rev. Alexander MacDonell, was one of the earliest priests in Upper Canada. He was the founder of the parish of St Raphael, Glengarry, where he built the first church in what is to-day Ontario, viz., the Blue Chapel of St Raphael, on the site now occupied by the Cathedral Church of the diocese of Alexandria, built by Bishop Alexander MacDonell, even a greater pioneer than he of Scotos.

This year (1786) witnessed also the arrival in Canada of another man of note, whose lifework will not be forgotten among the Gael of Canada. Rev. Dr James Macgregor, the Gaelic hymnist, was born in 1759, at Portmore, in Perthshire. Having been appointed missionary to Nova Scotia, he sailed for Halifax in 1786, and settled at Pictou among the Highlanders, to whom he preached in Gaelic. The people were chiefly from Lochbroom, which they had left in 1763 in the ship "Hector." Dr Mac-

gregor thus describes his early experience as a Canadian minister: —"In November I received the first money for preaching in Pictou, a part of the first year's stipend. I lived a year and a quarter here without receiving a shilling, and almost without giving any. I ought to have received forty pounds of cash for the preceding year, with forty pounds' worth of produce, but twenty-seven were all that I received. The truth is, it could not be gotten. The price of wheat was then six shillings, and some of them offered wheat at three shillings to make up their share of the stipend, but could not obtain it. Almost all the twenty-seven pounds were due by me to some necessary engagement of charity which I was under. My board, which was my chief expense, was paid from the produce part of the stipend, which was not so difficult to be obtained as the cash part. But even of the produce part there was nigh ten pounds deficient. I plainly saw that I need never expect my stipend to be punctually paid; indeed, scarcely anything is punctually paid in this part of the world. It is a bad habit, ill to forego. But my mind was now so knit to them by the hope of doing good to their souls, that I resolved to be content with what they could give." A contingent of emigrants from Dumfriesshire settled at Pictou, and intermarriages between the Gaelic-speaking people and the Lowland Scotch were frequent. But Dr Macgregor made it a rule at the marriages to speak only in one language, according as a preference was indicated. One exception to this rule he thus refers to:—"In one instance only of marriage had I to speak in both languages, telling the man his duties and engagements in English, and the woman hers in Gaelic. How they managed to court, or to converse afterwards, I know not; but they declared to me, and the neighbours confirmed it, that they could hardly speak a single word of each other's language." But love laughs at language as at locksmiths, and the difficulty referred to by Dr Macgregor exists in many cases where people of different nationalities meet, in our own day. Dr Macgregor's hymns have been popular in Canada, and copies of them may yet be found in the homes of Highlanders who can read Gaelic.

The settlements above referred to were practically all that took place down to the close of the last century, with the exception of one of three hundred Highlanders, led by an Irish priest named McKenna, who settled in Upper Canada in 1776. Whence they came I have not been able to trace. They may have been from Carolina, but more likely direct from Scotland, as they reached Upper Canada from Montreal after the outbreak of the war,

which made it very dangerous for fugitives to travel in large bodies on American soil.

The beginning of the present century found emigration active, notwithstanding the restrictive measures against it taken by the Government on representations by Highland landlords, who operated to a great extent by means of the Gaelic Society of London.

Twenty years had almost passed away since the war, when an event happened which marks an historic era in Upper Canada, and may be ranked as the most remarkable in the annals of Highland emigration. I refer to the raising and emigration of the Glengarry Fencibles. An emigrant ship, which had sailed from Barra with emigrants, had been wrecked, and put into Greenock, landing her passengers in a most helpless condition. It was in the spring of 1792. Alexander MacDonell, a native of Inshlaggan (the Bishop MacDonell above referred to), then a priest in the Braes of Lochaber, repaired to their aid, and succeeded in obtaining employment for them from manufacturers in Glasgow. He became their priest, and his experiences as such in Glasgow were quite interesting. The factories had, in the course of two years, to be closed on account of the war between Great Britain and France, and the Highlanders were once more shelterless. Their priest conceived the idea of forming them into a Catholic regiment, with MacDonell, of Glengarry, as Colonel. He, with unusual address, procured a Letter of Service, and the Glengarry Fencibles were soon embodied, the priest becoming chaplain. In 1802 it was disbanded, and the men were left in as helpless a condition as ever. The resourceful chaplain then conceived the idea of settling the corps in Upper Canada. His negotiations with the Government of the day might be read with profit by everyone interested in the Highland clearances. Briefly, he succeeded in obtaining an order from the Secretary of the Colonies for a grant of two hundred acres of land to every one of his Highlanders who should arrive in the Province. The Highland landlords then opposed the project, and a hot agitation arose over the whole question of emigration. The Prince of Wales offered waste lands in Cornwall, England, to the Highlanders to keep them at home. An Act of Parliament was passed, placing restrictions on emigration. The Glengarry Fencibles, however, had got away before the bill became law. With them came a number of people from Glenelg and Kintail, and other parts of the West Highlands. There were in all about eleven hundred emigrants in the party, and after a voyage of four months they reached Canada in 1804, and settled in Glengarry. Their leader

was a remarkable man. He attended to the material welfare of his people, and was probably the most powerful force in public life in his Province for many years.

To the last century also belongs the Canadian work of the intrepid and famous explorer, Sir Alexander Mackenzie. He was born in the Island of Lewis in 1755, and early in life settled in Montreal, making a connection with a firm of merchants engaged in the North-West fur trade. He became a partner in the business, with headquarters on Lake Athabasca, and from that advanced post began the explorations which resulted in the discovery of the Mackenzie River and the North-west passage, a problem of interest to the prospector and capitalist now as it was in 1789. An undertaking of greater danger was the finding of a route westward by the Peace River to the Pacific coast. This he accomplished in 1793, the journey taking eleven months. He inscribed on a rock facing the sea: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land, July 22nd, 1793." In 1801 he published an account of his travels of 1789 and 1793, and produced a book not only of interest, but of scientific value. He was knighted as a reward for his explorations and for services rendered to H.R.H. the Duke of Kent while the latter was travelling in America. Sir Alexander did not make Canada his home, but, returning with well-earned wealth, bought the estate of Avoch, and died in the Old Land.

Restricting this paper mainly to the last century settlements, Earl Selkirk's interesting work as a colonizer does not fall within its scope. His Prince Edward colony, 1803, was eminently successful. His Red River and Kildonan settlements were the scenes of hardship and bloodshed, and no small mystery still hangs over the motives and causes of effects which fell heavily on the poor Highlanders. In a second paper might be given a description of these events, of the Strathglass, Sutherland, and Ross-shire settlements, of others from Perth and Argyle shires. The condition of the Highlander in Canada at the present day might follow, and would prove an interesting sequel. A census lately taken by Clerks of Presbyteries and others computes the number of Gaelic-speaking people in the Dominion of Canada at more than a quarter of a million; 250 congregations require the services of Gaelic-speaking priests and ministers for preaching Gaelic each Sabbath, and seventy more for visiting and pastoral purposes. The Gaelic language is spoken in daily life in many sections of the country, Gaelic is taught in two or more colleges to young men studying for the ministry; the music and dance of

Caledonia—the bagpipes and Highland fling—are heard and seen at Scottish gatherings throughout the land, and there are a few Gaelic societies in a flourishing condition. In this state of Gaelic affairs much interesting material might be found by the Gael at home. But what would be of great interest to the Gael in Canada would be to learn from his kinsman across the sea as much as possible about the conditions under which his forefathers were forced to leave the old clan lands, to seek a home across the deep.

23rd MARCH, 1899.

At the meeting this evening Mr John Maclennan, M.A., rector, the Academy, Elgin, was elected an ordinary member of the Society; after which a paper, contributed by Alex. Macpherson, Esq., solicitor, Kingussie, and entitled "Extracts from Session Papers and Correspondence regarding the Forfeited Estates of Cluny after Culloden," was read. The paper is as follows:—

GLEANINGS FROM THE CHARTER CHEST AT CLUNY CASTLE,

EMBRACING

EXTRACTS FROM SESSION PAPERS AND CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING THE FORFEITED ESTATES OF CLUNY AFTER CULLODEN.

No. IV.

Soon after the sad disaster of Culloden in 1746, when the cause of the unfortunate House of Stewart was irretrievably lost, the Cluny Estates, in Badenoch, were, as is well known, forfeited to the Crown, and the Chief himself became "a hunted outlaw on the ravaged hill."

In connection with the claim made by "Æneas M'Intosh of that Ilk, claimant upon the forfeited estate of Cluny," a Petition was, on 17th November, 1761, presented to the Lords of Council and Session in name of "Thomas Miller, Esq., his Majesty's Advocate, in behalf of his Majesty, and of the Publick." As

regards the letter addressed by Andrew Macpherson of Banchor to James Macpherson, the translator of Ossian's Poems, on the subject, of which a full and accurate copy is appended, the following extracts from the Petition referred to elucidates, so far, and throws additional light on, the narrative given in that letter:—

"Sheweth: That Evan Mcpherson of Cluny was attainted of High Treason, and his lands and Estate of Cluny being vested in his Majesty, were surveyed and seized by the Barons of Exchequer, in pursuance of the Act of the 20th of his late Majesty, commonly called the 'Vesting Act.'.

"That upon an after-discovery, certain other lands, which belonged to him by conveyance, from the Laird of M'Intosh, were also surveyed by the said Barons, upon which a claim was entered by Æneas M'Intosh now of that Ilk, praying your Lordships to find that these lands contained in the last survey, are redeemable by him, upon payment or consignation of 13,000 merks.

"The Claim came before Lord Alemoor, as Ordinary, and upon His Lordship's Report, and advising Informations in behalf of the Claimant, and of his Majesty's advocate, your Lordships, by Interlocutor of this date, 'sustained the Claim, and decerned.'

"That the Petitioner afterwards applied to your Lordships for a Diligence for recovering further writings, which was granted; and he now thinks it his duty to submit the case to your Lordships review upon the evidence formerly before the Court, and what further he has recovered, since the Interlocutor for supporting his defence against this Claim.

"The lands of Kinlochlaggan were wadset by Lauchlan M'Intosh of that Ilk to John M'Pherson of Strathmassie for payment of the yearly feu-duty of L43:6:8 Scots, redeemable at the term of Whitsunday 1748, upon payment or consignation of 2000 merks Scots.

"The said Lauchlan M'Intosh wadset the lands of Muckoull to John M'Pherson of Benchar for the yearly payment of L21:6:8 of super-plus duty, redeemable upon payment of 800 merks.

"The lands of Innerwiden were likeways wadset by the said Lauchlan M'Intosh to Donald M'Donald in Innerwidden, for the yearly payment of L16:13:4 of superplus duty, redeemable by payment or consignation of 500 merks.

"And the lands of Gillovie were wadset by Lauchlan M'Intosh, Father to the foresaid Lauchlan M'Intosh, to Allan M'Donald, for the yearly payment of the sum of L52 Scots of

superplus duty, redeemable upon payment of the sum of 2700 merks.

"The lands of Tullachcromb and part of the lands of Laggan-chynish, stood vested in the person of John M'Donald in Aberarder; but, by a Backbond dated 4th November, 1709, the said John M'Donald obliged himself to dispone the said lands, to the said Lauchlan M'Intosh, his heirs, or assignies heritably and irredeemably, at the term of Martinmass 1728, or at any other term of Whitsunday or Martinmass thereafter upon payment of 7000 merks.

"About the year 1724, a dispute was revived betwixt Lauchlan M'Intosh of that Ilk and Lauchlan M'Pherson of Cluny touching the Chieftianship of the Clan-Chattan. The predecessor of M'Intosh had married the Heiress of Clan Chattan, and M'Intosh claimed the Chieftianship by his descent from that lady. Cluny, on the other hand, insisted that the Chieftianship belonged to him as undoubted heir-male of the family.

"This dispute was agitated with great keenness, and was the foundation of a process before the Privy Council of Scotland near a hundred years ago, and the Decision went in favour of Cluny, and from that time he carried the arms belonging to the family of Clan Chattan, and was acknowledged as the Chieftian by many of the Tribes or Branches of that Clan. But M'Intosh still maintained his pretensions, and was supported by other Branches or Tribes of the Clan.

"This dispute having continued down to the year 1724, Lauchlan M'Intosh of that Ilk, being in more opulent circumstances than his competitor, Lauchlan M'Pherson of Cluny, was *willing to buy* off his pretensions to the Chieftianship, and accordingly articles of agreement were entered into by these two gentlemen; by which it was agreed that M'Intosh should dispone to Cluny the five parcels of land above-mentioned, the reversion of which belonged to M'Intosh. In consideration of which, Cluny was to renounce all pretensions to the Chieftianship of Clan Chattan and acknowledge M'Intosh as Chieftian of that Clan in all time thereafter."

A further Petition, presented to the Lords of Council and Session on 13th December, 1762, in name of "His Majesty's Advocate, in behalf of his Majesty, and of the Publick," is in the following terms:—

"Sheweth: That the rights of the Cheiftianship of the Clan-chattan, had long been the subject of contest between the Families of the M'Intoshes of that Ilk, and the M'Phersons of Clunie.

"That the deceased Lachlan M'Intosh of that Ilk being desirous to determine that dispute, *by purchasing the right* from the deceased Lachlan M'Pherson of Clunie, they did, anno 1724, enter into articles of agreement, by which M'Intosh was to dispone to Clunie, the lands of Kinlochlaggan and others, in consideration of Clunie's renouncing his pretensions to the Cheiftianship, and acknowledging M'Intosh as the Cheiftian of the Clanchattan.

"These articles of agreement, and the manner of carrying them into execution, afterwards became the subject of Submission, and the Referrees, by their decree anno 1726, decerned Lachlan M'Intosh to dispone the aforesaid lands to Lachlan M'Pherson and a certain series of heirs, in the way of Entail, under certain limitations against alienating, contracting debts, &c. And, inter alia, it is provided in the Decree, That the Disposition or Contract of Wadset to be granted, should contain a right of reversion in favours of Lachlan M'Intosh and his heirs, for redeeming the lands at the term of Whitsunday 1750, upon payment of 13,000 merks, but under a proviso, That they should not be redeemable at any time, without the consent and approbation of certain friends and relations therein specified, or their heirs, and intimation being made to Clunie, to appear before them, to propone all just defences against the Redemption; and the Decree contains various other provisions unnecessary to be here mentioned.

"By a relative Deed of the same date, it is provided, That the lands should remain irredeemably with Clunie, and his heirs succeeding to him in the right of the lands, until they behaved undutifully to M'Intosh and his heirs, Captains of the Clanchattan.

"That the aforesaid lands of Kinlochlaggan, and others, having been surveyed as forfeited in the person of Evan M'Pherson of Clunie, attainted, the son and heir of Lachlan, a Claim *

* The strenuous efforts made by Mackintosh of the time in support of his "Claim"—so persistently pressed for so many years—and, when these efforts ultimately failed, his attempts to secure a gift from the Crown of the Kinlochlaggan portion of the forfeited Estates of Cluny of the '45, are fully disclosed by the two Petitions in name of the King's Advocate, by Banchor's letter, and the appended Petition by Colonel Duncan Macpherson to the Lords of the Treasury. The terms of these documents may be instructively contrasted with the statement by Dr Fraser-Mackintosh in his "Dunachton Past and Present," page 29, to the effect that "in consistence with the liberal spirit which ever actuated the Mackintoshes towards their haill kin of Clan Chattan, Eneas, 22d of Mackintosh, forbore to press his claims as superior when the Estates of Cluny were forfeited."

was entered by Æneas M'Intosh of that Ilk, the heir of the said Lachlan M'Intosh, wherein he prayed your Lordships to find, That the aforesaid lands are redeemable by him, upon payment or consignation of 13,000 merks. And, in support of his plea, he produced a consent from certain friends for fulfilling the provision or condition before mentioned, specified in the Decreet-Arbitral.

"That, upon the report of Lord Alemore, and advising Informations, your Lordships were pleased to sustain the Claim.

"That a Reclaiming Petition was preferred against that Interlocutor, to which Answers were put in. And your Petitioner having been informed, that Lachlan M'Pherson had survived the 12th July 1746, when the attainder of Evan took place, which had not been known formerly, he considered it to be his duty to state the Information he had received in a Reply to the Answers given in to his Petition; as the fact, if true, must have had a considerable weight in the determination of the cause.

"The Claimant put in Answers to the Replies; and, upon a supposition of the fact being true, as had been set forth by your Petitioner, he argued, That notwithstanding thereof, he must be entitled to redeem the lands, as, in the event supposed, the lands could not be forfeited, but did fall under Escheat, which did not devolve to the Crown *jure coronae*, but to him the Superior, or Over-lord; and, in support of his plea, several authorities from the Law of England were appealed to.

"Your Petitioner replied to the Claimant's additional answers, and endeavoured to show, 1st, That the lands did belong to the Crown by virtue of the Vesting Act, which dispensed with the common rules of Law; and 2dly, That altho' the Vesting Act was not to be understood to be the rule for judging of this case by; yet, that the lands did belong to his Majesty as *ultimus hæres* by the law of Scotland, which, and not the Law of England, ought to be followed in this question.

"That while these proceedings were carrying on, your Petitioner came to have reason to doubt of the truth of the Information he had received. And therefore moved the Court for time to enquire into the fact with more accuracy; which was granted.

"That your Lordships did accordingly order proper inquiries to be made; but they have come out to be so unsatisfactory, that he cannot, in justice to the Crown or to the Claimant, take upon him either to admit or deny, that Lachlan M'Pherson survived the 12th July 1746. And therefore, he considers it to

be his duty to make this application to your Lordships, for having an opportunity of bringing evidence for ascertaining of the fact, and does readily agree, that the same opportunity should be given to the Claimant, to whose agent he has caused this Petition to be intimated, in case he does not chuse to rest upon the evidence proposed to be adduced by your Petitioner.

"May it therefore please your Lordships, to grant Diligence for citing of such witnesses, and recovering of such writings or other documents as may be thought necessary for ascertaining the time of the death of Lachlan M'Pherson of Clunie, to be reported against such day as unto the Court shall seem proper.

"According to Justice, &c.

"JA. MONTGOMERY.

"Edinburgh, 14th December 1762.—I, Thomas Blackhall, Clerk to John Russell, Clerk to the Signet, do intimate to you Mr John M'kenzie, Writer to the Signet, agent for Æneas M'Intosh the Claimant that the said Petition is to be put into the Lords' Boxes this day in order to be advised by their Lop.'s tomorrow. This I do before these witnesses Peter Ranken and Thomas Mercer both apprentices to the said John Russell.

"THOS. BLACKHALL."

As regards the Articles of Agreement of 1724, referred to in the Petitions, it is abundantly obvious that it was altogether *ultra vires* of Cluny—his straitened circumstances at the time notwithstanding—to enter into any such Agreement or to sell or divest himself of the Chiefship to the prejudice either of himself or of his successors, for any consideration whatever. This was subsequently fully realized by him; and, accordingly, by the Bond of Friendship entered into between the Camerons, the Frasers, and the Macphersons in 1742, signed, among others, by the famous Simon, Lord Lovat, his eldest son, the Master of Lovat, and Donald Cameron of Lochiel (a full double of which is preserved in the Cluny Charter Chest), the same Cluny, and his eldest son (Ewen, or Evan, of the '45), expressly revoked and annulled that Agreement in the following terms:—

"And, further, we, the said Lachlan and Evan Macphersons, elder and younger of Cluny, with the special advice, consent, and approbation of our Clann, and particularly of the several Cadents of our family after named, seriously considering that we were some time ago most unjustly and insidiously induced to own and declare by a Writing under our hands that our family of Cluny

and the Clann Macpherson are Cadents of the family of Mackintosh, and on that account to bind and engage ourselves and our following and Clan for ever after to recognise and acknowledge the Lairds of Mackintosh to be our Chief, and to act the part of dutifull kinsmen to them and to their family, as the said Writing more fully bears. But as we, the said Lachlan and Evan Macphersons, elder and younger of Cluny, do now see and perceive how dishonourable and injurious this Deed and transaction is, and must be to us, our family and kindred, who never descended from the family of Mackintosh, and have no manner of dependence upon it, But, on the contrary, are the true and lineall male descendants of the head of Clan Chatan, and consequently their real Chief, Therefore, and in support and maintenance of our just and naturall Rights, we, the said Lauchlan and Evan Macphersons, with the special advice, consent, and approbation of George Macpherson of Inveresbie. James Macpherson of Killyhuntly, John and Donald Macpherson's, elder and younger of Crubin; John Macpherson of Strathmashie, Malcolm Macpherson of Phoyniss, John and Andrew Macphersons, elder and younger of Banchor; Donald Macpherson of Culline, John Macpherson of Garvamore, James Macpherson of Invernahaven, James Macpherson of Crathie Croy, and William Macpherson in Killarchile, Have resolved and be the Tenor hereof Revoke, Rescind, and Annull the Deed and Writing above mentioned elicite from us by the family of Mackintosh in manner foresaid, and hereby renounce and abjure all manner of Dependence on or Cadency from the said family, and all attachment, deference, and respect which they may anyways claim or demand as pretended Captain of Clan Chattan, or in consequence of the Deed and Writing already mentioned. And we hereby promise and solemnly engage that we will have no connection with them hereafter, Nor look upon them in any other view than as kindly neighbours upon an equall footing with ourselves."

After a protracted and expensive litigation, the Claim of Mackintosh to the forfeited Estates of Cluny was ultimately dismissed on appeal to the House of Lords, and, in consequence of Cluny's attainder, the Estates were adjudged to belong to the Crown. The rents were appropriated by the Crown for the long period of thirty-eight years, but, after prolonged negotiations, the estates were, through the unwearied exertions of James Macpherson, the Translator of Ossian's Poems, restored to the Cluny family in 1784, twenty years after Cluny's death. High in favour with the Government of the time, the estates were offered to the Translator

himself; but with characteristic generosity, and the devoted feelings of a true clansman towards his chief, he declined the offer, and ultimately succeeded in placing the property in the hands of the rightful owner—the son and heir of Cluny of the '45.

"From his various labours"—says Dr Cameron Lees, in his History of the County of Inverness—the Translator "amassed a considerable fortune, which enabled him to purchase the estate of Raitts, the name of which he changed to Belleville, near Kingussie. Here he built an elegant mansion, to which he retired to spend the evening of his life. In his new capacity as a Highland laird he was honoured and respected. He was liberal to the poor, and went among his people by the name of 'Fair James.' Through his influence with the Government he obtained the restoration to his chief of the property which had been forfeited after the '45. This made him popular with all his neighbours, towards whom he exercised generous hospitality. He was regarded by them as a fine specimen of a true and chivalrous Highlander."

It was only after the most patient and persevering efforts for several years on the part of the Translator that the Cluny Estates were at length (in 1784) restored to the family, amidst the most enthusiastic rejoicings throughout the length and breadth of Badenoch. A most interesting account of the rejoicings is given by Colonel Thornton in his "Sporting Tour through the Northern part of England, and great part of the Highlands of Scotland," in 1784. (See new edition, edited by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., M.P. Pages 184-6). In 1770 the Translator wrote the following memorandum to an equally loyal clansman, Andrew Macpherson of Banchor, regarding the Loch Laggan portion of the estates:—

"When Cluny arrives in London, he is immediately to wait on his Cousine Mr M'Pherson, to whom he is to communicate his bussiness, and in order to be fully acquainted with the affair it will be necessary that he procure from some of the Clerks of the Treasury a copy of the memorial given in by M'Intosh soliciting a grant of the Loch Laggan Lands, by which will be seen the grounds of his plea, and the right he claims to these lands, and therefrom and from the Information that Cluny and his Friends must necessarly collect in regard to the motives of Government for such a grant, they will be able to judge whither, an application by Cluny, for a grant of these Lands has any chance of meeting with success or not.

"In the event it is found that he has a preferable right to M'Intosh in point of Law, then, a memorial to be drawn up and resented.

"All the information and enquiries relative to this affair ought to be set about with the greatest circumspection and secrecy, because that should the scheme carry alongst with it no evident appearance of success, a discovery of Cluny's intention without the hopes of any advantage to himself, might be attended with disagreeable consequences, and tend surely to create a misunderstanding betwixt his, and M'Intosh's friends, which shou'd if possible be avoided.

"When Cluny and his friends are fully informed of all the steps taken by M'Intosh and of the Idea Government has in regard to the matter, he is to remit to his uncle Major M'Pherson a distinct state of the case, to acquaint him what application is necessary to be made here, and in what manner his friends in Scotland are to proceed."

It may not be out of place to make a brief reference in passing to the Macpherson family to which Andrew Macpherson of Banchor belonged. Benchar (or Banchor, as it is now termed) was long the seat of a family of Macphersons, of the first branch of the clan, who prominently figure in the history of Badenoch. The family acquired Banchor from the Mackintoshes, who held it of the Gordons, and are designed "of Benchar" in the Valuation Roll of 1691. "Jo. Macpherson, Benchar, yr., and Jo. Macpherson, elder of Benchar," were among the Macphersons who signed the Clan "Covenant" on 28th May, 1628. William and John Macpherson "in Benchar" were two of the Macphersons who joined in the expedition of Montrose, and were (among others) appointed by the Synod of Moray in 1648 "in their owne habit, on their knees to acknowledge their deep sorrow," etc. The "John Macpherson of Benchar" referred to in Bishop Forbes's "Lyon in Mourning" was one of the two Macphersons who, in May, 1746, soon after the Battle of Culloden, along with Mr Blair, then minister of Kingussie, conducted "several people of the parish of Kingussie, in Badenoch to Blair, in Atholl, and delivered up their arms to Brig. Mordaunt, submitting themselves to the King's mercy. They were all permitted to return home peaceably." Banchor was one of the small lairdships acquired towards the end of the eighteenth century by the Translator of "Ossian," and it is now possessed by his great-grandson, Mr Brewster Macpherson of Belleville.

So ardent was the loyalty and devotion of Banchor towards his chief that, after the death of Cluny, on 30th January, 1764, Banchor, along with Macpherson of Breakachy, braved the long

and tedious journey in those days, "o'er land and sea," and escorted Cluny's bereaved and sorely afflicted widow, with her young daughter, from Dunkirk home to Badenoch, where the widow died in April of the following year.

In response to the request of the Translator in a subsequent letter, Banchor, on 17th May, 1770, wrote the following long and interesting letter, already referred to, on the subject of the dispute with Mackintosh of the time, and the forfeiture of the Cluny Estates:—

"Sir,—In your last you desired to have a genuine acct. of that controversie betwixt Mcpherson of Cluny and McIntosh of McIntosh concerning the Lochlaggan Estate, which is now vested in the Crown by virtue of Cluny's attainder. To give a proper Idea of that affair it will be necessary begin at the very *origo mali* which is upwards of 500 years backward, and consequently will render it a subject too tedious for ane Epistolary correspondence. I cannot point out exactly (wt.out ane examination into Volums of old misstive papers) the differrent eras, at which the severall circumstances hapned but may depend upon it, so far as presently occurs to me. Nothing is contained in this naration but what is consistent with truth & can be well authenticated, and that neither favor or prejudices to either parties make (at this time of day) the smallest impression upon me.

"The Clan Chattan, of which we pretend to be the principall bransh, derive their origine from Germany, from whence being expelled by the Romans, they first setled upon the Coast of Holland, and either not likeing yt. situation, or being driven out of it by more powerfull neighbours, they abandond it & came over to Scotland under two leaders, to whom the then King of this Country, appointed different Settlements, The one in Sutherland, of whom the present Earls of Sutherland are the succers. and the other in Caithness, of whom we derive our origine. This last colony after possessing that Country for several centuries, were expelled from it upon account of Rebellion, and haveing undergone many misfortunes, in quest of other settlemts., by which they were reduced to a very small number, The Scots Goverment had compassion upon their miserable situation, and allowed them settle in Lochchaber, which I presume was at that time uncultivated. There they continued and in some centuries became again a pretty considerable people. One of their representatives dying without male issue, his only daughter was maryed to Angus McDuff, laird of Strathearn, and in our language commonly called

McIntosh. Being a descendant of Mc Duff, Thain of Fife, upon this man the family Estate devolved by his marriage, But the nearest male representative being head of a considerable branch of the Clan, then distinguished by the denomination of Mcphersons, tho' overuled in some fruitless pretensions he made to the Estate, yet thought himself justly entitled to the family honours, and consequently assumed them. Of this man Cluny is lineally descended, and chifteanry being then of high repute in Scotland, a continuall controversie and animosity subsisted betwixt the male representative and the Descendants of this Heiress untill so late as James the 7th's time, when their disputes about the Chiftianry came to a process at law before the Councill of Scotland, twixt Lachlan McIntosh of McIntosh and Duncan McPherson of Cluny, at the issue of which process a Regular Decreet Declaring Duncan Mcpherson of Cluny Chiftian of Clan Chattan was passed, and ane armoriall bearing as such order'd for him from the Lyon Office. McIntosh greatly regreted this disappointmt., but comforted himself in the possession of ane opulent Estate accured by his predecessors marriage, and had the pleasure to see his antagonist's small one, reduced by the expense of the process, to so narrow a circumferance, that it was hardly sufficient to support the Dignity of a Gentleman, far less that of Chiftain of so numerous and powerful a Clan, and presuming upon the distress Cluny was reduced to, made him ane offer of the Glenroy and Glenspean Lands, being a considerable part of the family Estate, for dispencing in his favours, with the benefits of that Decreet, but as pride is commonly the attendant of poverty, the other rejected it with disdain. However for many years yr. after, they continued in this manner, the one party repeating those advantageous offers, and the other fatally rejecting them, untill that barbarous attempt was made, by our people, upon Gordon of Glenbucket. in the year 1725, the particulars of which no doubt you have frequently heard, When the Duke of Gordon, upon whose Estate the Mcphersons generally reside, determined to expell them out of it, rout and Branch. This put them in a most horid consternation. Any little property particular persons of themselves, or their Chief had, being unsufficient to accomodate the tenth part of them, and they by the fault of a few under such a charector as that no other Great Man in the Kingdom would receive them upon his lands. In this delemma, haveing no other prospect than that of a generall banishment before their eys, they thought of the former proposalls made by McIntosh, and they in their turn became solicitous, but he knowing well the necessity, which reduced them to it, and Chiftainry being then become of

less value, would not give now more than both sides of Lochlaggan, which did not then nor even yet pay any more rent than £50 Sts., and not that otherwise than by paying 13,000 merks for it, over and above resigning the Benefite of Decreet obtained before the Councill of Scotland, in regard to the Chieftainry, and taking out a new Coat of arms, bearing the marks of Cadency. However their distress was such, that even upon these humiliating terms, they were obliged to agree, and two advocates in Edinburgh viz. Mr Boswell of Auchinleck of Cluny's side, and Mr Alexr. McLeod on the part of McIntosh, were appointed to make out a Charter in favour of Cluny, for the Loch Laggan lands, with proper obligations upon him for the Resignation of the Chiftainry. To these Gentlemen, who were men of knowledge and business, many difficulties occurred in this unprecedented transaction, which the Country people never thought of. They observ'd that when Cluny was put in possession of the Estate, and proper Charters granted him, it cou'd not be afterwards revoked, and on the other hand, that the Chiftainry, which was McIntosh's great object, being but an ideall thing, which notwithstanding any obligations wou'd be then taken, might be reassumed by Cluny's Succers. at pleasure. They did not know what medium to fall upon, in order to obviate these difficulties, but proposed that a wadset Right shou'd only be granted, bearing in gremio the reasons for which it was granted, and declaring it not to be redeemable upon any other acct. than by Cluny's reassuming the chiftainry, or acting to McIntosh otherwise than became a leal and faithfull clansman, and even in that case, not untill Cluny was convicted, after being regularly summond before a Jury of 24 heads of tribes of Clan Chattan, who are particularly mentioned in the Wadsett, and from whose verdict there shou'd be no appeal, to any other Court. It was likewise conceived in the nature of a Tailzie by which the lands cou'd not forfeit or be affected for debt, but was constantly to remain a pledge for Cluny's dutyfull behaviour to McIntosh. The Mcphersons who expected a proper charter were by no means satisfied with this, but the other party being obstinate, the affair was likely to land in nothing; however the Laird who had no issue of his own body, and laid a much greater value upon the honours than upon that trifling pendicle of the Estate, wt.out the knowledge of any of his friends satisfied Cluny by granting a private Deed, whereby the wadsett was declared absolutely irredeemable, except in some events which were not then ever likely to happen. This Settlement in my opinion was done in the year 1726 or 27, and Cluny imediately put in possession of one half of

the lands, but some obstructions in McIntosh's own Titles, prevented his giving possession of the other half, sooner than the year 1744, when Cluny got the whole and collected that year's rents, but in Septr. 1745 he engaged in the Rebellion, and was in consequence attainted. Mr Francis Grant being soon thereafter appointed to survey the Estate of Cluny, he by some mistake or other neglected the Lochlaggan lands, and Mr Willm. Ramsey, who was the first Factor appointed by the Barons of Exchequher upon that Estate, colected the Rents of all the other parts of it, but never minded this pendicle, upon which Major John Mcpherson, Brother to Cluny, and then in the Service of the States Generall, came home and took possession of it, as heir of tailzie paid the feu duties regularly to McIntosh for severall years, and received Discharges for the same accordingly. But Cluny being then in the Country and seeing Lord Lovat's with many other tailzies contraverted by Government, some of which were found not sufficient to protect the Estates from forfeiting, he took advice of lawiers upon the validity of his own tailzie of the Loch Laggan Lands. But to his great mortification he was advised that Tailzie was throughly unsufficient and good for nothing, tho' the Govermt. had hitherto taken no manner of notice, and allowed the Major peacefully to possess, yet Cluny was upon this Discovery rendered very anxious, and thought proper to advice with Mr Farqhuarson of Invercall (who was his good friend McIntosh's father-in-law, and then esteemed one of the most sensible men in the Highlands of Scotland), what was most prudent to be done in order to preserve that poor remains of the wreak of his fortune. Invercall cu'd devise no legall or certain method, but said that in the year 1715, and many former rebellions, several Estates had escaped by the unadvertencie of the Govermt's. Servts., and if a proper confidence would be reposed in McIntosh, he judged it the most expedient method, to avoid their notice, That a factor should be appointed upon these lands, by McIntosh, since Cluny had been but one year in possession of them. Accordingly that plan was adopted and proposed to McIntosh, who very cheerfully accepted of the Trust, and at his father-in-law's sight expede a factory in favour of Angus Shaw of Delnavert, one who had formerly been his own Factor upon that Estate, and in whose integrity both parties reposed a very perfect confidence. At the same time Mr Shaw was privately enjoined to pay the Rents to Lady Cluny, and the Feu Duties to McIntosh. Mr Mckenzie of Delvine being at the time agent for both families, was likewise advised upon the matter, and approved, but observed the temptation was very great.

There were at the time four or five years rents due by the Tennts, which by Cluny's influence upon them was punctually paid-up on Shaw's production of McIntosh's Factory. But when possessed of this money, a difficulty occurred how he shou'd be properly Dischd., his Factory haveing proceeded from McIntosh. In this delemma he had recours to Invercall, who cou'd do no more as Shaw wou'd not be prevailed upon to run Risks, but advise him keep the money entire in his own hands, until the present storm abated a litle, when some means would be devised for his exoneration, and the Factory given to one of Cluny's own friends, who from their attachment to the family would not be so scrupleous. In this manner he collected and retained the Rents for severall years. McIntosh being Capt. in the 42d Regt., was obliged attend his Duty in Ireland, and appointed the sole management of his affairs to the Lady, but he being expensive above the rate of ane ordinary Capt., she was difficulted to supply his Demands, and the necessary adoes of the family at home. And being by some of her friends advised take up some part of that money in Shaw's hands upon Receipt, rather than borrow at interest, she accordingly did, but politely intimate the same by a letter to Lady Cluny, and promised it shu d be faithfully refund'd whatever time she was in capacity clear with the Factor. To qch the other had no objection, and in this manner Lady McIntosh intromitted with the whole in Shaw's hands, at different periods as her exigencies required, but upon every occasion made intimation to Lady Cluny, and repeated the promises of refunding. All this time the Govermt. had taken no notice of the matter (nor do I believe ever they wou'd had they been let alone), as their violence agt. Lady Cluny and her friends was greatly abated. However misfortunately for both familys about this time, Invercall (who was the spring upon which all this machinery moved, and as afterwards appeared, the only check upon McIntosh) died, and McIntosh haveing soon yrafter returned upon half pay from Ireland, Breackachie was pitchd upon by Lady Cluny to receive a factory from him in place of Shaw, and appointed wait of the Laird at Edr., where Lady McIntosh went also to meet him, and there he was prepared not only to give sufficient Securities for the former factor's exoneration upon paymts. of Collections in terms of the concert, but likewise ready to take his chance of such Discharges as Lady Cluny would afterwards give him, which proposall he made to McIntosh. But notwithstanding all that he and Mr Mckenzie could do, the matter was from day to day postponed, and at length Mr Mckenzie imagining it was the effects of dissipation rather

than intention, extended the Factory, and brought it of a morning to him cut and dry ready to be signed; but he then absolutely refused doing any thing untill he came to the Country, when he said he had no objection to do it. Upon this possitive refusall, both McKenzie & Breackachie became seriously alarmed & intimate their apprehensions to Lady McIntosh, who did all in her power to satisfy them of the integrity of her husband's intentions, and beged to have the Factory in her possession, in order to catch some favourable oportunity of getting him to sign it. At the same time she wrote Lady Cluny intreating her not be concerned for this disappointmt., and assuring her there were no intention break of from the concert entr'd into at Invercall, that when McIntosh came to the Country, she would see every thing settled to her satisfaction. . Upon this B——chie came home, as did McIntosh and his Lady soon thereafter. He was frequently thereafter sent to Moyhall to require the Factory, yet still brought nothing but letters full of the most flatering promises. By which L—dy Cluny became greatly asstonished what the meaning of this misterious conduct cou'd be, as by these frequent letters she cou'd not imagine they would venture to expose their character, in betraying the Trust reposed in them,-especially when by means of these letters and other papers, they might know that even in the worst event, it was in her power disappoint them, by putting it in the hands of Govert. She concluded that possibly the Rents, that had been intromitted with, might be inconvenient to refund, and sent B——chie once more to shew ym she wou'd not press that point, but would take their Note, and give their own time to pay it, only insisted that the Factory should be given, but that, like former proposals was only productive of a new letter from L—y McIntosh wt. a repetition of assurances. You are to observe, that it was first imagined here, that any claims which were not enter'd in six months after the attainder were lost, but by this time, it was known that the meaning of the law, was six months after the Survey. Now it appears the proper period was arived for McIntosh's throwing off the mask, ane information of that concealmt. in Cluny's favours, is given in to G——mt, a survey taken, & imediately yrafter McIntosh enters a claim as proprietor upon the Loch Laggan Estate, and in the meantime makes application to the heads of familys for their concurrence in redeeming that wadset, by paying the 13,000 mks. to the Exchequer, and the laid Crime agt. Cluny was Rebellion, when his Chief McIntosh was engaged upon the Govermt. side . As in point of property People generally favour the subject agt. the Crown, you'll easily believe a majority was soon had, but they were applyed clandestinely &

separately, not by being convened to one place as directed in the wadset, and Cluny or his Representatives summoned to make his Defences. Had this been the case he had gott clear off, being in possession of a letter wrote holograph by McIntosh, shewing he was determined join in the Prince's Cause, and ordering him have his men in readiness agt. a certain day, to join him in consequence of their settlement in the 1727, otherwise he knew the consequence, which no doubt was the loss of the Loch Laggan Lands.* In this revolution of affairs, Cluny's friends cou'd no more than pick their nails, and in silent sadness view the final destruction of their family by this unhuman breach of Confidence. However Breakachie came one morning to my house, & as I represented one of the familys mentioned in the wadset, asked if I had been applyed. I told I had not, that their were a majority without me, but had I been applyed I wou'd concur, since from the present posture of affairs, I saw Cluny wou'd have no benefite by it, and rather'd any subject have the Lands than the Crown. Upon which he laid open the whole treacherous scene to me, of which I formerly had but a very imperfect knowledge, and at the same time told me, he was possessed of such materialls as wou'd still disappoint them, tho' Cluny cou'd not benefite by it, and was determined never to see his own house, untill he put them in the hands of the Crown Lawyers. I was afraid his attempts wou'd be unefectuall, and with their other misfortunes bring McIntosh's & all his friends Resentment upon the family of Cluny, tho' upon hearing the story

* In connection with this holograph letter addressed by Mackintosh to Cluny of the '45, Mr Mackintosh Shaw in his *Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh and of the Clan Chattan*, pages 461-2, says :— "The Chief of Mackintosh was personally on the side of the Government, although it was said he was at heart a Jacobite. Early in 1745 he had raised and had been appointed to command one of the new companies of the Black Watch, and according to Stewart of Garth it was owing to his sense of duty on this account that he kept back his Clan from joining the Jacobite army. But this is scarcely correct, for he did nothing to prevent the raising of his Clan by his wife, and at one time subsequent to his appointment he appears even to have entertained the idea of leading it himself to the aid of Prince Charles. He was probably of somewhat weak, vacillating character, although it is not unlikely that he imitated the policy of his friend Lord Lovat. If he did this he succeeded admirably, as events proved ; for while his wife and the Clan covered themselves with honour on behalf of the losing cause, and would have merited the highest reward had that cause not been the losing one, he himself by his adherence to the other preserved his estates.

"Ewen Macpherson of Cluny, who also held a commission under King George, had been taken prisoner near Ruthven by Prince Charles's forces on their march southward in August. He was taken to Perth, and after some natural hesitation considering his position, was induced to cast in his lot with his captors. The Prince nominated him to the command of the Clan Chattan in the Rising, a circumstance which seems to have aroused The Mackintosh's

I wou'd rather the devill have the lands than McIntosh. However after perusall of the papers I evedently saw they might have a strong effect, & insisted he shou'd shew copys of them to McIntosh before any other step was taken, and timidy might operate more effectually than honour, but this he absolutely refused, alleadging he had already worn out his horses, and broke his own constitution in uneffectual applications to them, and would no longer persist in it. Upon this I took copys of the papers, brought Invereshie as a man of established character alongst with me, & went myself shewed these papers to McIntosh, Belnespick, Mr McQueen of Corriebrough, and Dunmaglass, and told them Breackachie's resolutions, if they persisted. However as the information was given and cou'd not be retracted, if they gave ane obligatory letter Binding themselves yet to adhere to the Invercall Settlement, Cluny would give them the 13,000 merks, to be paid into the exchekquer, and take the lands upon the former footing, which they rejected. I then proposed if they would give a new wadset in Common Form, for nine or ten years, passing from all the old Settlements, That they would meet with no obstruction in their operations. I even at last proposed a simple tack, but all was rejected with disdain, so confident were they of the weight of their friends, and the poor condition the other family were in. When nothing else wou'd do, I took Balnespick, who I looked upon as the most sensible man, aside, regrated to him their fatall

jealousy, for on the 1st October he sent Cluny the following letter:—'Dr Sr,—As I am now fully determined to command my own people and run the same fate with them, having yesterday recd. a letter from the Prince, and another from the Duke of Atholl, I hope, notwithstanding of the order you obtained from the Prince, you will not offer to middle with any of my men, as we are booth designed on the same errand. I am resolved to maintain the rank due to my family, and if you think proper to accept the nixt rank to me, you'l be very wellcome. If you judge otherwise act as you have a mind. But do not put me to the necessity of requiring my men of you in a more publick manner, the consequence of which may be disagreeable to booth. My kinde complements to Lady Cluny and Miss Fraser, and I am, Dear Sir, Your most humble Servt. and affectionat Cousine, Æneas MacIntosh.—Inverness, 1st October.'"

"The Clan Chattan as a body"—Mr Mackintosh-Shaw adds—"were intensely Jacobite in their sympathies, as they had been thirty years before; and, as we have seen, they had now, in addition to these sympathies, a desire for vengeance to gratify. All sections of the Clan were clamorous to be led to the Jacobite standard. Ewen Macpherson of Cluny—son of the Lachlan who had succeeded in 1724" (1722?) "was prevailed upon, chiefly by his own Clan, to break his oath to the Government, and joined Charles at Edinburgh, with 600 of his name, after the Battle of Prestonpans. He accompanied the Prince into England, and with his Clan distinguished himself in the skirmish at Clifton during the retreat."

obstinacy, and begged of him to co' operate with me to have a joint consultation taken from their own lawyer of the weight of my papers and whether or not it was prudent agree to my proposals. But his ansr. was a very dry one indeed, that McIntosh had already consulted his affairs, and if we wanted any such, we might take it. Upon which Invereshie and I went away, and imediately upon my arivall, Breackachie set out for Edr., but in expectation that in course of the process, the pride of the other party might subside a little, and knowing that by a private agreemt, Cluny might reap more beneſite than by throwing the whole heels or e head into the Go——mt's hands, he proceeded very moderately, and gave into the Crown Lawyers but the most superficiall of his papers, upon which a stop was put to McIntosh's redemption of the wadsett and a process commenced betwixt him and the Crown, concerning the property, in which, after bein litigate for two Sessions or three, ane interloquitor was passed in McIntosh's favours. The Exultations upon this were so extravagant, that it was perfectly idle propose any further compromise to them. Breackachie went south in order to have matters reclaimed, and to give in more materialls, but their numerous and powerfull friends had raised so hidious a clamour agt. him, as a base informer, that he wou'd have access to no honest man even. The Crown Lawyers themselves despised him, & he cou'd hardly get a common petty foger at Edr. to write a memoriall for him, nor cou'd he even walk the streets but he was in danger of being insulted by the mob. However his perseverance in the cause of that family was above all these difficulties. He came home and represented the desperate situation of the affair, and that there was no remedy now but that application shou'd be made to Lord Hardwick, whc was then Chancelour, and that in the meantime the Cluny family should apply their own friends to counterballance the others, In which they had hitherto been too remiss. As these were already prepossessed in prejudice of the cause they had in hand, and declared he wou'd be of no service unless I went alongst with him to London. You may believe I had no inclination to meddle in ane affair so desperate and qch had already worked out so fatall to him, but the earnest solicitations of my friends, and the last fate of that family being represented to me as at stake, prevailed over every other consideration, and I sett out in company with this obnoxious man, to lay the case before Lord Hardwick. However we judged proper make as many friends in Scotland as possible, before we enter'd England, and accordingly took our way throu Broadalbine & Ardgileshire, where amongst the Campbels wt. whom we had some connection, a simple detail

of the affair made a stronger impression than we expected, and we arived at Edr. with pretty strong recomendations. Whatever B——chie's sentiments might be, who had met with many violent grounds of irritation, in the course of this affair, you may believe, as I saw Cluny's only chance of benefite was from a private compremise, I gave no place to resentmt., and with that view, notwithstanding the advantages I found ourselves possessed of, wou'd not move a step further without intimating our Intentions, to their doers, with what materiells and recommendations we had to lay before the Chancellour & Lords of Treasury. Mr McKenzie who at the commencement of the process had thrown of Cluny's business, as being the poorer Client, and now through thick and thin adhered to McIntosh, thought first to have intimidate us, but finding that wou'd not do, he fairly confessed he cou'd wish matters were accommodate. But for some reasons known only to himself, he wou'd not propose such a thing to the McIntoshs. But if any means cou'd be projected whereby the proposall wou'd come from themselves, he would heartily concur in bringing matters to ane amicable settlemt., and that Mr Fergueson of Pitfour, who was their Lawyer, wou'd be the properest to bring them to it, but that he cou'd not even speak to him upon that subject with any degree of freedom. We now made ane attempt to get a communing with Mr Fergueson, but cou'd not obtain admittance. However we represented the story to a friend of his, who undertook to lay it before him, and who brought us for answer, that we had hitherto neglected every materiall point, in never having asked the assistance of the present Invercall, who tho' young was a pretty gentleman, The Representative of the Person who we aleadged had lead the original Plan, Lady McIntosh's brother, consequently a man who had that family's interests greatly at heart, & had of any man most to say wt. them. I was imediately struck with the propriety of this motion, and surprised I had not myself thought sooner of it, but B——chie whose temper had by many former disappointments been greatly shagreen'd and his ill ussage had no doubt prompted to resentmt., spurn'd at my proposall of returning 40 miles to make this last attempt upon Invercall, but in the event I prevailed, and upon our arrivall in his neighbourhood, found that McIntosh and his Lady were there upon a visite. We knew Invercall to be greatly prepossessed agt. us and were at loss how to procure admittance. However sent him a card begging a feu minutes private conversation with him. He made a return shewing he wou'd have no communication with any man of such a character as Breackachie was represented to be, but as he never had heard much concerning me, he

had no objection to see me, and that a room of his own house was the privatest place we cou'd meet in. Upon this I waited of him & entered upon the merits of the cause, but he seeming to give little credite to my acct. of facts, with great warmth told the manner in which they were represented to himself, and that very much to our disadvantage; however I confirmed most of my alleadgancies by written documents, so far as that he was greatly stagger'd. I discover'd to him our intention of going to Lon^{n}., Breackachie's moderation in the first Information, and the materiells which were now to be given in, that we likewise had such recommendations as were sufficient to procure us the best access to the Chancellour. However as we were all along more intent upon doing Cluny Service than hurting McIntosh, we had made those proposalls formerly mentioned to him and his friends at Belnespick's house before the process commenced. That now haveing ane Interloquitor in his favour, he was upon the same footing as then, and we had come to repeat them at Invercall, where he had ane opportunity consult more of his friends, who we expected upon hearing what we had to say, would act with greater prudence and moderation than the former ones had done, and that so averse were we to persist in this Indedecent contraversie by qch no party cou'd reap advantage, except the Crown, that we were willing submit the whole differences and all our pretentions to Invercall's sole verdict, if he would be pleased accept of it. And tho' he might not then think himself sufficiently ripe to determine in it, If he was pleased accept we wou'd give him his own time to finish it, and upon the submissions being signed by McIntosh, we wou'd put it out of our own power to do further mischief, by consigning all the Voutchers in Invercalls own hands, and that in the meantime the Dect. before the Court of Session might be extracted in McIntosh's favours without obstruction. Being a man of the strictest honour, this proposall struck him very deep. He imediately insisted upon my staying all night, & that before I should leave the house matters wou'd be determined to my satisfaction. Nor wou'd he receive the papers untill I heard the Determination & was satisfied wt. it, qch must take severall days, there being a necessity of haveing some of McIntosh's principall friends present before sentence was given. I accordingly stayed that night, and joined Company with Laird & Lady McIntosh, but entered with them upon no particulars, my expectations of being at ane end wt. these affairs so dangerous both to character and Interest, you may believe, were very sanguine, but upon seeing Invercall next morning, all those golden dreams vanished into smoke. He atack'd me in a very abrupt

manner, & said he had since the former night's interview got undoubted authority to believe I had misrepresented facts. That the whole of us were ane unaccountable set of people wt. whom no man that regarded his character shou'd have any manner of connection, as he understood we had given up his Sister's private letters of Correspondence with Lady Cluny, that in short it appeared to him we had fasten'd upon poor McIntosh like a hife of wasps, but it was now necessary his friends should bestir themselves & we wou'd soon feel their weight. You cannot imagine how I was thunderstruck by this behaviour from a man whose former conduct gave me grounds to expect better things. I told him by what appeared to me, McIntosh was by no means his own friend by persisting in imposing upon his best wishers, as it appeared he had done upon Invercall, however that I thought to a man of his judgment, The submission proposed might ansr. for every thing they cou'd say, as by it there was ane oportunity hear both parties face to face, and if a sixpence should not be seen reasonable to be determined in Cluny's favours we wou'd be satisfied. Wt. respect to the letters I cou'd soon clear up that point, haveing the whole of them at that time in my pocket, which shou'd be a caveat to him not to be lead away for the future by the foolish insinuations of people, who like the dog in the Fable wou'd lose the substance grasping at the shawdow. That from first I was afraid McIntosh laid too great stress upon the weight of his friends, and would probably soon find the folely of that fatall mistake, as it would not be in their power (mighty as they were) to support so iniquious a cause. I then proposed part with him, but he insisted upon my taking breakfast, which in order to give the success of my affair all the chances possible, I agreed to. Very little conversation passed at Breakfast, & none at all directed to me. However before we had done, he retired and his sister soon followed him. I was then called to the room where they were. The Lady * strutted back and fore the room like a major of

* The Lady, here referred to, was the famous "Colonel Ann," whose heroic conduct in raising the Mackintosh Clan on the side of Prince Charlie—notwithstanding the fact that her husband adhered to the Hanoverian side—excited general admiration. In his "Tales of a Grandfather" (New Ed., 1888. Vol. III., p. 1111), Sir Walter Scott says that after the Prince had attacked and taken the barracks at Ruthven of Badenoch, "he went to reside for two or three days at the Castle of Moy, the chief seat of the Laird of MacIntosh, a distinction which was well deserved by the zealous attachment of the Lady MacIntosh to his cause. The husband of this lady, Æneas or Angus MacIntosh of that Ilk, appears to have had no steady political attachments of his own ; for at one time he seems to have nourished the purpose of raising his Clan in behalf of the Chevalier, notwithstanding which, he con-

Dragoons, and gave her own acct. of the matter wt. great warmth, by which every sentence I had said the preceding night were disfigured, & really the foundation of them sap'd, the Broyr. standing by all the time, & giving triumphant nods of approbation at the end of every sentence. I never was in my life at a greater loss how to behave. I not only saw my cause lost before that Judicatory, but my credite as a man of veracity at staik, nor would it do well to fall a contradicting her there. However I catch'd hold of something she had said and imediately produced a letter in regard to it, by which she was stun'd greatly, & upon telling her I had many such that conected with the subject she was upon, but that the submission was answer to all. She in a kind of extasy beged of her brother to extricate her out of that dirty affair, upon which we all again became very good friends, and the submission was heartily reassumed by them both; but upon its being proposed to McIntosh, he was perfectly mulish, and wou'd not move a step wt.out the concurrence of his friends in the North. The Lady then insisted with me to go and apply them, to which I was very

tinued to hold a commission in Lord Louden's army. Not so his lady, who, observing the indecision . . . . . of her husband, gave vent to her own Jacobite feelings, and those of the Clan of MacIntosh, by levying the fighting men of that ancient tribe, to the amount of three hundred men, at whose head she rode with a man's bonnet on her head, a tartan riding-habit richly laced, and pistols at her saddle-bow. MacGillivray of Drumnaglass commanded this body in the field as Colonel. The spirit excited by this gallant Amazon called at least for every civility which could be shown her by the Prince, and that of a visit at her castle was considered as the most flattering."

In the "Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family during the Rebellion, 1745-46" (Abbotsford Club Publication), the following interesting letter (No. CIII. of the series) from Lady MacIntosh (unlike the modernised letters from that lady, given on pages 219-20 of Dr Fraser-Mackintosh's "Letters of Two Centuries") is given in its quaint original spelling. The letter is addressed to William, Marquis of Tullibardine, who, notwithstanding his attainder in consequence of his connection with the Rising of the '15, had assumed the title of the Duke of Atholl, and acted as the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of King James "benorth the River of Forth."

"My Lord Douke,

"The Beraer of this is a veray Pretay fellew, Brother to M'enzie of Killooway. He had a Compannay Resed for the Prince's Servace, but was handerd by Lord Siforth to keray them of, which meks me geve this trobal to beg of your Grace to geve hem en ordar for rasing hes men, & thene he can wous a lettel forse. My God preaserf your Grace & all that will searve ther Prince and Contray, which is the earnest wosish of

"Your Grace most affnett. & obd. Sarvant,

"A : Mc Intosh.

"Moyhall, Octr. 16th 1745."

reluctant, but cou'd not withstand her entreaties. She, her husband, & Broyr. were oblidged go imediately for Edr. upon account of her health, where I was appointed to follow them, there being no doubt of the success of my embassy. Breakachie was all this time in the tavern alone, & at my return to him, was well satisfied wt. the footing matters were upon. He went straight home, and I proceeded to apply McIntosh's friends, but cou'd make no impression. They wou'd not advise him submit a matter upon qch he had the sence of the Court of Session to Invercall or any other man on earth. Thus I acquainted them of at Edr by express & recd. no ansr. However Breakachie went soon thereafter up, found the Crown Lawyers better disposed than formerly, put every paper he was master in their hands, and the process being reclaimed was litigate for another year, with great spirit of both sides. Br——chie now when every chance of a settlement or benefiteing the family of Cluny was over, did all in his power to disappoint them, and throw it in the hands of the Crown, to which side the scale seemed to lean very much. At a years end after our interview at Invercall, Mr Farquharson came to Inverness, and sent for me to that place. I came, and he after makeing some appologies for not writing me by my express to Edr., enquired if I wou'd still adhere to my proposalls at Invercall. I told him it was now too late; I had at that time something in my power, but now I had nothing. The papers and every thing else we cou'd do agt. McIntosh being, through the insolent behaviour of his own friends, in the power of the Crown Lawyers, and if he had any fault to find with that, it must entirely be stated to their own acct. He told the success of the matter now stood upon a certain point of law, which they were sure to carry if we did but ly by, & if that was agreed to, the submission would be entered into as formerly. I proposed two articles which must be previously settled, before I would enter upon any terms. The 1st of them was, that because I had got sufficient grounds to doubt of the other party's ingenuity that I must see ample powers in Invercall's hands to dispose of that Estate in whatever manner he judged proper, for McIntosh's behoof, in case they might slip the coller from him as they had formerly done from us. The next was that he shou'd witness a communing twixt any of McIntosh's friends & me upon that subject, because I understood from the whole tenor of his conduct, that he had a diffidence in the detail I had given of the affair, where he might have ane oportunity hear whether my assertions cou'd be contradicted or not, and this in order to establish a proper confidence betwixt us wt.out which nothing

cou'd go rightly on. All which was agreed to and six o'clock that same evening appointed for our meeting when he produced the power in his own favours I demanded from McIntosh, brought Mr McQueen of Corrybrough present & heard that gentleman and me talk over the subject, in which we pretty nearly agreed, Differing in nothing materiall except that proposall of a joint consultation made by me to Balnespick, whereat Mr McQueen or none else was present but us both, and which, tho' I am possitive in it, he to this day denys. Every thing being now setled, in the month of Octr. yr. after Major McPherson, Breakachie & I went to Invercall, where it was setled upon and committed to writing that if the issue of the process turned out in McIntosh's favours, Invercall, by virtue of the powers already given him, oblidged himself to vest Major McPherson in the property of the Lochlaggan lands for paymt. of a very moderate sum of money then condescend upon & sufficient to pay McIntosh's expence upon the process, and all the Rents he intromitted with were past from. Tho' these terms were extremely harsh upon Cluny, yet in the situation he was in, we were well satisfyed to see his family have even that little footing in their native Country, of which they had no chance by its falling into Govermt., and McIntosh had good cause to be pleased by comeing of in no worse case than when he began that affair. In consequence of this settlemt. Breakachie imediately abandoned the Crown Lawyers, and they soon lost that ascendant which his intelligence formerly gave them over McIntosh, and consequently the very next winter Session produced a finall Sentence of the Court of Session in McIntosh's favours, and the matter being now look'd upon as all over, both parties hug'd themselves in the happyness arising from Invercall's prudent manuveurs. But in the meantime some other unlucky villain, who we never cou'd discover, yet suspects to be one of the McDonald tennents upon the Estate, informs the Kings advocate of this private Settlement, and some other circumstances that appears to have been formerly misrepresented to the Court, upon qch the cause was appealed, and the sentence of the Court of Session reversed. By this unhappy turn of affairs all parties were disappointed, McIntosh left involved by the rents intromitted with the expense of process, in a laborinth of debt from which its not likely he will see himself extricate, and the poor family of Cluny, without one insh of ground upon the face of the earth. In the year 1726, the highest price for lands in this County did not exceed 16 years purchase, so that at that time the 13,000 merks was without regard to the Chiftainry very near ane adequate value for this trifling Estate.

The Rents being neat £50, and notwithstanding the great rise since in Highland Lands, has it been brought higher, nor do I think was it even yet in the private proprietor's hands, is it capable of any considerable augmentation or improvement. The only way I can account for this, is by its being situate in the barrier betwixt Badenoch and Lochaber, where the McDonalds of the one Country & the McPhersons of the other constantly contended for the possession of it, by which means it was very early brought to ane extravagant rent.

"This letter is out of all size, and I am afraid will fatigue you in reading as much as it has done me in writing. However, tho' you represent it as necessary, I found it impossible to write anything that cou'd give you a proper idea of the matter, without going through this tidious & circumstantiall detail by which you are now as well known to the whole as I am, and can dress it up in whole or in part, as you see proper for Service. The first part of it regarding early periods my only authority for it is some old family manuscripts, but the latter affairs, qch hapned in my own time & my fathers, you may depend upon to be truth, only as I was not present at the first meeting with old Invercall, when the factory was granted to Angus Shaw, I will not be possitive whether that was transacted by McIntosh in person or his Commissioners, of whom the lady was *sine qau non*. However Breakachie who I had not just now ane oportunity to see, was present at that affair & knows distinctly every circumstance regarding it. I will see him soon, and show him a scroll in my own possession of this letter, and certify you by post whether I have mistaken that or any other point regarding his separate operations. Such as I was personally concerned in myself, I am in no doubt about.—I am, with Tibies complimts. & my own, Sir, yours while

"Andw. McPherson.

"Banchor, 17 May, 1770.

"To James McPherson, Esqr.,
"British Coffee, London."

After the long-pressed and stoutly-fought Claim of Mackintosh of the time to the Kinlochlaggan portion of the Cluny Estates was finally dismissed by the House of Lords, he—as a last resource—presented a Petition to the Lords of the Treasury praying their Lordships to move his Majesty to give him a gift thereof. Colonel Duncan Macpherson, the son and heir of Cluny of the '45, followed suit, and presented the following Petition, with the result,

as already mentioned, that a gift of the estate of Kinlochlaggan was ultimately (in 1784) bestowed upon him in preference to Mackintosh.

"To the Right Honourable the Lord Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury.

"The humble Petition of Lt.-Colo! Duncan Macpherson of His Majesty's 3rd Regt. of Foot Guards.

"Sheweth: That in 1724 Lauchlan Macpherson of Cluny, your Petitioner's Grand Father, purchased the Estate of Kinlochlaggan from Lauchlan Macintosh of Macintosh, but the Price not having been paid till 1744 he did not enter to the Possession sooner than that period. About that time Macpherson had, on account of his son Evan's Marriage, conveyed to him all the ancient Family Estate of Cluny, reserving this Purchase of Kinlochlaggan and a small Annuity for his own Maintainance.

"That the said Evan Macpherson, Father of your Petitioner, having been unfortunately concerned in the unnatural Rebellion which broke out in the next year, 1745, was attainted for not surrendering himself before 12 July 1746, and the whole Estate of Cluny, which had been conveyed to him as above-mentioned, was forfeited and annexed unalienably to the Crown.

"That Lauchlan Macpherson, the Father, survived his son Evan's Attainder only a few days, but dying without having made any Settlement of these Lands of Kinlochlaggan, and his son Evan being unable to succeed by reason of his Attainder, they fell to the Crown by Escheat *ob defectum Heredis*.

"That Macintosh, the Vender, immediately resumed the Possession of Kinlochlaggan as if he had never sold the same, but sometime afterwards the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland ordered this Estate to be surveyed as falling to the Crown by Escheat through Evan Macpherson's Attainder, whereupon Æneas Macintosh, who had succeeded to the Estate of Macintosh as Heir Male of his Cousin Lauchlan, did in the Terms of the Statute 20 Geo: 2nd enter a claim to this Estate before the Court of Session, and wiged the same upon various different Grounds for several years, till at last his Claim was ultimately dismissed upon an Appeal to the House of Lords.

"That soon afterwards the said Æneas Macintosh, after having maintained such a tedious and obstinate Litigation with the Crown, thought proper to present a Petition to your Lordships, praying you to move his Majesty to give him a Gift of this Estate of Kinlochlaggan.

"That your Petitioner conceiving that he was in this particular an Object of the Bounty of the Crown preferable to Mr Macintosh, in 1770 also presented his Petition to your Lordships, stating the facts respecting the Estate as above-mentioned and the Grounds upon which he rested his Pretentions as much outweighing any Matter that could be alledged in favour of M'Intosh, viz., That he is the Grand Son of Lauchlan Macpherson, the Original Purchaser, for a valuable Consideration, of this Estate of Kinlochlaggan, which Escheated to the Crown in manner aforesaid, That he is the next Heir, and would have taken this Estate by desent if that had not been impeded by his Father's Attainder —That if his Grand-father had survived Evan, the attainted Person, this Estate would not have escheated, but would in Course of Succession have devolved upon the Petitioner—That if his Grand-Father had not died suddenly after his Son's Attainder, he intended and would have made a Settlement of this Estate on the Petitioner, which would have prevented the Escheat—That the Petitioner was not born till some months after his Father's Attainder, and had been brought up and educated chiefly at the Expense of his Uncle, Major John Macpherson of Col! Fraser's Regiment, who, being disabled by the Wounds he received in America in 1759, was obliged to retire from the Service.

"That your Petitioner when only 15 years of age had entered into his Majesty's Service—That by the Assistance and at the Expense of his Uncle and other Friends he compleated a Company in the Regiment raised under the Command of Major General Grame—That upon the Conclusion of the Peace in 1763 he was reduced to half Pay, which was all he had to support himself and to pay off several Debts contracted for his Education and in raising his Company for his Majesty's Service, and upon the whole he prayed your Lordships to move his Majesty for a Grant of these Lands of Kinlochlaggan in his Favour.

"That upon the 30th Day of May 1770 your Lordships were pleased to refer the above-mentioned Petition to the Barons of Exchequer in Scotland, who, upon the 27th June 1770, made the following Report thereon to your Lordships:

"'In Obedience to your Lordships' Directions signified by Mr Cooper, of the 30th of May last past, desiring us to consider the Petition of Captain Duncan Macpherson hereunto annexed, and to report to your Lordships a State of the Case with our Opinion what is fit to be done therein, we crave leave to acquaint your Lordships,

"'That the Petitioner is Grandson of Lauchlan Macpherson, who died in the year 1746 in Possession of certain Parts of the Lands of Kinlochlaggan, amounting to the sum of £27 : 2 : 9⅔ of Net Rent, and had also a right to redeem three small Wadsetts on other parts of the said Estate, amounting to the sum of £9 : 13 : 4 Per Annum, on paying the Wadsetters the sum of £183 : 6 : 8 Sterling.

"'That Evan Macpherson of Cluny, the Son of Lauchlan and Father to the Petitioner, being in June 1746 Attainted for his Rebellion in the year 1745, and the said Lauchlan, the Petitioner's Grand-father, having died soon after, without making any Settlement of his Estate, the same, with the right of redeeming the said Wadsetts, fell to the Crown by Escheat *ob defectum heredis*, and is at His Majesty's Disposal.

"'We further beg leave to acquaint your Lordships that Captain Æneas MacIntosh of MacIntosh having preferred a Petition to your Lordships the 29th of April 1769, praying your Lordships to move His Majesty to give him a Gift of this Estate of Kinlochlaggan, and the said Petition being referred to us to consider the same and report a State of the Case with our Opinion what was fit to be done therein, We made a Report accordingly to your Lordships the 10th Day of August 1769, wherein we laid before your Lordships a full State of the Case, and were of Opinion that this Estate was at His Majesty's Royal disposal, and that if His Majesty was graciously pleased so to do, he might give the same to Capt. MacIntosh upon payment of £722 : 4 : 5½, being the sum his predecessor received when he wadsett the said Lands.

"'That upon considering the Petitioner's Case that he is the Grand-Son and Heir of Lauchlan Macpherson, who was Proprietor of the said Estate of Laggan, We are humbly of Opinion that he is a proper object of his Majesty's Bounty and Favour, if his Majesty shall be graciously pleased to give him a Gift of the said Lands of Laggan with a Power to Redeem the three Wadsetts upon the said Lands at present possessed by Lauchlan Macpherson, John and Paul Macphersons. and Alexander Macdonald. all which are humbly submitted to your Lordships great Wisdom.'

"That when this Report was made to your Lordships the Petitioner was abroad, and Æneas Macintosh, the other Petitioner, having died about that Time, nothing further was done thereon.

"That in 1771 your Petitioner was appointed to a Company in the 63rd Regt., then lying in Ireland, where he joined that

Corps, and continued there till 1775, when he went with it to Boston, where he continued till 1776, when he was appointed Major to 71st Regiment, on which Occasion he came Home, and raised a Company of 100 Men for that Regt., and within two Months returned with it to New York.

"That he continued on actual Service in America for 5 years afterwards, under the Commands of Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, General Provost, and Colonel Archibald Campbell—That he was at last taken Prisoner when coming to Britain with Dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton, and was detained a Prisoner in New England 16 Months.

"That under all these Circumstances and the favourable equity of his Case, your Petitioner humbly hopes, and prays, your Lordships will recommend him to his Majesty as worthy of His Royal Favour and meriting a Grant of the above-mentioned Lands of Kinlochlaggan, which, but for the unfortunate Events above-mentioned, would have desended to him in right of Succession.

"Dn. Macpherson."

6th APRIL, 1899.

At the meeting on this date Mr J. Maclaren, Gordon Highlanders, Edinburgh Castle, and Mr J. A. Campbell, Trinity College, Cambridge, were elected honorary members of the Society. Thereafter Rev. Thos. Sinton, Dores, read a paper on "Gaelic Poetry from the Cluny Charter-Chest," which is as follows:—

GAELIC POETRY FROM THE CLUNY CHARTER CHEST.

By kind permission of the late Cluny Macpherson, I am able to place at the disposal of the Gaelic Society this extensive collection of Gaelic poetry, the MSS. of which, along with various other pieces, had been in the possession of his father—that enthusiastic Highland chief and sennachie, now usually spoken of as "Old Cluny."

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the services which he rendered in fostering the language, lore, literature, and ancient characteristic spirit of Highlanders, for upwards of half a century, in an age inclined to be luke-warm and irresponsive. If 'laudator temporis acti' might truly be said of him, he was,

nevertheless, in other respects, before his time. Long ere clan societies, Gaelic societies, and the various kindred associations with which we are now so familiar had sprung up over the length and breadth of the land, he was in himself an embodiment of their aims and aspirations. Warmly interested in the work of the bards, it was but natural to expect that some remains of such should be found among his papers in Cluny Castle. The MSS. which are now before me are in different hand-writings, and belong to the beginning of the nineteenth century and the last decade of the eighteenth. Many verses are written on letters addressed to Mr Paul Kennedy, Castle Gavel, Perth, and have required much patient labour to decipher. Others, again, are written in so perspicuous and correct a style as to suggest the hand of Ewen Maclachlan.

I.

Call Ghadhaig.

The only version of Calum Dubh Mac an t-Saoir's elegy upon the "Loss of Gaick" known to be in existence was that supplied by the late Mr James Macpherson, Edinburgh, for the "Duanaire." Mr Macpherson informed me that he procured it from an old woman belonging to Badenoch, who had spent a great part of her life in Arisaig, and eventually settled in Edinburgh, where he made her acquaintance. It will be observed that the Cluny version, which was probably taken down from the author at the time that he had composed it, presents many points of difference.

Chan 'n ìoghnadh mise a bhi dubhach,
Bheir feasgar a' ghrian le brutnach,
Bheir mulad air suilean sruthadh,
'S i 'n Nollaig so 'thionndaidh 'chairt-dubh oirnn;
Cha b' éirig 'an àit' an udhair,
Ged bhithinn gu bràth ri cumha,
Nach tig thu 'chaoidh slàn no do bhuidheann
A dh' imich a Ghàdhaig nan aighean.

Na'n tigeadh dhachaidh an Caiptean,
'M Bràigheach, 's Iain òg MacPhearsain,
MacPhàrlain, 's an Granndach mar b' ait leinn,
Cha bu dìobhail leinn an tacar;
Gar an tigeadh na féidh ghlasa,
'S ged bhiodh na mialchoin tachdta,
Na'n tigeadh tu 's d' òganaich dhachaidh,
'S an t-éug a bhi 'm prìosan fo ghlasadh.

Na'm bu mhise maor a' phrìosain,
Cha 'n fhàgainn ä chionta gun ìnnseadh,
Bhiodh mòran air paipeir ga sgrìobhadh,
Air beulaobh a bhreitheimh gu bhinne.
'S cinnte' mur rachadh ä dhìteadh,
Gu'n cuirt' e gu grad as an rìoghachd,
'N ä cheangal air slabhruidh de 'n iarunn,
'S ä chumail a staigh leth-cheud bliadhna.

'N uair 'bhiodh tu ri fiadhach beinne,
'S tric a bha mise na m' ghille
Ri d' lodhainn, beagan air dheireadh,
A' feitheamh ri fuaim do theine;
'N uair 'stiùradh tu ris an eilid,
Bhiodh toll air a bian le do pheileir,—
'Mharbhaich' na h-earba 's a' choilich,
An dòbhrain, na liath-chirc', 's an t-sionnaich.

'S ceò'ar gach planaid a chì mi;
Tha 'n saoghal 'n ä bhreugadair-ìnntinn,
Nach fhaic mi thu 'siubhal na frìthe,
Le d' ghillean 's le taghadh nam mialchon:
Iubhaidh chaol laghach, 's i dìreach,
'Sgoilteadh an t-sùil air an dìsinn:
Bha cuaileanan geàrrta, gun chìreadh,
An là 'thaisg iad thu 'n clachan na sgìreachd.

Cha 'n fhaca mi bàrr aig duin' ort,
A dhìreadh nan càrn 's nam mullach,
A mharbhadh nam fiadh 's a' mhunadh,
A tharruing nan lann, 's bu ghuineach,
A bhualadh nan dòrn 's a' chunnart;
A labhairt aig mòd 's tu 'b' urrainn,
'Dh' aindeoin no 'dheòin bu leat buidhinn
Gach cùis 's am biodh mòrchuis a's urram.

'S ged tha mi an so air m' aineol,
'S ann a bha mi òg 's mi 'm leanabh,
'An dùthchas d' athar 's do sheanar;
Fa dheas ann am bail' ud nan gallan,
Far am biodh crodh-laoigh air ghleannaibh,
Mnathan deud-gheal 'fuaghal anairt,
'S an talla 'n òlteadh fìon gun cheannach,
'S òr 'g ä thoirt fial do luchd-ealaidh.

Rinn stoirm call 'am bràigh a' ghlinne,
Bha cruinneachadh mòr anns an fhireach,
A' giùlan dachaidh nan gillean,
'S an fhir mhòir nach gabhadh giorrag;
Marcach each-sréin' agus stioraip,
Ceannard-ceud 'an àm na h-iomairt,
Ite chorra sgéith do chinnidh,
Nach d' rinn riamh de 'n t-saoghal cillean,

'S beag ioghnadh thu 'bhi thùs nam fear barraicht',
A laoich nach biodh fada mu 'n mnalairt,
A phàidheadh fear 'thogail na carraid;
Bu dìleas dhut Alasdair Garrach,
Mac-Mhic-Raonuill a's Gleann-garadh,
Iarla Antruim 's Mac-Mhic-Ailein,
Oighre Dhùn-Tuilm nam fear fallain,
Dha 'n suaicheantas leògh'nn a's lòmh-fhala.

'S cruaidh an sgeul nach fheudar fhulang,—
Lean-dubh air do chlann a dh' fhuirich,
Bhuail charanach salaig bhuale, [sìc]
A tharruing an làmh bho 'n uilinn,
Thuit am flùr 's an gallan-mullaich',
Dh' fhàg sud do bhràthair gun urras,
Mar Oisean an còmhnuidh ri tuireadh,
'N déis bàs fir Fhìnn 's e dall air tulaich.

A dh' aindeoin luchd-gamhlais a's mì-ruin,
Ma 's urrainn domh, gu'n dean mi d' ìnnse,
Bu Chaiptean thu air sliochd Ghillìosa,
Pearsanach do shloinneadh dìreach,
Choisinn thu 'm blàr a bha 'm Piorait,
A leag an trup Gallda gu h-ìseal;
'S bann-Dòmhnullach 'thug glùn a's cìoch dhut,
'Mach á stoc teaghlach Iarl' Ile.

'S na 'm bu daoin' a bheireadh dhìnn thu,
Bhiodh tarruing air claidhibh chinn Ilich,
'An Cluainidh bhiodh toiseach na strìthe,
Bhiodh togail air fir na tìre,
Le caismeachd sgal na pìoba,
Cha b' fhad' a bhiodh d' éirig 'g a dìoladh,
Mas tilleadh an Cat-mòr 's ä lìnne,
Bhiodh fuil air an lòn, 's feòil ga riasladh.

Bu tu oid' agus athair fhéumnaich,
'Choibhreadh air aircich 'n an éiginn,
Na 'm b' aithne dhomh dheanainn-sa léigh dhut,
Ghleidhinn cuach-ìocshlaint na Féinne,
'Thug Fionn Mac-Cumhail á h-Eirinn,
'S a thogas a rìsd bho 'n eug thu,
'S bhiodh Bail'-a'-Chrodhan fo éibhneas,
'S do mhaithean ag òl do dheoch-réite.

Còignear a bh' anns an éiginn,
Shéid sneachd agus gaoth ás na spéuran,
A thilg an taigh-cloich ás-ä-chéile,
Mo naidheachd bu bhrònach ri 'h-éisdeachd,
Nur faotainn 'n ur laidhe fo chreuchdaibh,
Gun chomas labhairt no sgeulachd!
Air son dòrtadh na Fola 'chaidh cheusadh,
Dèan tròcair ri 'n an'maibh le réite.

The following verse, given in the "Duanaire," must have been composed long after the Cluny MS. was written:—

Gu ma slàn a thig e dhachaidh,
Oighr' Iain-òig Mhic-a'-Phearsain,
An caiptein 'tha 'n arm Chlann-Ailpein;
Ma bheir e an dualchas o 'athair,
Eighear a mach air thùs feachd e,
'S bidh mùirn ann an dùthaich nam badan,
Cinnidh féur le méud na dealta,
An déigh dorcha na h-oidhche thig maduinn.

II.

Mary Macpherson—better known as Bean Thorra Dhamh—had composed many hymns besides the three which have been published. They had been written for the press, but were believed to be all irretrievably lost. It was with no ordinary pleasure that I came upon the three beautiful Gaelic hymns given below, which I conclude to be hers chiefly for the following reasons:—

1. They are all in the same hand-writing, on letters addressed by relatives of the name of Macpherson to Mr Paul Kennedy, Castle Gavel, Perth.
2. There was one of that name connected by marriage with the Strathmashie family in Laggan.

3. Mrs Clerk (Bean an Torra Dhamh) spent her last years at Perth, where she resided with her son-in-law, at the date given on the above-mentioned letters.
4. I have heard the hymn beginning "Ceol cha 'n àill leam," quoted as hers upwards of thirty years ago, by one who expressed a preference for it above all her other compositions.
5. These three hymns are thoroughly in keeping with her genius, style, and language.
6. There were no other Gaelic hymns in which Cluny would have been so likely to take an interest as those which were composed by this member of his clan.

On reading these verses, which are well worth a careful perusal, I venture to think that few acquainted with Mrs Clerk's work will question the authorship. They contain passages at once more original and beautiful than may be found in the hymns even of Dugald Buchannan.

Is. xii. 2.

A Iehovah, Ard-Righ nam Flaitheas,
Cia binn an ceòl leam bhi 'labhairt air d' ainm',
Dean fein mo sheòladh le d' mhaitheas,
Chum d' fhirinn fhoghlum 's a ghleidheadh gun chall.
Duisg mo chuimhne 's mo mheoghail,
'S mo smuaintean iompaich gu teangadh gach grais,
Do thoil-sa dheanamh mo raghainn—
'S na fag mi an di-chuimhn' 'n uair a thaghar do chlann.

'S e do mhòrachd gun choimeas,
A chuireas dòchas 'am anam is gràs,
Bho linn domh-s' bhi am leanabh,
'S lionar tròcair' a shil orm bho d' laimh;
'S tu mo stòras nach teirig,
'S dhe do sholas tha m' eathraichean * lan,
Gus am beoil 's a' cur thairis,
'N uair is deonach leat 'bheannachd chuir annt'.

Tha mor ionmhas do mhathais
Dhomh gach uair anns an latha cho réidh,
'S mi gun chunntas gun tomhas,
A ghabhail cuibhrionn fa chomhair gach tìm;
Mara cuimseach dhomh fhaighinn
Biadh is aodach gun chaitheamh thar fhéum,
Sin 's gun storas a ghleidheadh—
A bheath' dh' òrduich thu roimhe dha d' thréud.

* soireachan ?

Cha 'n 'eil la tha mi 'g éirigh,
Nach 'eil gathannan aoibhneis do ghraidh,
Air am measgadh le caoimhneas,
Ur gach maduinn is oidhche 's gach trath,
Drùchd do dhealt a ni saibhir
M' anam airceil chum oighreachd nan gras,
Far an seinnear le d' chloinn-sa
Laoidhean molaidh 'sior-chliuthachadh d' ainm'.

Cha 'n 'eil oidhch' tha mi 'laidhe,
Nach 'eil ainglean na Flathais 'a m' chòir,
'S iad 'g am shireadh 's 'g am ghleidheadh,
Bho na naimhdibh tha teth air mo thòir.
Na mo shuain, a chaomh-athair!
'S tu mo bhuachaill' a ghleidheas mi beò,
'S a bheir suas mi gu d' chathair,
An uair is rùn leat mo ghabhail gu d' ghlòir.

Tha mo smuaintean 's mo labhairt,
Air an cunntadh a' d' leabhar le còir,
'S bho 'n 's ann uaith ni mi fhaighinn,
Togam suas iad le aighear 's le ceol,
Chum do chluais, a Righ-Athair!
A rinn mo stiùradh 's mo ghleidheadh 's mi og,
'S riamh troimh chùrsa mo bheatha,
Sheall thu nuas orm 'g am fheitheamh le lòn.

Mas na sheilbhich mi beatha,
'S tu-s' a dhealbh mi le cnamhaibh 's le feòil,
'S an t-seomar dhìomhair 'g am ghleidheadh,
Cunntas mhiosan a' feitheamh tigh'nn beò;
'S an tìm iomchuidh 's na labhair thu,
Chaidh an t-ionmhas sin anam thoirt dhomh-s',
Le cord airgid 'g a cheangal,
A chum 's nach salaichinn na h-eathraichean òir.

'S rinn thu teampull de 'n talamh,
Mar chéis gheal ìbhri chum 'fhalach mar chleòc,
Na sùilean lìon thu le solus,
'S an anail dh' ìnntrig thu 'm pollan na stròin';
A chluas gu cluinntinn gach faruim,
'S a chas gu imeachd le cabhaig 's an ròd,
'S an lamh gu gnìomh air aran,
An ceann gu rioghladh, 's an teangaidh gu d' ghloir.

Dh' fhag thu t-iomlan do m' bhallaibh
'S an ordugh b' iomchuidh chum faireachduinn bheò,
'N uair dh' fhuiligeas aon dhiubh le sgaradh,
Tha càch ri caoidh is ri gearan le bron;
Cha 'n eil cuibhle 's an anam,
Nach do thionndaidh bho 'n ealaidh 's bho 'n ceòl,
'S ma gheibh an lùdag bheag gearradh,
Tha 'chreubh bho 'n chrùn gus an talamh fo leòn.

Ach d' oibribh dìomhair is falaich,
Cha rannsaich cuimhne lag, thana, gun treòir,
Mar bhrùid mi a' d' fhianuis, no dallag
Nach faic, 's nach cluinn, 's nach fairich ach sgleò;
'S tric a dh' iarr mi le mearachd
An ni le 'fhaotainn nach mealainn le còir,
Ach dhuit-s' is léir mo chion-falaich,
'S tu bheir dhomh 'n oighreachd tha m' anam a' lorg.

'S e bhi a' lorg air do ghealladh,
A tha mi 'g iarraidh chum m' anam bhi beò,
Mo chridhe lionadh le d' bheannachd,
'S do thoil a dheanamh gun aindeoin le m' dheòin;
Ri m' ùrnuigh tionndaidh cluas fhair' ail,
'S na leig dhomh dùnadh le ath-iarrtas glòir,
Ach teachd 'a d' ìonnsuidh mar leanabh
A dh' fhaighinn sprùileach, 's 'gan tionail mu d' bhord.

'S mi mar dhéirceachan falamh,
Gun nì, gun fhéudail, gun earras, gun stòr,
'S mi 'n dùil gun éisd thu ri m' ghearan,
'S do ghnuis le caoimhneas gu 'n dealraich thu orm.
Na leig dhomh tionndadh bho d' leanail,
Ach dean mo stiuradh 's mi aineolach dorch,
Le d' ghràs ath-nuadhaich-sa m' anam,
'S dean gradh is firinn a bhuileachadh orm.

'S tric a las thu mo choinnleir,
'S mi gun solus, gun soillse na m' chòir,
Le do Spiorad tha saoibhir,
Chum mo sheachran fhoillseachadh dhomh-s'.
Sgrùdam d' fhocal gach oidhche,
'Stiùras m' astar mar ghuide anns an ròd,
'S tionndaidheam dhachaidh bho m' fhaointraidh
Dh' ionnsuidh m' athar tha saoibhir an glòir.

Air cliù do ghloir ni mi labhairt
'N uair a bhios mo chnaimhean na 'n luidhe fo 'n fhòid,
Cho mìn ri fùdar gun d' anail,
Le fuaim na trompaid grad léumaidh iad beò.
'S cha teid aon rudan dhiu 'm mearachd,
Ach bidh an t-iomlan 'cur thairis le feòil,
'S bidh a' chruitheachd nuadh gu leir fallain,
Gun chnoimh, gun chréuchdan, gun ghalar, gun leòn.

Nach binn an sgeul so ri aithris
Do 'n dream a dh' eireas le pailmean 'n an dòrn,
'S iad suaint' an aodaichean geala,
'S an crùn a' boisgeadh mar dhealradh an òir;
'S an gnùis mar ghréin na làn-sholuis
An là geal céitein—'n uair a theannas i oirnn—
'S e is ainm dhaibh oighreachan geallaidh,
'S an cuirt an Righ gheibh iad cathraichean glòir.

'S e cliù na Trionaid an ealaidh
Le tùis dheadh-ìobairt 's laoidh mholaidh na 'm beòil,
A chaoidh nan cian na 'n cloinn-sonais,
Le 'n organ bhinn is ciùin, farasda ceòl;
Cha 'n fhàs iad sgìth no mi-thoileach,
Ach 's aoibhneas iomlan is toradh dha 'n nòs,
Mar reultan timchioll na cathrach,
Is Grian na Firinn 'g an dealradh le glòir.

III.

Ceòl cha 'n àill leam, pìob no clàrsach,
Binneas ghall-tromp 's theud,
Cha bhinn le m' chluais 'n uair 's àird' am fuaim,
Cha 'n imich luath mo cheum;
Air ùrlar àrd cha dean mi danns',
'S cha ghluais mi eangaidh air sléibh',
Tha cùrsa nàduir 's cunntas làithean,
A' teagasg ceann mo réis'.

Mo laith' mar cheò 's mar fhaileas neòil,
Dh' fhalbh thairis m' òige nuadh,
'S i 'n oidhch' 'tha 'n tòir orm, dh' iompaich m' organ
Chiùil gu bròn 's gu gruaim;
Mo chridhe trom nach éirich leam,
Mar chloich air grunnd fo shuain,
Nach dùisg 's nach gluais, ach tùirseach truagh,
Mar dhuin' 'an cluas a' bhàis.

'S am bàs dh' an toir sinn uile géill,
Gur sgaiteach geur a lann,
'S lìonmhor treun òg 's maighdeann bheul-dearg,
'Chuir e 'an céis le làimh;
Gach bean a's céile 's leanabh
'Sheilbhich beatha riamh bho Adh'mh,
Ach Enoch 's Elìah, chaidh an treud ud
Uile 'n géill do 'n bhàs.

'S cha chùis-eagail bàs do 'n iarmad
'Thig fo rìaghladh gràis,
A chum a dh' fheitheadh théid iad sgiamhach,
'S bàirleig sgriobht' na 'n làmh,
Air beulaobh 'n Rìgh nach diùlt doibh
Inntreachduinn le mìle fàilt',
Bho 'n phàidh an Sagart ac' am fiachan,
'S thug E dìoladh làn.

'S ged dh' fhàg am peacadh sinn fo dhìteadh,
Cha bu sinne 'phàidh,
Ach làmh ar n-urrais, Rìgh na Sìothchaimh,
'Dh' iobradh air a' chrann;
Le ùmhlachd 's fulangas ro phiantail,
Chrom E sìos gu làr,
A's ghlaodh E mach "Mo Dhia, mo Dhia,
Na tréig mi chaoidh 's na fàg."

Bho 'nàimhdibh guineach dh' fhuiling Iosa
Peanas, pian, a's cràdh,
Air tàirngibh chroch iad Corp na Fìrinn
Ris a' chraoibh gu h-àrd;
B' iad sìol an uilc 'thug mionnan dìtidh
'N aghaidh 'n Tì a's àird',
'S a gheall gu 'n gabh'dh iad 'fhuile phrìseil
Dìreach air an ceann.

A' ghrian le 'teas do theich air cùl,
'S a solus dhiùlt i dhoibh,
Na creagan sgoilt gu 'n ruig an grunnd,
'S an teampull réub gu làr;
An talamh chrath le 'thoradh trom,
'S na dùilean shruth le cràdh,
'S na mairbh bho 'n uaigh do dh' éirich suas,
'Thoirt coinneamh 'dh' Uan nan Gràs.

O m' anam, dùisg le d' chlàrsaich chiùil,
'S dean moladh, 's cliù a sheinn,
Do Thriath nam feart le 'ghàirdean deas
'Thug buaidh a mach dha threud;
'S le 'chòmhraig thréin 'thug 'arm bho 'n eug,
'S an treas là 'dh' éirich suas,
'S a shuidh an àird' air ionad àrd,
Aig deas-laimh Rìgh nan sluagh.

'S E 'deanamh eadar-ghuidhe bhuan
Air son a shluaigh gu léir,
An Cìobair gràidh nach leig air chall
An t-uan a's tàir' dhe 'n treud;
Ard-shagart ungta, Rìgh gach prionnsa,
Bheir gach dùil' D'a géill,
'S le 'éifeachd éirigh 'chruitheachd nuadh—
'S E 's breitheamh dhuinn 's is léigh.

'N uair 'thig E nuas le ainglibh cùirt',
Mar dhealan dlùth nan speur,
Ni 'n trombaid fuaim, 's bheir sìos a's suas,
A's deas a's tuath dhi géill;
Grad-éirigh suas na bheil 's a' chuan,
'S a' chill, 's an uaigh, 's na sléibht',
A dh' ionnsuidh 'mhòid 's bidh 'choinneamh dòmhail
'Thig an còir an t-sléibh.

'N sin labhraidh 'm breitheamh ris na h-òighibh
Glic, dha òrdugh 'ghéill:—
" A shluaigh 'tha beannaicht' teannaibh chum
Mo dheis, bho 'n 's eòl dhomh sibh,
'S 'an rìoghachd m' Athar, gabhaibh còmhnuidh,
'S dèanaibh ceòl a sheinn,
'S bho chraoibh na beatha faighibh sòlas,
'S mairibh beò gach linn."

Ach dha na h-òighibh a bha gòrach,
Bheir E 'n t-òrdugh truagh:—
" A chlann na mallachd nach d' iarr m' eòlas,
Bidh nur còmhnuidh bhuan
'S an lochan loisgeach mar ri deamhnaibh,
'Caoidh 's a' bròn 's a' gruaim,"
A' snàmh a' chuain gun ghrunnd, gun ' shore,'
Gun phort, gun ' shoal,' gun bhruaich.

'S e àithn' a bheirinn dha gach beò,
Geur-aire 'thoirt do m' dhuan,
Tha 'chùis so eagalach ri leògh',
Is sgreamhaidh dhomhs' a fuaim;
O m' anam, teich mu 'm beir an toir ort,
'S taisg do stòras shuas,
'S bidh d' ùrnuigh freagarrach dha d' ghlòir,
'S cha 'n fhaic thu bròn a chaoidh.

Tha rùintean freasdail deas an còmhnuidh
'Thoirt dhut eòlais nuadh',
Na'm b' àill leat freagairt le do dheòin,
'S gach leth-trom 'dh' fhògradh bhuat;
Cuir cùl ri easaontas 's ri pròis,
'S le seirc a's tròcair gluais,
'S gach cùis dean eadraiginn 's a' chòir,
'S luchd-brìb' cuir brònach bhuat.

'S le gràs a's seirc leasaich d' eòlas,
'S anns gach mòr-chéill gluais,
Mar àirmhear leat gach oidhche 's lò,
Do shlighe seòl 's gach uair;
Le treud an t-seacharain na deònaich,
'S na gabh déidh na 'n duais,
Chum bàis tha 'n casan luath gu leòir
'S cha 'n fhaic iad glòir an Uain.

Mar dh' àicheadh iad a theis'nas òg,
'S a reachd gach lò gu 'n d' thruaill,
Air gràdh a theach cha 'n fhaigh iad còir,
'S cha bhlais am beòil dhe 'chuilm;
Bidh 'chòmhnuidh ac' 'an teach a' bhròin,
'S bidh 'n leab' 'an dòruinn bhuain,
'S air cràidh an achain cha 'n 'eil beò
Na bheir bun sgeòil a nuas.

IV.

'S mìle marbhphaisg ort a shaoghail,
'S carach baoghalach do chleachdadh,
'S gar nach 'eil mi sean no aosmhor,
'S lionar caochladh tha mi 'faicinn;
'S tric am bàs le 'shaighdibh dùbhlanach
A' tionndadh mùirne gu airteal,
'S a' toirt aoibhneis mhòir gu bròn,
'N uair a bhios ar sùil ri solus fhaicinn.

'S tha gach là a' teagasg iùil dhuinn
Chum ar cùp a ghiulan faic'lleach,
Mar 's e 's gu faigh sibh làine chuimseach,
'S cuibhrionn iomchuidh e gu 'r n-astar;
'M fad 's a bhios sinn anns an fhàsach,
Gheibh sinn aran 's pàirt ri 'sheachnadh,
'S c'uim' am biodh ar gearan uaibhreach
Bho nach lìon e suas ar beairteas.

Gar na ghlac mi mòran stòrais,
Cha do chrìon mo choir gu airceas,
An t-aran lathail fhuair mi 'n còmhnuidh,
'S math gu leòir gun stòr 'chur seachad:
An tì rinn tadhal mòr 's an fhàsaich,
Cha do thàrr e maoin a thasgaidh,
'S feàrr am beagan buain le gràs,
Na oighreachd 's achanna' chaich 'thoirt dhachaidh.

'S gàbhaidh 'bhuaidh a th' air cloinn dhaoin',
A h-uile h-aon air saod a' bheairtais,
'M fad 's am fagus 'falbh g' a fhaotainn,
'S cogadh 's caonnag ga thoirt dhachaidh;
'S lionar neach tha 'cosd a shaothrach,
Nach do bhlais a mhaoin le taitneas,
'S mairg a ghlacas creach nam feumnach,
Chum e féin a dhèanamh beairteach.

An tì a thaisgeas sìol na truaill'eachd,
Cha bhi 'stòras buan gu mairsinn,
Ged a dhùin e glaiste suas e,
Gheibh e sgiathan luath chum astair:
Mar an iolair 'shiùbhlas bhuainn,
Chum nan nèamh le fuaim 's le clapraich,
'S amhlaidh beairteas thig le foill,
Ge mòr a shraighlich, 's faoin a mhairsinn.

'S tric tha 'm beairteas 'n a chùis-dhìtidh,
Dha na mìltean 'tha ga ghlacadh,
'Càrnadh suas le cruadh's droch-innleachd,
Cuid nan dìlleachdan gun taice:
Bi'dh a' bhanntrach dhoibh fo chìs,
'S tric a dhìobair i 'n t-each-toisich,
'S cruaidh an cridh' a bh' aig an linn
A dh' òrduich lagh cho mìllteach crosda.

Chuir iad cas air reachd na fìrinn,
'S ghluais iad dìchiollach 's an droch-bheart,
'Claoidh nam bochd 's ga 'n lot le mìorun—
Banntraich 's dìlleachdain gun choiseachd—
B' uamhasach an cleachdadh tìre,
Croich a's binn air àird gach cnocain,
Cùirt nan spleadh gun lagh, gun fhìrinn,
'S tric a dhìt' an tì 'bha neo-chiont'.

'N uair 'bhios gràs anns an luchd-riaghlaidh,
Bi'dh na h-ìochdarain làn aiteis,
'S bi'dh gach prionnsa, 's diùc, a's iarla,
'Seasamh na còir' fo sgiath a' cheartais;
Cha bhi duine bochd gun phòrsan,
'S cha bhi deòiridh truagh gun taice,
'S bi'dh gach cealgair air am fògradh,
'S cha 'n fhaigh luchd-an-fhòirneirt fasgadh.

An sin bi'dh sonas anns gach rìoghachd,
'S cùirt gach rìgh mar fhìonan taitneach,
Torach, làn le gràdh, 's le fìrinn,
'S bheir gach sluagh deagh ìobairt seachad;
Tionnda'idh 'n t-Arabach 's an t-Inns'nach,
Fa thrombaid bhinn an t-soisgeil
'S cumaidh 'm Pàp' na h-àithntean dìreach,
'S cha bhi ìomhaigh ann no croisean.

Ach bi'dh 'n soisgeul air a leughadh,
Anns a' bheus an robh e 'n toiseach,
'S bidh 'n luchd-teagaisg làn de dh' éifeachd,
'Toirt an léursainn do na bochdaibh;
'S binn am fuaim 's gach cluais 'bhi 'g éisdeachd,
Ait-sgeul aoibhinn cléir nan abstol,
Anns 'n do shuidhe iad cruinn gu léèir,
Le Spiorad Dhé 'toirt géill dha 'fhocal.

'S iad 'am bannaibh gràidh dha chéile,
Comunn spéiseil 'an deagh-choltais,
Rùnach, seirceil, làn deagh-bheusan—
Buidheann réidh nach géill do 'n drochbheart:
'S lionar uireasbhach a's feumnach,
Dha na ghléidh iad léigh gun chosdas,
Thaom gach duin' a chuid 's an déirce,
Chum an tréud a dhìon bho 'n bhochdainn.

'S thusa, 'dhuine, cluinn a's léugh so,
'S cuimhnich fhéin 'bhi céum air thoiseach,
'S thu cho pailt de stòr 's de dh' fhéudail,
'S 'Banc' gu d' ghéill, 's còig céud air ocar;
A mhéud 's ged thionail thu ri chéile,
Do mhac gun chéill 's do oighre cosdail,
B' fheàrr dhut beannachd bho luchd-déirce,
Na na dh' fhàg thu 'd dhéigh gu droch bhuil.

'S bho 'na shiùbhlas sinn gu léir
Do 'n chill bho 'n d' éirich sinn an toiseach,
Anns an uaigh 's nach luaidh sinn feudail,
'S nach bi feum againn air cosdas;
'S faoin gach fasan a's deagh éididh
'S tan' an léin' 'an téid an corp-sa,
'S ni na daola cuilm de 'n chreubhaig,
'M fad 's a mhaireas réud gun chosd dhi.

An sin, gach duine 'chuir 'san éucoir,
Buainidh iad le déuraibh goirte,
'S bi'dh an duais gu truagh mar thoill iad,
'S àrd a chluinnear caoidh an ochain;
Bi'dh an lochd 'n a chrois 's gach éudann,
'S cogais réubach fhéin ga 'n lotadh,
Sgiùrsar iad gu slochd na péine,
'S corruich Dhé mar leus ga 'n losgadh.

Ach na fìrinnich gu aoibhneas,
Crùn, a's oighreachd gheibh gach neach dhiubh,
'S còmhnuidh ait 'an teach na soillse—
'Sona soim' 'bhios cloinn na maise,
'Cliùthachadh Ur-mhac na Maighdinn,
'Choisinn saibhreas dhoibh le 'ghaisgeachd,
'S a thug buaidh bho 'n uaigh le 'threun-laimh,
'S geat' an éig le 'ghàirdean spealg E.

'S chaidh E suas le buaidh-ghàir aoibhneis,
'Dh' ullachadh dha 'chloinn an dachaidh,
'S thug E àithntean d' a luchd-muinntir,
'Uain 's a chaoraich 'stiùradh faic'lleach;
'S 'n uair a thig E rìsd 'n a mhòrachd,
'Thoirt am pòrsan do gach neach dhiubh,
An seirbhiseach rinn ceilg a's fòirneart,
Sgiùrsar e le còrdaibh goirte.

V.

Fear Shrath-Mhathaisidh was contemporary with Bean Thorra Dhamh. They may have been related to each other, but their respective lots in life were widely dissimilar. In her little hut, facing Craig Dhu, and overlooking the ancient battle-field of Invernahavon and a wide reach of the Spey, the Bean was one of the poorest of the poor, but withal of a contented, genial, and mirthful disposition—in her destitution cheering herself with the assurance that she was a "King's heiress." Mr Lachlan Macpherson, on the contrary, occupied a position of comfort and influence, as one of the most considerable tacksmen in the country. He was possessed of considerable powers of satire, which he could wield in Gaelic and English with equal facility. Scholarly and well-read he undoubtedly was. Nevertheless, his verses are usually of rough cast, and certainly do not afford pleasant reading. From the fact that old people always laughed heartily when his name or any of his pieces was mentioned, one could gather that his lampoons were keenly relished by his contemporaries. As a collaborator with Mr James Macpherson, he assisted in the redaction of "Ossian." His elegy upon Cluny of the "Forty-Five" does not contain a trace of true poetic feeling. He is at his best in the mock-heroic vein. An accomplished musician, he was in the habit of singing his compositions to his own accompaniment on the violin.

ALTACHADH,

Le Fear Shrath-Mhathaisidh.

Do Mhinistear agus Sagart, air dhoibh tighinn ga 'shealltuinn.

Thàinig oidhch' àraid de 'n t-seachduin
Dithis dhe m' chàirdean ga m' fhaicinn,
Buidheann nach bàsaich 'am peacadh,
'S buidheach air chàch, 's iad 'g a sheachnadh.
Creach gu 'n d' fhalbh iad cho luath,
'An achdan sheanachais gun ghruaim,
Comunn-tèarmuinn an t-sluaigh,
Dh' fhàsainn meamnach r'an luaidh.

Sud am pòr bu leòir am foghlum,
Anns gach seòl 'am b' eòlach daoine,
Eadar an Ròimh 's Inbhir-Aoradh,
Chaidh gibhtean na h-Eòrp' orra 'thaomadh.

Co a shaoileas nach b' fhìor,
'Sheall 'n an aodainnean riamh,
'S tric 'g am faosaid ri Dia,
A' phaidhir ghaolach gun ghiomh.

Cha 'n fhacas 'an Eirinn no 'n Sasunn,
Luchd-eaglais cho reabhairteach cleachdadh,
'Fhuair gliocas a's géire gun airceas,
'N am pearsannaibh geur-theangach gasda.
Mach mo ghlòir-sa gu bràth,
Mar bu deònach leam e,
Na'm biodh stòras gu m' làimh,
'Bhi 'toirt lòin doibh gu 'm bàs.

So a' chluas nach cual' an dithis,
Iad a' togail bruaillean dibhe,
Orra fhéin a b' fhuathach guidhe,
'S iad a ghluaiseadh cruadh's gach cridhe.
'S gu 'n d' fhuair iad an nigheadh gu glan,
Daoin'-uaisle air nach luigheadh smal.

VI.

Oran an Airgid.

Le Fear Shrath-Mhathaisidh.

Air fonn "Cabar-féidh."

'S is bochd 'an caraibh dhaoine
'S an t-saoghal 'bhi 'cogadh ris,
Gur tric an cridhe gaolach,
'S fear faoilidh ga 'chrosadh ann;
'S a dh' aindeoin meud do shaothrach,
'S trì faobhair gu cosnadh air,
Cha 'n fhiach i taing a' chiall,
Mur 'eil meud-eiginn fortain aig'.

O! 'dh' aindeoin misneachd, géiread, gliocas,
Eirigh briosg a's tapachd fir,
A's gun an t-acras 'thigh'nn cho tric,
'S tha ciataidh 's gibht an taice ris;
Mur 'eil am beairteas mar ri sin,
An lorg an fhir cha 'n fhaicear iad,
B' e am fortan ceann an fhéidh,
As an éireadh an cabar air.

'S am fear a tharras stòras,
Bi'dh mòran a' feitheamh dha,
Bi'dh meas an òlaich chòir dha,
Ge b' i 'bhròg a b' athair dha;
Biodh e crìon no gòrach,
Ro bhòsdail no slanganach,
Ged gheibhear cronail dhomhs' e,
Bheir òr dhàsan maitheanas.

'S, O! gar am faighte dheth ach facal,
'S cùirteil gasd' a labhairt ris,
Bidh ùmhlachd thaitneach 'siuchd gu 'chasaibh,
Sùrd air glacadh làmhan ann;
Bidh mùirn a's macnas, cùrsan blasda,
An taobh steach nan taighean dha,
'S cha chluinnt' am piridh fhéin
Tric an déidh air na chaitheadh e.

'S am fear a rinn an t-airgiod
O 'n eannachaille fad' aige,
'S e 'dhealbh aon léigh na h-Alba,
'S b' e 'n cealgaire bradach e;
'S e 'ghoideadh cliù a's ainm gu
Fear ainmhidh dh'an stadadh e;
'S a ghleidheadh fear do 'n t-seann mhnaoi
Air seargadh 's i prab-shuileach.

B' e sud an gaisgeach sìothchaimh 's eas-sith,
'Strìochdadh neart nan creagan da,
Fear dearg a's glas a dh' fhiaras ceartas,
Sgiathach, casach, ladarna;
Gu briathrach, tart'rach, sgeulach, stràiceil,
'Mheud 's a ghlacadh beagan dheth,
'S na'n creicteadh am bàs air féill,
Bu rud feumail gun mhagadh e.

'S O! cha 'n 'eil giomh gu chùl
Anns an ùmaidh nach leighis e;
Am fear gun chas fo 'n ghlùn air,
Bheir cùinneadh dha té-eiginn:
'S companach do 'n diùc
An seann ghrùdaire peighinneach,
'S bheir deise dhaor o 'n bhùth
Agus cùinneadh cead suidhe dha.

O ghliongain laghaich, 's maith gu faobhairt
Cléir', luchd-lagha, 's lighichean;
B' e sud an roghainn thar gach taghadh,
'Bhuair gach aghaidh 'chitheadh e;
'S gàbhaidh greighean tha 's a dhéidh,
Ge nach lobh 's nach ithear e,
'S na'n gabhadh Pàrras déidh air,
Luchd-déirce cha bu bhuidhe dhoibh.

VII.

Marbhrann do Lachlainn Mac Phearsain, Fear Shrath-Mhathaisidh.

Feasgar là air Di-dòmhnuich,
Fhuaras naidheachd 'chuir bròn òirnn,
Thu 'bhi d' luighe gun chòmhradh,
'Fhuirbidh fhlathail gun mhòrchuis,
Dh'an robh tathach luchd-còlais,
Ursann chath thu 'n tìm dòruinn
'S tròm an ionndrain do d' sheòrs' thu dhe 'n dìth.
'S tròm, &c.

Ann an drip, no 'n tìm fòirneirt,
Co dha measar do chòta,
'N cliù, 's 'am misneachd, 's 'an seòltachd,
Fhuair thu gibht o aois d' òige,
Ciall, a's gliocas, a's eòlas,
D' inntinn fhiosrach 's gach foghlum,
D' fhìrinn-s' sheasadh mar chòir o làimh 'n rìgh.
D' fhìrinn, &c.

Ann an coinneamh no 'n còmhdhail,
Co ni soilleir 's a' chòir sinn,
Chaill sinn coinneal ga 'leòghadh,
Tha sian doill' òirnn air dòrtadh;
Tùs an fhoghair-s' a leòn sinn,
Ghearr e 'choille 'n a h-òigead,
Crann de 'n darach, bàrr-meòir as a' chraoibh.
Crann de 'n, &c.

VIII.

ORAN,

LEIS AN T-SEARSAN MAC CUINN D'A LEANNAN.

As do m' chadal! cha bheag m' airsneal,
Ga d' acain a ghràidh,
'N déis domh d' fhaicinn na m' ghlacaibh,
Eadar mo dhà làimh:
Sud an aisling, bho nach ceartaich
M' aigne gu là bhràth;
Tha sàighdean Chupid, gu geur guineach,
Umam 'dol 'an sàs.

'S ge b' e 'chì na chunnaic mis',
Cha b' ann gun fhios domh bhà;
Do chùl donn dualach, bachlach, snuadhar,
Lom-làn chuach gu 'bhàrr;
Thugas ceisd, a's cha bu bheag i,
'Mhnaoi nan leadan tlà,
'S i 'n ùr-shlat bhuadhach nach faigh uam-sa
Cridhe fuar gu bràth.

'S an gaol a thugas dut o shean,
Air teannadh rinn as ùr;
'An àite dìomhair, 'tigh'nn fainear,
Cha 'n fheud mi 'chleith na's mù;
'S fheudar dhà bristeadh a mach,
Olc air mhaith sud duinn,
Tha creuchdan foidh aisnibh mo chléibh,
Nach leighis léigh ach thu.

Thugas gaol, 's gu 'm b' e 'n gaol buan,
Do bhean nan cuach-fhalt tlà,
Ma 's gaol e a mhaireas buan,
'S e 's pàidheadh duais dha 'm bàs;
Ma 's nì e a mhaireas tric,
A' leantuinn rium gach là,
O! fios aice mi 'bhi gu tinn,
'S nach farraid i dé 'm fàth.

'Chunnas aisling ann am bruadar,
'S bochd a ghluais sud mis';
'Bhi ga d' fhaicinn 'tarruing suas
Do ghaol a bhuair mi tric:

Do chas fo 'n ghlùn, a's maisich' tlus
A' dol air ùrlar àrd,
A' Rìgh nan dùl! dean réite cùis,
'S leig dhuinn a bhi mar bhà.

'S tu pears' a's àilte 'tha fo 'n ghréin,
Mar 's léur le gach aon neach;
Fhuair thu urram 'bhàrr air cheud
'An ciataidh a's 'an dreach:
Sùil ghorm fo d' rosg, do ghruaidh mar chorcur,
'S gil' do chorp na sneachd;
'S e fàth do sprochd a rinn mo lochd,
'S mi air mo lot a steach.

As do m' chadal! thug mi 'n gràdh
A chuir gu làr mo mheas;
M' fhuil a' taomadh as mo phòraibh,
M' osnadh mhòr 's i tric;
'S e dìth do phòige 'dh' fhàg fo leòn mi,
'M fad 's is beò mi nis,
'S a chaoidh cha phòs mi, ach ri còirneal
'Bhios ri fòirneart tric.

IX.

Oran a rinn Fleasgach Og Da 'Leannan.

Ach Iseabail donn nighean Dòmhnuill sin,
Bu deònach leinn na'n géilleadh tu,
Bean na meall-shùil' mòdharaich,
Bu nàbuidh leinn mar chéile thu.
Do mhuineal cearc'llach bòidheach ort,
Mu 'n iadh an t-òmar léursainneach,
'S gu 'm b' fheàrr leam féin ri 'phòsadh thu,
Na òighreachd Sheòrs' a's déidh oirre.

'S, O! 's maith thig gùn a's buile-còt'
Do 'n ainnir mhaiseach ùrailteach,
A's staidhis bhreac de 'n chalico
Mu d' bhroilleach geal fo ùr-fhallus.
Tha liuthad buaidh an òircheaird ort,
'S bu roghadh seòid na siùbhlachain,
Do chùl mar theudaibh ceòlmhor,
'S mo chridhe trom 'g a ghiùlan sud.

'N àm dhùsgadh nan teud ceòlmhor sin,
Mu 'n òigh bu bhòidhche siùbhlachain,
Le do bhròig dhìonaich phòranaich,
Mu n troigh nach leòint' an drùchd leatha:
Gur truagh nach mi th' air m' òrduchadh
'S an fhóid an taobh-sa Mhùideart leat,
Mo chridhe ta air seargadh as
Mar chraoibh fo stoirm ri dùbh-ghaillionn.

Mo chridhe truagh air leònadh leat,
A rùin, am beò, no 'n dùisgear thu?
Thusa 'bhi 'n ad ònar
A thigh'nn òirnn le sòlas urallais:
'S i bean a's grinne mala i,
'S gu 'n còrdainn fhéin gu dlùthar riut,
'S cha 'n iarrainn leat do stòras, ach
An nì 'bu deòin le d' mhuinntir e.

Ach marbhphaisg air an stòras sin,
Tha sluagh an t-seòrsa déidheil air;
Ach sinne 'n so tha sòmhail dheth,
Na Dòmhnullaich cha léur dhoibh sinn:
Ach Iseabail 'bhi ga diùltadh dhomh,
Mar chrann 's a' chléith cha 'n fhiù leò mi,
'S gu 'n d' fhàg sud m' acain dùbailte,
Ma 's nì 'chuir cùl gu léir rium i.

Ach marbhphaisg air an earras,
'S tric a dh' fhàg e m' aire leòinte dheth,
Ged robh ciall 'an ceangal ris,
Cha dean iad dheth ach neò-dhuine;
Ged robh géire 's tuigse aige,
Cha 'n fhiù e 'labhairt còmhradh air,
Ach ma bhios faob de 'n t-saoghal aige,
Faobh! faobh! 's leòlach e.

'S cha 'n 'eil sinn ach glé phaisdeachail,
Tha dearbh-fhios agam féin air sud,
Nach deach nar stòr an àirdead òirnn,
'S gur leanabaidh leò le chéile sinn;
Na 'n gleidheadh sibh trì bliadhna i,
Bu neo-iarguineach m'a déidhinn mi,
'S gu 'n saoilinn féin gu 'm b' fhiach mi i
A's cupall cheud a dh' fheudail leath'.

'S a nighean thoir an aire,
Gu 'n deach aithris feadh na dùthcha òirnn,
'S o'n 's nì nach fheud mi 'cheiltinn e,
Gu 'n leig mi 'mach gu sunndach e;
Mar each ga m' thilg' air àilean,
Ma thèarnas mi gun chiùrradh dheth
Cha dean iad ach adhbhar-ghàire dheth,
Mar fhear dh' an gnàth 'bhi ùmadail.

'S, O! sguiridh mi, 's cha lean mi e,
Cha nàir' dhomh bean 'thoirt diùltadh dhomh,
Ged rach' a' choill' an tainead òirnn,
Tha mìle slat fo ùralas;
Ma dh' fhaoidte gu 'm beil ainnir ann
Cho banail 's 'tha 's an dùthaich-sa,
A bheireadh gaol a's stòras dhomh,
Ge gòrach mi 'n ur sùilibh-se.

'S a Mhaighistir chòir ghaolaich sin,
Dh'an robh mi daonnan dùrachdach,
Tha m' fhuil a's m' fheòil 'an càirdeas riut,
Mar leannan mnà gu dùbailte:
'S ma chluinn thu neach 'toirt tàire dhomh,
Leig fios do chàch gur fiù leat mi,
'S gur leam 'an seasamh facail thu,
Ma thig e grad as ùr òirnne.

'S tha mo dhùil 'an Rìgh na glòrach,
Gu 'm beil Es' a' gabhail cùraim as,
'S nach 'eil e ann ar coireachan,
Na threòraicheas ar cùiseanan;
'S na 'm faighinn céile òrduichte,
Gu 'n tugainn pòrsan dùbailt' dhi,
'S ged bheireadh sibhse Iseabail domh,
Cha bhrisd e bonn de chuibhrionn oirr'.

X.

ORAN A CHAIDH 'DHEANAMH DO MHNAOI-UASAIL ARAID.

Air fonn òrain "Iain Bhàn Gutṛaidh."

'S mòr mo mhulad 's mo smuairean,
O'n a dhealaich mo rùn rium Dì-luain,
Geug nan dearr-chuilinn rùineach
A chuireadh m' airteal air ionndraichinn bhuam;

Deud mar chailc is math dunnidh [sic] [dùnadh]
'S cùbhraidh' d' anail na ùbhlan ga 'm buain
B' anns' leam d' fhaotainn gun chuinnlein,
Na 'bhi m' oighr' air a' chruinne 's tu bhuam.

Bhuam cha bhitheadh an éuchdag
Air na chunna mi dh' fhéudail 's do shluagh,
Beul thu 's binne ri éisdeachd
Na ceòl 'spinet' a's teud-fhoclaich' fuaim;
Gnùis a's gil' thu fo d' éididh
Na cobhar eala 's i 'g éiridh 's a' chuan,
'S gann ri 'n sireadh bean d' aogais
Anns gach fine is léur dhomh mu 'n cuairt.

Sgeul a th' agam ri innseadh,
Gu 'm beil seachduin a thìm anns gach uair,
Gus an aisig deagh nì thu
Chum do theacha le fìrinn a's stuaim:
Ged ghlasd' mi 'am prìosan,
Gun tigh'nn as gus an tìll thu ri luath's,
Cha bhiodh m' airtneal 's mo thiomachd
Ach mar thachair bho 'n dh' imich thu bhuam.

'S mis' an duine gun léursainn,
Nach do bheachdaich do bheusan 's an tràth
A chaidh seachad le chéil' oirnn,
'N tràth 'bha dreach nan ùr-gheug air ar blàth;
Ach 's e thachair cha léir duinn
Ni, na feartan tha 'g éirigh do ghnàth,
Gus an sgapar bho chéil' sinn
'S gu faicear leinn dealbhadh na bh' ann.

Ach na dh' fhalbh 's na chaidh seachad
Cha 'n 'eil feum 'bhi ga 'acain le gruaim,
'S feàrr an t-aon eun a ghlacadh,
Na na mìltean th' air seacharan uainn;
An là tìmeil a th' againn,
Ni sinn dìchioll a chleachdadh le stuaim,
'S dar thig tìm dhuinn dol dachaidh,
Bi'dh sinn cinnte' gu faigh sinn ar duais.

'S bi'dh ar duais mar ar currachd,
Ma 's e cluaran no cruithneachd am pòr,
Teanntar sguaban gach duine
Chum an teampuill, a chuir an so 'chòir;

'S an tì 'ghluais le cruaidh-mhuineal,
Théid a bhualadh le iomadach còrd,
'S tha a' bhinn uamhasach ullamh,
"Imich uam-sa gu h-ionad a' bhròin."

XI.

ORAN A RINNEADH DO NIGHINN OIG LE 'LEANNAN.

Fonn:—Mo chailinn ghrinn, mheall-shùileach, dhubh,
'S toigh leam fhéin cruinneag a' chruidh,
'Chailinn ghrinn, mheall-shùileach,
Air m' alluinn! thug mi spéis dut.

Tha mulad mòr tha pràmh orm,
Nach faod mi 'dhol do 'n àiridh,
Nach faod mi suidhe làimh riut,
Air eagal cach ga 'leughadh.

Na 'm biodh mo chaileag deònach,
Cha chumadh cléir no stòr sinn,
Gu 'n rachainn leat a phòsadh
Thar m' eòlas a Dhunéidinn.

Tha mìothlachd air mo chàirdean,
O'n a dhùraiginn do phòsadh,
Ach ciamar ni mi 'àicheadh,
'S gu 'n d' thug thu gràdh do réir dhomh.

Tha nise bliadhn' a's còrr,
O'n a dhùraiginn do phòsadh,
'S an gaol a thug mi 'n lò sin,
An diugh cho beò 's an ceud là.

Gu 'n innsinn duibh a h-aogas,
Dà ghruaidh cho dearg 's an caorunn,
A dà shùil chorrach chaogach,
Fo mhala chaol na peucaig.

'N uair 'rachadh tu na bhuaile
A leigeil a' chruidh ghuallaich
'S e ceòl a's binne chualas
Do dhuanagan 'g an éisdeachd.

'N uair a thig am foghar
Théid thu n' bhuaile le d' chuid soithichean,
Gu 'm bi na laoigh 's a' ghreighinn,
Air do dheaghaidh anns a' ghéumnaich.

XII.

The Macdonells of Greenfield were a cadet family of the House of Glengarry. This ode was composed in honour of Alexander Macdonell and of his brother. Alexander emigrated to Canada in 1792, where his descendants have occupied good positions. Mrs Grant of Laggan says of this Alexander that "he was celebrated in the latter part of the last century for his handsome person, his courtly manners, his exploits as a deer-stalker, and general character as a model of the Highland gentleman living in his time." Now, he is worthily represented by his great-grandson, Mr John A. Macdonell, barrister, Toronto, Canada.

ORAN A RINNEADH DO DH' ALASDAIR ACHAIDH-UAINE,

AGUS D' A BHRATHAIR.

Le Niall Mac Ualraig. 1792.

Fonn:—Tha mi trom, duilich trom,
Airsnealach, cianail,
Tha mi trom, duilich trom;
Cha tog m' inntinn leam fonn,
Tha mo chrìdh' air fàs trom,
'S fada o'n tìm sin.

Gu 'm bheil mise fo mhulad,
Ge nach innis mi 'dhuin' e,
O nach fhaod mi mo ghunna
'Thoirt a h-uile taobh 'théid mi.

Ach ma tha e 's an òrdugh
Gu 'n téid sinn air bòrd leat,
Gu 'm faigh sinn deagh spòrs
'An Nobha Scotia mu 'n tìll sinn.

'S ma tha 'n dàn duinn 'dhol thairis
'S gu 'm buannaich sinn caladh,
'S ioma fear 'bhios a' farraid
Co e 'n talamh dhe 'm bìdh sinn.

'S mise 'dh' fhaodadh a ghràdhainn,
Ge nach sine na càch mi,
Gur mi 'chunnaic na làithibh
Air a' chearna so 'n rìoghachd.

O'n a chuir iad dhe 'n làraich
Ainm Alasdair Bhàillidh,
Agus Aonghais a bhràthair,
Cha bu tàireil an dìth's iad.

Gur e 'mheudaich mo ghruaman,
Fear a' dol an taobh tuath dhiùbh,
Fear a' togairt thar chuan diùbh,
Sgeul a's cruaidh' leam ri ìnns' e.

Fhir a théid thar a' bhealach,
Beir an t-soraidh uam thairis,
Gu ceann-chnoic a' Mhàime—
Gheibhear aighear na frìth ann.

Thoir an t-soraidh le dùrachd,
Gu muinntir na dùthcha,
'S iad nach cluinneadh sgeul diùmach,
Air mo chulthaobh gun ìnnseadh.

XIII.

These highly complimentary verses were addressed to Mr Alexander Macpherson, writer, then residing at Faicheam, in Glengarry. His father, who belonged to Badenoch, became a merchant in Inverness, where he is still referred to as Bailie Donald Macpherson, senior. The Bailie returned to his native country when advanced in years, and died at Drumghealaghaidh in 1802. He is buried in the middle church-yard.

Oran do dh' Alasdair Mac-a-Phearsain ann am Faicheam—1791.

Le Niall Mac Ualraig.

Fonn:—Gum a slan do 'n Phearsanach,
Tha 'thamh an dràsd' am Faicheaman,
Thug làrach air an Fhasadh dhomh,
An uair a dh' fhairtlich càch orm.

Na'm bitheadh tu 'n ad uachdaran,
Bu mhaith an ceann do 'n tuath thu,
Cha bhitheadh tu 'g am fuadach uat,
'S e 'm buachailleachd a b' fheàrr leat.

Na'm faighinn-sa gu m' dhùrachd,
Thu bhi 'd 'fhactor' air an dùthaich-sa,
Bu chinnteach mi gu 'n tionndadh tu
Gach dùthchasach gu 'n àbhaist.

'S tu cheannsaicheadh na cìobairean,
'S a b' urrainn a thoirt strìochdadh asd',
Gu 'n d' fhàg thu iad cho sìobhalta,
'S cho mìn duit ris an làmhainn.

Bu ghòrach iad 'n an riaghailte,
A' teannadh ri cur mìothlachd ort,
'S gu 'm buaileadh tu 's an fhiacaill,
'M fear a's miadhail' anns an àit' dhiubh.

Cha 'n 'eil anns an t-siorrachd dhiubh
Na sgrìobhas cho maith litir riut,
Cho eòlach, no cho fiosrach,
No cho tuigseach anns gach nàdur.

Tha gliocas ann ad inntinn,
A b' fheàirde còrr is mìle dhiubh,
Tha 'na do phearsa 'dh-innleachda,
Na chumadh strì gu bràth riu.

Cha 'n eòl domh cron ri àireamh ort,
Gur cuimir glan an t-àrmunn thu,
'N uair 'théid thu 'n deise Ghàidhealaich,
Gur àilleagan mnà òig' thu.

'S math thig féileadh-breacain duit,
Còta geàrr 's an fhasan, mar ri
Boineid dhùbh-ghorm thartanach,
Mu 'n Phearsanach is bòidhche.

Gur marcach air each sunndach thu,
B' e sud an cridhe fiùghantach,
Gur companach do dhiùc thu
'Tha ri chunntas 's an Roinn-Eòrpa.

XIV.

The Glengarry Fencibles were raised by Mac 'Ic Alasdair, who obtained letters of service in August, 1794. Writing of this regiment, Stewart of Garth says:—"This was a handsome body

of men. More than one half was enlisted from the estate of Glengarry. Jersey and Guernsey were the principal stations of this corps till reduced in 1802, after which event the greater part of the Glengarry men emigrated, with their families and relations, to Canada, where they settled in a district which they have called by the name of their native glen. Every head of a family gave the name of his farm in Glengarry to his plantation in his adopted country. They also engaged two clergymen, who preach and instruct them in Gaelic, which is the only language in use in their community. An honourable trait of their native character was exhibited last war. They turned out in such numbers that, along with some other emigrants, and the sons of emigrants, they formed a numerous, brave, and highly effective corps, called the Glengarry Fencibles, of whose good conduct, in Canada, the 'London Gazette' affords satisfactory evidence."

Oran do Mhac Mhic Alasdair, agus Da 'Chuideachd.

Le Niall Mac Ualraig.

Fonn:—Hill, u, hillinn, o, ro,
Hill, u, hillo, gun dhealaich sinn,
Hill, u, o, a ho eile,
Gu 'm b' éibhinn an sealladh ud.

Tha recruitigeadh an dràsd'
Anns gach àit' tha mi 'faineachdainn,
'S gur ioma té 'bhios cràiteach,
Mu 'n téid an ràith-s' thairis oirr'.

'S tha nìonagan fo ghruaim
O 'n là ghluais an cuid leannanan,
'Toirt mallachd air na Fràngaich,
'S e 'n campa 'bu chiontach ris.

Gur ioma' fleasgach cùl-donn,
Tha 'n dùil 'bhi 's a' charraid ud;
Ach beannachd ur luchd-dùthcha
Ga 'r stiùradh gu 'r Gearasdan.

Tha Uachdaran na tìre
Cho cinnteach 'n a ghealladh dhoibh,
'S nach tig an là a chì sibh
E 'dìobairt air fear aca.

Ach, ghillean, bithibh sìobhalt',
Gu mìogarra [sic] farasda,
A's feuch nach toir sibh mì-chliu,
No spìd do Mhac-'ic-Alasdair.

Ach, 'ghillean, bithibh suairce,
Gun tuasaid gun charraidean,
Gun mhisg, gun dad a bhruaillean,
Gun togail suas ri caileagan.

Ach beannachd Dhé mu 'n cuairt duibh
'N àm gluasaid 'n ur rancanaibh,
Piseach agus buaidh
Air na ghluais leis a' Gharrannach.

Bu dùthchas duit an cruadal,
'S bu dual duit bho d' shean-athair e,
Bu chliùiteach anns an ruaig e,
An uair 'bha Sliabh Chlamhain ann.

XV.

MARBHRANN DO MHAC MHIC AILEIN A CHAIDH A MHARBHADH AIR SLIABH-AN-T-SIORRAIMH.

Moch 's a' mhaduinn 's mi 'm dhùisg',
Gu bheil m' aigne gun sunnd,
Gach aon naidheachd ga 'n cluinn' cha 'n fheàirde sinn.
Gach aon naidheachd, &c.

Fàth mo mhulaid 's mo bhéud,
Sir Dòmhnull á Sléibht,
'Bhi gun fhearann, 's e sgeul a's cràitich' leam.
'Bhi gun fhearann, &c.

Latha Shiorraimh, mu 'n fhraoich,
Chaidh sgapadh 's na laoich,
Tha fir ghasda mo ghaoil ga 'n sàrachadh.
Tha fir ghasda, &c.

Air ur tilleadh a nìos,
Bha fàth ur n-ionndraichinn shìos,
Mac-Mhic-Ailein, 's bu dìobhail chàirdean e.
Mac-Mhic-Ailein, &c

Tha do chàirdean dheth bochd,
'S do dhaoin'-uaisle fo sprochd,
'S e Rìgh Seumas an t-Ochd a shàraich sinn.
'S e Rìgh Seumas an t-Ochd, &c.

'Ailein aigeantaich, fhuair thu
'N là ud urram 's bu dual,
Call gun bhuidhnean 's an uair 'an d' fhàg sinn thu.
Call gun bhuidhnean, &c.

Clogaid suas air do cheann,
Sgiath nan dual air do làimh,
Claidheamh cruadhach gun taing gu sàr-dhìoladh.
Claidheamh cruadhach, &c.

Bha Mac-Coinnich 's a neart,
Mus 'n do tharruing iad ceart,
Gu 'n d' fhuair maoim nan each glasa bàireadh òirnn.
Gu 'n d' fhuair, &c.

Seumas Mòr 'an robh 'chiall,
Air nar ceann a's sinn ciar,
'S àrd a leumadh iad shios 's gu 'n chràidh iad sinn.
'S àrd a leumadh, &c.

'S gur e mo rùn am fear ruadh
Bu mhaith gu brosnachadh sluaigh,
'S cha bu chladhaire 'n uair a chramhain [sic] e.
'S cha bu chladhaire, &c.

'S misneachd mhaith 'an càs cruaidh,
Gur tric a choisinn e buaidh,
An Tì dhe 'n goirear an t-Uan, 's E 'shàbhalas;
An Tì dhe 'n goirear, &c.

'S a sgoilt a' Mhuir Ruadh,
'S a choisinn Pàrras da 'shluagh,
'N diugh tha 'ghàirdean cho cruaidh 's a b' àbhaist dha.
'N diugh tha 'ghàirdean, &c.

XVI.

The poetry of Iain Lòm was not taken down in writing until several generations of those who could recite it had passed away. The result has been most unfortunate. Individual reciters, being

more or less possessed of the bardic spirit themselves, often substituted words—nay lines—of their own in place of what they had been taught. As verses passed from lip to lip, they became so transmogrified that the original composer would have disowned them with that scathing scorn which he could so readily command. The text of his poetry, as we have it in the collections, is hopelessly corrupt. The following ode, in so far as it can be deciphered, is an illustration of this fact. An independent version of any poem by Iain Lòm is but rarely met with. This one dates from 1790-1800:—

A bhean nach leasaich thu 'n stòp dhuinn,
'S lion an cùpa le sòlas,
Tha mi toileach a h-òl as,
Taisg is branndi no beòir i,
Deoch-slàinte Captain Chlann Dòmhnuill,
'S e Sir Alasdair òg o'n a' Chaol.
'S e Sir Alasdair, etc.

'S gach neach nach toilich a h-òl as
Gun tuit an t-suil mu 'n a' bhòrd as,
Tha mo dhurachd do 'n òg-fhear,
Crann cubhraidh Chlann Dòmhnuill,
Dh' fhàs humhlidh (?) o mheòraibh [ubhallach?]
Righ nan dùl ga do chòmhnadh fhir chaoimh.
Righ nan dùl, etc.

Greas gu math feadh an tigh i,
Chor 's gu 'n ghluais'maid ga caithidh,
Le sliochd uasal an athar,
Choisinn cruadal le claidheamh,
'S fir ga 'n ruagadh 's ga 'n caithidh gu daor.
'S fir ga 'n ruagadh, etc.

Gur slat de dh' abhaill nan stéud thu,
Dh' fhàs gu flaitheasach féumail,
O shliochd Artair na féile,
Bha riamh a' tathaich an Eirinn,
Ged chuir an claidheamh 's an t-éug oirbh sgrìob.
Ged chuir an claidheamh, etc.

Gur siol na'm milidh 's na'm fearra,
Na stròil, nam piob 's na 'n cuil gheala,
Chuireadh sioda ri crannaibh;

'N uair bu rioghaile talla,
Bhiodh pic riomhach nam meallan na téinn.
Bhiodh pic riomhach, etc.

'S gum biodh t-iubhair ga lùbadh,
A chuireadh siubhal fa Iùthaidh,
Anns an uighe gun chùram,
'Dol a shiubhal nan stùc-bheann,
Aig a' bhuidhionn le 'n ruisgteadh na gill.
Aig a' bhuidhionn, etc.

'S gu'm beil mo dhùil anns an Trianaid,
Aidh ni bhuinnean (?) air siol duinn,
Gun tig duilleach bho 'n iar oirnn,
Slat de 'n chuilionna cheudainn,
Dh' fhasas curanta ciallach,
'S a sheasas duineil air beulaobh an righ.
'S a sheasas duineil, etc.

'S gur mor mo bhàigh riut a dhuine,
Na b' iùl dhomh àireamh le cumaisg,
'S mu gach ti thàinig umad,
Bu dual nàdurra dhuinne;
'S gum bi mi làidir nur buille chuir libh.
'S gum bi mi, etc.

A mhic Sir Shéumais nam bratach,
Bho Dhun Shleibhtich nam bradan,
Cum do réit' air a cosaibh,
Fos cionn céile fir d' aiteam;
Bi gu réusanta, macanta, mìn.
Bi gu réusanta, etc.

'S e bu dual duit bho d' aiteam
Ceol cluasaibh is caismeachd,
Fir uasal nan glas-lann,
Bhi 'tarruing suas mu do bhrataich,
'N am éirigh 's a' mhaduinn,
Dha 'm b' shuaicheantas barr gagain an fhraoich.
Dha 'm b' shuaicheantas, etc.

Chruaidh shile nan ròiseal,
Cheanna-fhine Chlann Dòmhnuill,
Gum a ceanalt' an t-òig-fhear,
Anns gach ionad 's 'm bu chòir dha,
Far an seinnear libh ceòlta na pìob'.
Far an seinnear, etc.

Bi long is leomhann is bradan
Air chuàn linneach an daigeir (?) [an aigeil?]
Chraobh fhigis gun ghaiseadh,
Chuireadh fion bhuaithe 'm pailteas—
Làmh dhearg agus gaisgich nach tìll.
Làmh dhearg agus, etc.

'S dar a ghluaiste fa sheòl i
Bhiodh cruinne ghasd air dheagh chòrcaich,
'S bhiodh do fhleasgaichean òga
'G iomart chleas is ga seòladh
'N uair a thogta libh rò-sheol bho thir.
'N uair a thogta, etc.

'N uair a ghluaiste fo luchd i
Bhiodh tarruing suas air a cuipleadh,
Breid suas ri 'n bruasadh, (?)
Bòrd fuar re stuath cuipe, (?)
Muir mu gualaibh 's i druideadh (?) le gaoith.
Muir mu, etc.

Gu Dun-Tuilm nam fear fallain,
Far 'm bu ghreadhnach luchd-ealaidh,
Gabhail fàilte le caithream,
As na clàrsaichibh glana,
Fir is danaibh ga 'n leanail
Agus mnaoi nan teud banala binn.
Agus mnaoi, etc.

'S 'n am oidhche dhaibh bhuinne (?)
Gum biodh do theaghlach gleidh shuimeil, (?)
Air a soillse 's bu chuidh, (?) [chubhaidh?]
Bheir na coinnlean gun uille, (?)
Piosan 'fine' làn bhuidhe de 'n fhion. (?)
Piosan 'fine,' etc.

'S dar bu sgìth sinn ga 'r . . . . [MS. unreadable]
Gum biodh na Biobuill ga 'n léughadh,
Am fior-chreideamh céille,
Mar a mhìnich Mac Dhé iad,
'S gheibhte teagasg na Cléir bhuaibh le sìth.
'S gheibhte teagasg, etc.

Gum a slan 's gum a h-iomlan
Do gach ti tha mi 'g iomradh,
'S do dh-fhuil dìlis Righ-Fionghall,

Agus oighre Dhun-Tuilm sin,
'S dh-òlt' an deoch-s' air do chuilm gun bhi sgìth.
'S dh-òlt' an deoch-s', etc.

Obscure in parts, and otherwise unspeakably bad, as is the above version, it will be found useful towards forming a more complete and correct text than we have at present, and perhaps some of the unreadable words, which have been reproduced as faithfully as possible, may yet be made to yield their meanings.

The following is the paper read by Mr William Mackay on 31st March, 1898, and referred to in Volume XXII. of the "Transactions," p. 325 :—

AN INVERNESS MERCHANT OF THE OLDEN TIME.

I. Introductory.

From the earliest period of which we have any historical knowledge, Inverness has been the principal town in the territory which we now know as the Highlands. In the sixth century it was the capital of the kingdom of the Northern Picts, and at or near it was the king's palace, to which St Columba made his memorable journey in 565. From its position at the head of the Moray Firth, and at the crossing of the ancient routes from the east to the west and from the north to the south, its standing as a trade centre must always have been an important one. Long before the Norseman or the Saxon visited our shores Pictish merchants bought and sold within its narrow bounds, and supplied the men of the hills and glens with such rude wares as were at their command, in exchange for the produce of the country and the spoils of the chase. The union of the kingdoms of the Picts and the Scots introduced fresh blood, greatly to the advantage of trade; and the little town's prosperity was further increased by the settlement of Flemish and Frisian immigrants. The remote community was favoured and protected by the early Scottish kings, and charters bestowing exceptional rights and privileges on the burgh were granted by William the Lion and his successors. After that king's time Saxon names prevailed among the burgesses, but Celts are also found—descendants of the old inhabitants, remaining Pictish in blood, but now speaking the Gaelic instead of the Pictish tongue. The foreign settlers inter-

married with native families, and in time became more Celt than Saxon. The view that Inverness was a Saxon colony is only partially correct, and there is no ground for the assumption that the general Highlander was an enemy to the community. A Lord of the Isles or an Earl of Ross might, in the course of his wars and feuds, attack Inverness Castle and the town which flourished under its wing, just as he attacked the castles of Urquhart and Ruthven and the districts protected by them. But the Highland Capital existed for the benefit and convenience of the Highlands, and the fact was fully appreciated by chief and clansman alike. For a long period, it is true, the Saxon took more kindly to trade than the Celt, who rejoiced more in the free and open life of the country; but the Celt's prejudice against town life and commercial pursuits gradually wore away, and by the sixteenth century we find men of Gaelic names generally engaged as merchants, churchmen, and lawyers, not only in our burgh, but all over the Highlands. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while we meet such well-known Inverness names as Vass, Cuthbert, Schivez, Dunbar, Barbour, Hossack, Alves, and Inglis, which reveal their Saxon or at least their southern origin, although they were frequently borne by men in whose veins much Celtic blood flowed, we also find that the great majority of the traders and business men bore Gaelic names, or names which had come to be considered Gaelic. Many of those Highlanders were small lairds, or the younger sons of larger lairds. The families of Mackintosh and Grant gave prominent merchants to Inverness; the Chisholms of Strathglass, the Cummings of Dulshangie in Glen-Urquhart, and the Macleans of Dochgarroch, gave merchants and lawyers; and as an instance of historical repetition, I may be allowed to mention that my own great-great-grandfather, John Mackay, laird of Achmonie, in Glen-Urquhart, practised law in Inverness from about 1680 till after 1715, and that he acted as solicitor in connection with the Grant estates in that glen, as I happen to do to-day. The Forbeses of Culloden and the Robertsons of Inshes found the ancient burgh a profitable field of enterprise; and among the gentlemen who came from a greater distance was Alexander Stuart, of the family of Kinchardine in Strathspey, who settled as a merchant in Inverness about the middle of the seventeenth century, and whose son, Bailie John Stuart (or Steuart, as he wrote the name), was a merchant of position in the town from about 1700 till 1752.

Early travellers and writers have pictured the Highlands and the condition of the Highland people in gloomy colours, and if their accounts are true we must believe that our forefathers were the most miserable of men. There is, however, no ground for such belief. The men who described the Highlands in the old days were English or Lowland Scots, and before the time of Oliver Cromwell few of them ventured within the Highland bounds. Their descriptions are mainly founded upon the marvellous tales which floated among the Lowlanders concerning the "Wild Scots" who inhabited the mountains, and are not to be relied upon for historical accuracy. Even after Cromwell's soldiers made the Highlands comparatively well known, the Southrons who visited them and recorded their experiences strained after the marvellous to an extent which renders their accounts unreliable. Burt's Letters have been taken seriously by historians, and Lord Macaulay founded upon them his picturesque but untrustworthy description of Inverness and the Highlands at the time of the Revolution. But Burt, who wrote for the amusement of a friend in England, and perhaps also for his own, exaggerated greatly, and in many points his picture is a caricature. The mountains and glens are still with us, and we know that the mountains are not so high or the glens so dark and deep as he depicts them. We know that a traveller from Inverness to the barracks of Bernera in Glenelg had not to ride over the stupendous perpendicular precipices or through the bottomless bogs which he encountered, and that there is no lake in Strathglass which is so high and so shut in by top-joining mountains that the sun's rays never reach it, and that it is covered with ice all the year round. We also know that Highland eagles do not steal colts and calves. These pictures, which he draws of the country, are not more distorted than his picture of the town. According to him, Inverness was a collection of thatched and almost windowless hovels. The letter-books of Bailie John Stuart, upon which this paper is chiefly based,[1] tell us that large cargoes of slates and consignments of glass, were regularly brought into Inverness long before Burt's time, as well as during his years of residence in the town.[2] Well built and commodious houses, which he daily

[1] These letter-books cover the period from 1715 to 1752. For the use of them I am indebted to the courtesy of the Bailie's descendant, W. Hay-Newton, Esq., of Newton, East Lothian.

[2] According to the introduction to his Letters, Burt came to Inverness about 1730. He himself, however, states that he was there in 1725. He repeatedly appears in the Bailie's letter-books between 1726 and the end of 1729.

saw during those years, still stand, and more of a similar character have only been swept away within living memory. The plan which he himself gives of the burgh, and which is drawn from a careful survey, shows it to have been a regularly-built town of four main streets—Bridge Street, East Street (High Street), Castle Street, and Church Street. In those streets the merchants and lawyers had their residences and shops and offices—Bailie John Stuart's house being about the middle of Church Street. It appears to have been a prominent building. On 26th September, 1721, the magistrates and town council, in appointing constables for the ensuing year, allocated the part of Church Street above the Bailie's house to Alexander Fraser and William Binnie, and the part of the street below his house to John Gibson and John Monro.

The export trade of Inverness consisted from early times of cattle, horses, fish, skins, wool, and furs. According to Boece, "mony wild hors" were reared in the Loch Ness district, and we know from other sources that that was the case. He also tells us that in the same district there were "mony martrikis [martens], bevers, quhitredis [weasels], and toddis [foxes]; the furringis and skinnis of thaim ar coft [bought] with gret price amang uncouth marchandis." Native timber, floated down from Glenmoriston and Loch Ness-side, or from the glens of Strathglass, was also exported, or made into trading vessels, or into galleys for the chiefs and chieftains of the Hebrides and the West Coast. As early as 1249, the Earl of St. Pol and Blois had built for him in Inverness a "wonderful ship," which carried himself and his followers to the Holy Land. In exchange for the exports, the manufactures and productions of England and the South of Scotland, and of the Continent, were brought to Inverness, and sent into the glens. In 1578, Leslie, Bishop of Ross, describes our burgh as "a toune nocht of smal reputatione"; but in common with other Scottish towns it for years suffered severely from the removal of the Scottish Court to London in 1603, and from the wars and troubles of the reign of Charles the First; and Tucker, who in 1655 prepared a Report for Cromwell on the Scottish ports, records that there was then connected with our town only one merchant and one small vessel. But it soon entered on a new career of prosperity, and the correspondence of Bailie Stuart shows that in his time it had an extensive home and foreign trade. Neighbouring chiefs and lairds had their town houses within its bounds and sent their boys to its grammar school, the annual

"haranguing" at which was an event of interest. That school was not its only educational institution. In 1752 the Bailie writes to a married daughter in the South:—"Wee have verie good schools of all kinds here, and vast many young girles sent here to be educat."

II. Bailie John Stuart.

The Barons of Kinchardine were of royal descent, the first of them being Walter Stewart, son of Alexander Stewart, the Wolf of Badenoch, who was a son of King Robert the Second. Walter was knighted for his valour at the battle of Harlaw, and he and his descendants continued to hold their beautiful estate in Strathspey until 1661, when it was sold to the Gordons. The eighth Baron was also named Walter, and from him was descended the Bailie, who was the son of Alexander, son of Robert Og, son of Robert, son of Walter. In the Bailie's veins there flowed not only royal blood, but also the blood of the chiefs of Grant, Mackintosh, Macgregor, and Cameron; and he and his first and second wives were by blood or marriage connected with almost every leading family within the central Highlands. His father, whom we find engaged in Continental trade, and seriously ill in 1718, probably died in that year. In any case, he was dead before September, 1728, when his widow's death is referred to by her son, the Bailie, who records that she was "a vertuous good woman."

The Bailie himself was born on 2nd September, 1676, and was actively engaged in business on his own account before 1700. His correspondence shows him to have been a man of education and culture, well trained in mercantile matters and in law. He was married, first, to Marion, daughter of Bailie Robert Rose, of the family of Kilravock. She died early in life, and, for his second wife, he took Ann, daughter of Norman Macleod of Drynoch in Skye, who survived him.

During his long business career—from about 1700 to about 1752—he led a life of extreme activity. For years he appeared to prosper—giving the closest attention to his business as merchant, and to his duties as factor on the Earl of Moray's Lordship of Petty. He also devoted time to municipal affairs, serving on the town council of Inverness from 1703 to 1716. He was a magistrate of the burgh from September, 1713, to 1715, and was ever afterwards known as Bailie Stuart. He was a man of speculative disposition and sanguine temperament, and he ventured and

trusted too much. The result was that while other Inverness merchants of his class, such as Forbes of Culloden, Dunbar of Dalcross, Barbour of Aldourie, the Duffs of Drummuir and Muirtown, Fraser of Fairfield, and, at a later period, Inglis of Kingsmills, and Robertson of Aultnaskiach, made money and became landed proprietors, he, who exceeded them all in industry and enterprise, died in poverty.

III. The Bailie's Trade.

Bailie Stuart was a merchant in the larger sense of the word, and not in the Scottish sense of shopkeeper. So far as his letter-books show, he had no shop—his business being entirely a counting-house one. Nothing came amiss to him, and for more than half a century he carried on a home and foreign trade of a very extensive and varied kind. He purchased oatmeal on the seaboard of the Moray Firth and all round the coast to Montrose, and to an even larger extent in Caithness, and shipped it to the West Coast and the Hebrides in large quantities. His best customers were the garrisons of Fort-William, of Bernera in Glenelg, and of Duart in Mull, and the men who worked the lead mines of Strontian and Glenelg. To the West he, as a rule, sent the meal by ship round Cape Wrath; but sometimes he forwarded it on horseback to the east end of Loch Ness, from where it was taken by small boats or the Government frigate to Kilchuimen (now Fort-Augustus), whence it was again conveyed on horseback to Inverlochy. In 1717 he supplied the military Governor of Fort-William with 1000 bolls, and he continued for many years to supply that fort, as well as the other garrisons which I have mentioned. He also supplied the chiefs and gentlemen of the Highlands and Islands with that useful article of food, as well as with other commodities. What his wares were, and what the return cargoes consisted of, may be gathered from the following letters, which are selected at random from many of the same kind.

The first is addressed to the Bailie's cousin, Donald Stuart, master of the ship "Margaret," of Inverness, and is dated, Inverness, 7th July, 1722:—

"This serves to order you to proceed to Cromarty to receive aboard my ship, 'The Margaret' of this place, five last herrin cask with salt. From thence you are to proceed without loss of time to Gerloch, where you are to address yourself to John Mackenzie, uncle to the Laird of Gerloch, to whom you are to deliver the sixtie salmon barrels with oat meall [in them], 39 barrs

iron, 50 rolls of tobacco, and ane anker brandy, with timber balk and broads [boards], a fifty weight and a ston weight iron. You are likeways to deliver to the Laird of Gerloch's order 5 last of herrin cask containing 200 bushels forraign salt; for which salt and cask you are to gett the Laird's receipt. And you are likeways to get John Mackenzie's for the meall, iron, balk, broad, and 2 weights . . . . which receipts you are to transmit to me by the cupar, John Gibson, who goes to pack the salmon; for which purpose see that John Mackenzie takes this meall immediatly out of the barrels, that the salmon be immediatly packed and shiped. And you are to take on board the cod fish, from 24,000 to 25,000, and see you receive only good merchant ware. And if any be bad you are not to receive it as good cod fish, but two for one, and if any be under 14 inches in length you are likeways to receive two for one, in terms of the Contract. If you touch at Orkney it's fitt you take a pyllot, or, if you do not, you must call at Stornoway, and in that event it's fitt you get a coast coquet for 25,000 cod fish cured with forraign salt, and 60 barrels salmon, and cause the Land waiter endorse the same. And from Gerloch you are to proceed to this road [Inverness] and waite my furder orders. Mind you are to grant receipt for what fish you are to receive; and *nota* there are 300 barrels hoops aboard for packing the salmon."

The second letter which I quote is addressed to Donald Macintyre—"ane honest sensible lad who has the Irish [*i.e.*, Gaelic] language"—on 27th April, 1725:—

"You are immediatly to repair to Portsoy, where you are to deliver my letter to Alexander Wood, master of the ship 'Thistle, of Bamff, who has loaded a full loadning of meall and bear for my account, which is shipped by Arthur Gordon of Carnnue, to whom I wrote last week countermanding the bear I formerly ordered, or at most to ship only 50 bolls, with 700 bolls meall, so that if you find there is no bear to be shipt, you must forward my letter herewith given you to said Carnnue per express, by which I have advised him to ship 100 bolls more meall, making in all 800 bolls meall, for which Alexander Wood is to pass his receipt or bill of loading. How soon the said cargoe is fully shipt, you are to advise me by the Elgin post, and immediatly, without loss of anny time, you are to make the best of your way for Stornway in Lews, where you may dispose of a part of your cargoe if you can doe at 8 merks per boll of 8 ston, reddy money[1]—but does suppose

[1] 1 merk Scots=13⅓d sterling.

you'll see non there, and, therefore, how soon you arrive you are to bespeak a skillfull pyllot to bring you from thence to Loch Fallord in the Isle of Sky, where you are to address yourself to Roderick Macleod of Contliech, who will assist you in the disposall of a part of your cargoe there, and whose directions you are to follow in shifting of ports, and giving out of the cargoe, untill all is disposed. How soon you arrive in the Isle of Sky you are to acquaint my father-in-law, Norman Macleod of Drynoch, per express, who will likevays assist you with his best advice. I doe not incline to sell the meall under 8 merk per boll of 8 ston, and if you can get reddy money for the whole it's the better, but, if not, you may trust to the following gentlemen what quantity of the cargoe they will order you to deliver them by their letters, viz.:—William Macdonald, tutor of Macdonald, Roderick Macleod of Contliech, Roderick Macleod of Ullinish, Donald Macleod of Ballamenach, William Macleod of Uibust, who is married to my wife's sister, or anny other that those gentlemen will desire to trust, or my father-in-law, Drynoch; and what payment you cannot gett in reddy money take their accepted bills payable here or at William Cumming's shop in Edinburgh, again the 10th day of October nixt. And how soon you have disposed of all or as much as possible of the cargoe for the Isle of Sky, Herries and North Uist, if anny remain after these countrys are served, you are to repair to the Keyle near Glenelg, and there you are to address yourself to my father-in-law, who will dispose of what may remain of the cargoe, or will give proper directions anent the same. You'll take notice that if anny bear is shipt at Portsoy you cannot dispose of the same under 9 merks per boll, and for that end it's fitt the skipper or you borrow a firlot at Portsoy to carry allongs with you. *Nota* you have likeways on board, to be disposed of for my account, 100 half barrs iron, containing 113 ston 9 lbs. old weight, which you are to sell at the best rate you can, not under 3/6 per ston. There is likeways 17 dozen of bottles of claret, to be sold at 16/ per dozen, bottles and all, or the wine without the bottle at 15/. There is likeways a bag of hops, No. 14, containing 1 cwt. 1 qr. 14 lbs., which you'll see to dispose of at Stornway at the best price you can—I suppose may reach 1/ per lb., but failing of that, it must be sold at Glenelg or Duart Castle in Mull. Notwithstanding the prices of the meall and bear I mentioned, I must leave it to yourself, with the assistance of my friends, to make the best of it you can, according as you find it in demand in the several countrys, but

not under five Pounds Scots per boll of 8 ston [1] until you heai furder from me—that is, for the meall. How soon the cargoe is fully disposed, and that you have gott payment of the same in money or bills as above directed, you'll give Alexander Wood, on receipt, twenty five pounds sterling to purchase his loading of scleat [slate] at Mull, and five pounds more if he takes any part payment of his freight, likeways on his receipt. And when you have so cleared fully with all and sundry, you are to repair to Glenelg, and make the best of your way home with such convoy and directions as my father-in-law will give you, or if you find it more advisable you may deliver to him the whole money and bills, on receipt. And for your trouble I am to give you four pounds sterling, and pay your necessary charges. I wish you a good voyag."

Stuart addresses similar instructions to Wood, in which he states:—"After your cargoe is out you'll proceed to the Isle of Mull, where you will deliver my letter to John Stevenson, scleat quarrier, who will furnish you your cargoe, which will be about 30,000, I suppose; and Donald Macintyre will furnish you money to pay for them at £10 Scots per 1000, and as much cheapper as you can."

The necessity of being guarded by a "convoy" on Macintyre's journey across country from Glenelg to Inverness, shows that the arm of the law was still weak in the Highlands.

Sometimes Stuart sends large cargoes to Macleod of Macleod and Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat; and in one letter he mentions that these chiefs purchase meal from Irishmen, to whom they pay ready money, instead of granting bills as they do to him. Dublin merchants also appeared on the West Coast and purchased the lairds' cod and ling for ready money, which unfortunately the Bailie had not always at command. Sometimes, also, he was forestalled in connection with the Inverlochy salmon by Glasgow merchants. But notwithstanding all this, he for many years had the largest fish trade in the North of Scotland. Only a few of his transactions can be referred to. In 1718 he purchases 99 barrels of salmon from Lord Moray, at 43s per barrel. In 1720 he buys a cargo of herring in the Lews, where Zachary Macaulay, a remote relative of Lord Macaulay, was his agent, and he also has an interest in a great herring venture in Lochbroom. In 1723 he purchases 40,000 cod in Gairloch and Stornoway—the Gairloch fish being, he declares, better than that

[1] £1 Scots=1s 8d sterling.

of Newfoundland, where the Gairloch curer gained his experience. In 1728 there was excellent herring fishing in the Inverness Firth, and he secured the bulk of the catch. In 1730 he acquires the salmon of Burdyards, Lethen, Lord Moray, Cawdor, and Lord Lovat. In 1735 he takes Lovat's yield of 120 barrels, and in 1736 and subsequent years the salmon "crop" of the Earl of Seaforth's fishings of Kintail, until in 1743 Seaforth arrested the purchase on the shores of Loch Duich. Herring and cod were cured for him from time to time by "Lady Assynt"—Mrs Mackenzie of Assynt—the Earl of Cromartie, Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Gairloch, Sir Colin Mackenzie of Coul, and other Highland chiefs and chieftains. Gentlemen of this class have been painted as far above trafficking of this kind, but the truth is that the old Highland landed proprietor had a keen eye to business, and was an expert at a bargain. The Lady of Assynt appears to have conducted her negotiations with a skill against which the Bailie found it necessary to be on his guard. "Madam," wrote he to her on 16th December, 1733, "I received your acceptable favour, and I find you have accepted of my offer for your herrings. So I hereby oblige myself to receive them, being good sufficient merchantable ware, in the term of my last letter to your Ladyship and your last to me, 'twixt this and the first day of May nixt. But I think fitt to caution your Ladyship that to make them all good merchantable ware they need to be all repact at shipeing, which will cost you no great expences."

An offer, dated 31st January, 1734, to the Earl of Cromartie for his Coigeach herring may also be quoted:—

"My Lord,—I received your Lordship's favour of 30th curt., and am willing to take your Lop.'s eighteen lasts herrins at the rate of Seven pounds Ster. p. Last, including ye Bounty—to be received any time before ye midle of Aprile next, payable in six Moneths after Delivery. But it is not in my power to advance part of ye price just now, being extreamly stretned by many great Disapointments from Good Men, and obliged to goe South against Tuesday next. So if you let me have the herin payable six moneths after Delivery, or at Lamas next, you may send your obligation to Deliver the herins, per Express, and mention that they must be Good, Sufficient, well Cured, well Packed herin, Cured wt. Foraing Salt, and in good tight Cask of ye Legall Gadge; and I'le send my answer to such letter, Concluding our Bargain, which is all that can be done, by, My Lord, Your Lordship's most humble Servant, "JOHN STEUART."

The Bailie's slate trade was very considerable. We have already seen his instructions to Wood to bring a cargo of 30,000 from Mull in 1725. In 1722 and 1723 he brings ship-loads from Mull and Easdale. In 1725 he supplies Colonel Urquhart of Newhall, in the Black Isle, with 20,000 Easdale slates for his "New Hall." In 1734 he delivers 20,000, and in the following year 12,000, to Lord Seaforth, in the Cromarty Firth, for the Castle of Kildin; and in 1737 he sends a cargo from Easdale to London. Hugh Miller informs us in his "Scotch Merchant of the Eighteenth Century," that coal did not find its way into the Cromarty Firth till 1750; but we find the Bailie bringing coals from Newcastle to Cromarty and Inverness as early as 1721, and the probability is that he did so even earlier. In 1729, his correspondent and agent, John Coutts, of Edinburgh, sends him a cargo of coal for those two towns, and gets in exchange a cargo of herring. The Bailie is continually bringing coals from Leith and Newcastle. In the latter town, indeed, his ships were well known. "Newcastle, he writes in January, 1722, to his brother-in-law, John Macleod, master of one of his vessels, who had arrived from the Continent with a cargo of iron and general merchandize—"Newcastle, I find, will be your proper market, where at least you will find reddy money for the plank and pype staves, &c., perhaps for the iron too . . . and when your cargoe is disposed you are to reload the ship with coalls, and 20 gross of chapin bottles for my accot., and if you please to ship 20 gross more for your accot., you can have no loss by them; and if you can find good barrell hoops from 16/ to 18/ per thousand, you may fill up all the waste room in the ship with them. You are likeways to buy for my accot. a hyde of bend leather and half a dozen drest calves skins, with a pair of boots fitt for me, as also the value of ten shillings of wine glasses, mugs, tea pots. . . . Please order Mr George Ouchterlonie at London to insure a hundred and fifty pounds ster. for ship and cargoe from Newcastle homeward, and place the premium to my accot." He also brings hides of leather and dressed calves' skins from London and other southern ports, as well as such things as tea, powdered white sugar, pewter plates, clothes for himself, and silks and other articles of raiment for his wife and daughters and lady friends. He liked to have nice things about him. In 1723 he orders from London two iron grates—one for his dining-room, and another for a bedroom—and he insists on their being "hansom." He was also fond of books, which he ordered, as a rule, from Strachan, of London. Of the more substantial home products, he brought large quantities

of salt from the southern Scottish ports; hops from London for the brewers of Inverness, Cromarty, and Stornoway; window glass from Newcastle; and building bricks from London.

Much of the salmon purchased by the Bailie was consigned to London, but much more was shipped to various Continental ports. To the Continent he also sent almost his whole purchases of cod and herring. In 1715, when his letter-books, so far as existing, begin, he sends cargoes of herring and cod to France, Spain, Minorca, and Danzig; and for the next twenty-five years his ships sail regularly between Inverness or the West Coast and all parts of the Continental seaboard from Sweden and Norway to the Adriatic, carrying fish, flesh, corn, and other produce. Only a few of these voyages need be referred to. In 1715 he sends 73 barrels of pickled beef to Rotterdam, and a cargo of barley to Amsterdam; in 1716 a cargo of herring to Marseilles and Leghorn, and salmon and grilse to Rouen; in 1720 a cargo of "lamskins, commonly called mortskins," to Danzig; in 1721, herring to Copenhagen, herring, salmon, and codfish to Venice, and salmon to Leghorn; in 1725, salmon to Holland and Spain, and herring to Stockholm; in 1735, corn to Leghorn, and salmon from Lochbroom to St Valery; in 1736, salmon from Loch Duich to Leghorn, and potters' ore and smelted lead from the mines of Strontian to Amsterdam; and, in 1738, lead ore from Glenelg to Rotterdam.

His return cargoes were made up of such goods as were then obtainable at those foreign ports: timber and barrel staves from Christiania, Stockholm, and Danzig; iron and sheet copper from Stockholm; tea, brandy, wine, tobacco, indigo, and iron from Amsterdam and Rotterdam; linseed, flax, and onion and other seeds from Campvere; salt from St Valery, Rouen, and the Spanish ports; claret from Bordeaux; sherry from Cadiz and Lisbon; and oranges, lemons, and other fruits from the Mediterranean ports. As a specimen of his instructions to his correspondents abroad, I shall quote his letter to John Andrew, Rotterdam, dated 24th March, 1721:—

"You are to ship for my account in said ship [the 'Christian'] 4 chests best Burgundy wine, each chest to contain 50 flasks; and four half hogsheads of best Spanish Sake [Sack], to be bought new of the Keys if possible; 8 rehms writting wheat [white] paper of such as is commonly shipt for this place, from 50 to 60 Stivers per rehm; 120 single and ten duble ankers best French Brandy; another Chest of Burgundy, and one chest of 40 flasks

for James Russell and me in company; item, for my proper accot. 50 lb. best Indigoe, and a tun of best strong French Claret, to be bought of the Keys; a warming pan; a waste ditto; and a large black bear's Skin dressed on the inside."

To the foreign wine merchants he occasionally sends, as a rare gift, a small quantity of whisky, which he sometimes calls "mountain wine," and sometimes "Skye champagne." Beer, brandy, and wines were at the time the drinks of the Highlands, but whisky was becoming more common than it was in previous times. In 1735, Stuart quotes its price at £12 per hogshead.

IV.—The Bailie's Ships.

Tucker's Report of 1655, to which reference has already been made, gives Inverness credit for only one merchant, and only one ship, of ten tons. The Bailie's letter-books show that in his time Tucker's solitary merchant was represented by at least a score of men of standing—mostly Celts, and all of good family. Among them were the Bailie himself and his father Alexander Stuart, Duff of Drummuir, Polson of Kinmylies, Fraser of Fairfield, Mackintosh of Termit, Schivez of Muirtown, John, Donald, and William Mackay, sons of Mackay of Scourie, Angus Mackintosh, Lachlan Mackintosh, William Mackintosh, Kenneth Mackenzie, Simon Mackenzie, John Duff, John Shaw, Thomas Alves, Ludovick Gordon, and Bailies Robertson and Hossack. Another merchant who did business in Inverness was Duff of Braco, ancestor of the present Duke of Fife. We find him in 1725 in partnership with the Bailie in a timber and iron speculation. These gentlemen required ships for their operations, and Tucker's single ship was represented by a considerable number. The Bailie himself owned, wholly or in part, about a dozen—almost all named after members of his family, and all commanded by gentlemen. The "Alexander" bore the name of his father, to whom she originally belonged, and was under the charge of his cousin, Alexander Stuart. The "John" bore his own name, and the "Ann" that of his wife; while the "Marjorie," the "Margaret," the "Helen," the "Janet," the "Agnes," and the "Christian" tell of the daughters who sat by his fireside. The "Marjorie" was commanded by John Mackay, and afterwards by Donald Fraser; the "Ann" by Alexander Rose, brother of the Bailie's first wife, who subsequently sailed the "Helen," and thereafter the "Janet"; the "Margaret," suc-

cessively by the Bailie's brothers-in-law, Donald and John Macleod; the "Agnes" by his cousin, Donald Stuart; and the "Christian" by John Baillie, of the family of Dunain—names which show that the Celt had taken to the sea as readily as to the counter. There were also the "Good Success," the "Pledger," the "Swallow," and the "Lark"; and the "Adventure" was for many years sailed to all parts of Britain and the Continent by John Reid, the Bailie's son-in-law, and his best friend in his old age.

Some at least of those vessels were built by the Bailie at the Shore of Inverness, the oak being brought from Darnaway and Loch Ness-side, and part of the iron and timber frame-work ready-made from Danzig. At that time the southern Scottish ports had their ships built in Holland or on the Baltic coast, owing to the scarcity and inaccessability of home timber. The "Marjorie" is described by him in 1721 as "a clever well manned vessel" of 50 tons; and next year he builds a new barque of 40 tons. The probability is that none of his ships exceeded 50. But, small though they were, they were continually ploughing the stormiest seas—sometimes braving the winds and currents of the Pentland Firth, sometimes crossing the Minch to Stornoway, or the North Sea to some Scandinavian or Dutch port; to-day at Leith, London, or Cork; to-morrow on their way across the Bay of Biscay and round Gibraltar to the Spanish and Mediterranean ports or the head of the Adriatic. In 1743 we find John Reid in Jamaica. It would be interesting to know that he had made his way there in the good ship the "Adventure."

The Bailie was careful to insure his ships and cargoes against the various perils of the sea—the insurances being effected sometimes in Edinburgh, sometimes in London, but more frequently by his friend, John Andrew, of Rotterdam. Here again it is only necessary to give a few instances. In 1716 he insures a ship with her cargo of salmon, from the West Coast to Rotterdam "against risk from Swedish privateers." Next year Andrew effects for him an insurance of 900 guilders on a ship and cargo "from Poleu [Poolewe] on our West Coast or ye Preades [the Hebrides] to the Port of Campheer [Campvere]," and on another ship "from Hamburg to Christiansand in Norway, and from there to Inverness, and from Inverness to Cork." In 1730 William Cuming of Edinburgh insures ship and cargo of salmon from Inverness to Leghorn against all hazards, and in 1735, Udney, of London, ship and cargo of herring and salmon from Loch Kennard and Loch-broom to St Valery.

The shipping risks were great and many. Swedish privateers scoured the Northern seas; the Southern were swept by Moorish pirates, who sometimes ventured even into British waters, seizing ships and taking their crews to Morocco or Algeria, where they served as slaves until released by death or a heavy ransom. The wars between Britain and France and Spain made voyaging dangerous, and there were of course the ordinary perils of the sea.

On 8th October, 1717, the barque "Alexander," laden with herring, sailed from Inverness for Cork, with instructions to dispose of her cargo there, and then to proceed to Rochelle for wine and brandy. Her captain, Alexander Stuart, was ill at the time, and Thomas Greig took his place. The good ship sailed along the East Coast of Scotland and England, until it rounded the North Foreland, when it was met and captured by a Swedish privateer, of which an Englishman named Noreross was commander. Noreross proceeded to take his prize to Gothenburg in Sweden, but, landing in France, he was apprehended and sent to England to suffer for his misdeeds. The privateer, however, with the "Alexander," sailed on without him. But when off the coast of Norway Greig and his Inverness lads suddenly attacked and overcame the Swedes who were on board their ship, and, sending them adrift, ran the vessel into a Norwegian harbour. A Danish war ship, who witnessed the daring deed, took the "Alexander" under her protection, and, claiming her as a prize, took her to Lairwick in Norway, and thereafter to Copenhagen. The claim was resisted by the Bailie, who had a good friend in Alexander Ross, merchant in Copenhagen. The British Ambassador was appealed to, and he brought the matter before the Danish Court, with the result that the ship and crew and cargo were released, and in 1718 Greig returned in triumph to Inverness, having sold his herring, not in Cork, but in the Baltic. But the "Alexander" did not long survive. She went to the bottom in 1720.

In 1718 Alexander Stuart sailed from Inverness for the Mediterranean; but his ship was taken by the Moors, and he and his crew were captives in Morocco until the end of 1721, when they found their way back to Inverness. On their return the Bailie negotiated a bill for £20, "the money being designed to supply my poor friends come out of captivity."

On 12th November, 1718, the "Good Success," in which the Bailie was interested, was wrecked "on a blind rock off ye Illeland of Sandsartone, off ye coast of Swedeland," Captain Alexander

Dunbar and the crew narrowly saving themselves by taking to a small boat three minutes before she sank in forty fathoms. They made their way to Danzig, and reached Inverness in the "Janet" on 4th January. In December, 1720, the "Marjorie" was crushed in the ice near Copenhagen, and Captain Donald Fraser and all the crew, except two, were drowned. In the following December a barque bringing meal, nuts, and oak-bark to the Bailie was stranded on the coast of Aberdeenshire. Immediately the unfortunate vessel struck, the native fishermen "fell on her," and carried the riggings and the cargo to their houses. "Baillie Forbes," writes Stuart, "who seems to be ane honest gentleman and Baillie in those bounds, was so convinced of there barbarity from there own confession that he fined them in ten pounds ster. . . . By a lait Act of Parliament medling with wreckt good where all the crew come safe ashoare is made Felonie and to be punished with death, and if some rascall was hanged for such a crime it would be a good service done the nation, and probable deter from such proceedings again."

The "Ann," laden with wine from Bordeaux, was wrecked on the still-dreaded coast of Usshant in Brittany in December, 1725. Next year the "Margaret" was lost near Montrose; and in 1728 the "Agnes" was wrecked in the Orkneys, uninsured, involving the unfortunate Bailie in a loss of 5000 merks. In his latter years the "Christian" alone remained to him—"my poor Christian," he tenderly calls her. She escaped the perils of the sea, but she met a less glorious fate. She was seized and dismantled by sheriff-officers at Leith, and, to her owner's undying sorrow, sold for his debts.

V.—The Bailie as Factor.

When the first of his letter-books now existing opens in 1715, we find Bailie Stuart factor for the Earl of Moray on the fair and fertile Lordship of Petty, whose castle—Castle Stuart—has undergone hardly a change since his time. One of his letters tells that before 1712 he was also factor for Lord Bute on an estate in Ross-shire. He continued Lord Moray's factorship till 1734—not only acting as the administrator of his property, but also, as baron-bailie, presiding over the baron court, which, until its powers were curtailed by Parliament in 1747, exercised an almost unlimited jurisdiction, the right of pit and gallows not excepted.

I have referred to Stuart as the administrator of Lord Moray's property, but little administration was in his day required. The land was reclaimed by the tenants, who also erected the farm buildings, and, when they left, received "melioration" for them from their successors. The factor of the olden time had little to do with the work of reclamation and building, and his duties were almost exclusively confined to those of convicting and giving judgment in the baron court, collecting money rents and feu-duties, gathering in the rents payable in kind and realising them, removing defaulting tenants and letting their holdings to others. He had to perform the unpleasant part of his modern representative's duty without the pleasant; and his class consequently acquired a reputation for severity and oppression which in some parts still lingers.

That the Bailie was in his own day looked upon as an oppressor of poor tenants is very probable; that he was their friend is clearly shown by his letters, which are now brought to light for the first time. He never lost a fair opportunity of pleading their cause with the Earl whom he represented. The troubles connected with the rising of 1715 were followed by distress, which, in some districts, developed into a famine. The people of Petty were among the sufferers, and they found it difficult to pay the rent for the crop of 1715, part of which was payable in money—"custom" or "custom money"—and part in grain—"ferm" or "farm"—which was gathered into the grange barn which still stands at Castle Stuart, and converted into meal or sold to maltsters and brewers.

The Bailie's cousin, John Stuart, Commissary of Inverness, and brother of Alexander Stuart, the shipmaster to whom reference has repeatedly been made, was the Earl's "doer" or solicitor in Edinburgh, as well as the Bailie's agent there; and there was constant correspondence between the cousins. On 21st April, 1716, the Bailie writes the Commissary with money for various purposes, and he concludes his letter thus:—"I entreat how soon this comes to hand you pay the Earle of Morray £50 sterling more, and gett his Lordship's receipt to me for the same and forward the enclosed letter to his Lordship after reading and sealling. I think the Earle should give down to his tennants of Pettie a year's custom money, which is no great matter, in consideration of their Losses, which they will not recover in heast; and I wish you would advise this."

The advice was given and taken, as is shown by the following letter dated 28th December, 1716, which I give as a

specimen of the Bailie's epistles to the Earl. It will be observed that the factor's cautioners or sureties for his intromissions threatened to withdraw, and that he was consequently disposed to resign. The feu-duties referred to are still paid to the Earls of Moray for certain lands in Strathnairn and Strathdearn. "May it please your Lordship,—Severall considerations relaiting to your Lop's interest oblidged me to run this by express, which accompanys the inclosed papers came some time agoe to my hands from Commissar Steuart. I hade returned them much sooner, but that I could not prevail with Dunmagless and John Mackgilvray to signe them till verie laitly; they making Demur annent Alex. Mackpherson of Craggie, who, they say, is much in arrear and quite broke. They insinuat they are to recall their Cautionrie in the factorie again [against] Whitsunday, in which case I think your Lop. must think of a new manadger on the estate again that time. In the meantime, I return your Lop. a coppie of my interim Factorie subscrived, as also a Duble of the rentall, with bill on Mr James Muchelson, jeweller in Edinburgh, for fiftie pound sterling on four days' sight, which I understand will answer punctually, and is what I have received of these feu duties as yett, and I shall send what more money comes to my hand as I gett it. I have indorsed the bill to your Lop., so that your Lop. may indorse it blank, and send it over for payment to your doer at Edinburgh. I sent a good time agoe some funds for answering your Lop., about two hundred pound sterling, which I hope has answered your Lop. or now, and is much more than I could make good as yet of last year's farms [*i.e.*, grain rents] of Pettie. However I doe hope again Candlemas shall bring your Lop. one hundred pounds sterling more, all by the hands of Commissar Steuart. As to the £ sterling sent by ye bearer, I expect a receipt in return of this, mentioning it is a pairt of the feu duetys of Strathern [Strathdearn] and Strathnern in consequence of my factorie.

"Now, my Lord, I come to writ to you Lop. annent current farms [grain rents] of Pettie. Your Lop. wrot me some time agoe to dispose of the same the best I could, which certainly I inclyne to doe; but laitly happening to meet with old James Russell[1] he insinuat that bear this year would be worth six libs Scots per boll, and I doe not know but he may have writ

[1] Russell was Stuart's predecessor as factor, and he sometimes was a partner in his speculations. Russell's descendants have been tenants in the Lordship continuously since his time till now. His present representative is Mr Donald Russell, Treeton.

your Lop. soe. My Lord, I have done what I could here to get your Lop. a price, but I find it will be difficult to reach eight marks; therefore without your Lop.'s express orders would not sell. I confess the Cropt in Morray this year is much less than last, but I believe likeways that the Demand from Abroad will be also less. Considering what of old Victuall is yet on hand here, the price of Corns can not rise much. However I will be glad your Lop. imploy the old Chamberlain to try what can be done here with the bear of Pettie, and I'le heartily concurr with him. Your Lop.'s further orders on this head will be necessarie without loss of time, seeing the tennants are begun to thrash their farms, and the sooner they pay it I am sure the better for your Lop.

"I wrot to Commissar Steuart severall months agoe shewing that the people of Pettie had suffered verie much dureing the time of the lait unhappy civil wars, and that therefore they expected some compassion from your Lop. on that head. I humblie proposed to give down to such as were really sufferers discount of a year's customs, which he told me your Lop. complyed with. Now I want some orders on this head under your Lop.'s own hand, and shall observe them."

In July, 1717, the factor wrote his constituent from Castle Stuart, referring to the poverty of the tenants, his own factorial troubles and disappointments, and the poor remuneration he received for his services. His salary was 200 merks (£11 2s $2\frac{2}{3}$d) per annum. In 1720 he returns to the same subject, and declares he is sick of the factorship, for which, he repeats, he is not adequately rewarded. Next year he pleads for tenants whom the Earl ordered to be evicted; and in 1722 he absolutely refuses to carry out a removal. In 1723, however, a number of evictions took place; but the new men who came in were not more prosperous than the old, and in 1733 the tenants of the Lordship are described as being in a most wretched condition. In that year there was a famine in the land.

Although the Bailie was himself of gentle blood, or rather, perhaps, because of that circumstance, he never, if he could avoid it, sacrificed the common people for men of family. In March, 1717, he wrote the Earl protesting against his instructions to turn out tenants in Petty to make room for William Macgillivray, a brother of the Laird of Dunmaglass. "I think," he states, "It will be a hardship to remove such honest tennents on so short advertisement. . . . I must say I am already sick of too many gentlemen tennents in Pettie."

The landed gentlemen of Strathnairn and Strathdearn, who were the Earl's vassals, gave him much trouble. Not only were they constantly in arrear with their feu-duties and casualties, but, what was even a more heinous sin against feudal law, they often absented themselves from the baron courts which they were legally bound to attend, and defied the baron-bailie. The latter's complaints grew in strength and frequency, until, in February, 1734, he made his last journey to Donibristle, his constituent's seat in Fife, squared his accounts, and terminated his factorial career. He boasted that he travelled home from Donibristle in two days and a half. Perhaps the consciousness of having left a heavy burden of cares and worries behind added to his speed.

VI.—The Bailie's Customers and Correspondents.

I can only refer to a few of the Bailie's customers and correspondents. During the period of forty years covered by his letter-books almost every Highland lord and laird, chief and chieftain, wadsetter and tacksman, is found crossing and recrossing the stage. We have seen how long and close was his relationship with the Earl of Moray. With the Duke of Gordon and Sir Henry Innes of Innes he trafficked in salmon; with the Earl of Findlater in salmon and meal. The Earl of Seaforth, who was out in the Fifteen, and led the Spanish expedition which came to grief at the battle of Glenshiel, sold his salmon to him, and bought his slates; and Seaforth's famous factor, Donald Murchison, dealt with him, and granted bills which he found it difficult to meet. The Earl of Cromartie, who fought for Prince Charles, and was saved from the block by the devotion of his wife, entered into herring and meal transactions with him with a shrewdness which has no savour of romance. Simon of Lovat, who was not so fortunate, was his constant friend—"my best friend, Lord Lovat," he calls him—selling the Beauly fish to him, buying his salt and other commodities, and accommodating him with money and bills when his purse was empty. The Bailie's second wife was Lovat's near relation, and the nobleman addresses the merchant as his dear cousin, and entertains himself and his wife and daughters at Castle Dounie. The Countess of Sutherland likewise invites the young ladies to Dunrobin, while her son, Lord Strathnaver, grants their father bills which he takes years to pay. In the far North the Earl of Caithness and his brother Francis, Sinclair of Ulbster,

and Lord Reay, have extensive dealings with our merchant. Nearer home his principal customers are Lord President Forbes, who long delays payment of a wine bill due by him as representative of his brother, "Bumper John;" Mackintosh of Mackintosh, who fought for King George, while his wife, Colonel Ann, fought for Prince Charles; Mackintosh of Borlum, the famous Brigadier of the Fifteen; the renowned Alasdair Dubh, Chief of Glengarry, who fought at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir; his less worthy grandson, "Young Glengarry," who, after the Forty-Five, led a mysterious life in France, and whom Mr Andrew Lang identifies with Pickle the Spy; Macdonell of Scotas, who fell at Culloden; Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, who did good service at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir, and his son, who fought at Culloden, and was executed at Carlisle; Stewart of Appin and Stewart of Ardshiel, who both suffered for their loyalty to the Stewart Line; Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod of Macleod, who were accused of encouraging Prince Charles and betraying his cause; the Laird of Grant, who during the conflict sat on the fence; and the Gentle Lochiel, who joined the Prince despite his conviction that his cause was hopeless.

Another noted Jacobite whose name frequently appears in the letter-books is the Bailie's cousin, Colonel John Roy Stuart. So little is known of the personal history of this brave soldier and excellent Gaelic poet that what the letter-books tell of him may be of interest. In 1727 he is an officer in the service of King George, and recruiting in the Highlands. "Our cousin, the Dragoon," writes the Bailie, "is taking 20 handsome men to his regiment." Captain Burt was in Inverness at the same time, and the two must have met. In 1736 John Roy is again in Inverness, and, through Lord Lovat's influence, and perhaps also through the good offices of the Bailie, is allowed to escape from prison. Next year he is in London, and writes promising to pay his bill of £17 14s to the Bailie. In 1739 he grants a renewal of the bill. From that year till 1745 he is in France, the Bailie's letters to him being addressed to the care of Mr Smith, Boulogne. The bill remains unpaid, and in November, 1743, the Bailie, without effect, endeavours to get him to send home brandy in payment. In August, 1745, news comes that he is in Ghent, wearing the Highland dress, and in much favour for having saved the life of a lady. In September, 1745, he is in the Highlands in the interests of Prince Charles—"in very good credit and esteem," writes his cousin. After Culloden, he for a time wandered in his native Strathspey, composing "psalms" in English and laments in Gaelic, and in the end found

his way back to Boulogne, where he died. In November, 1749, his widow is referred to. His brother, Captain Donald Stuart, of Lord Lewis Drummond's Regiment, is repeatedly mentioned.

That the Bailie was a Jacobite and a friend of the Jacobites is clear; but he did not allow that circumstance to interfere with his intercourse with the Hanoverians. Between 1715 and 1735 he is on intimate terms with General Wightman, who won the battle of Glenshiel; Lieutenant Allardyce, of the Fusiliers, who was defeated by Donald Murchison at Ath-nam-Muileach, in Glen Affaric; Sir Patrick Strachan of Glenkindy, Surveyor-General to the Forfeited Estates Commissioners; Sir Robert Pollock and General Siburg, Governors of Fort-William; Lieutenant Wainsbarow, Governor of Duart Castle; General Wade, the pacifier of the Highlands, and the maker of the famous roads; Captain Burt, who wrote the "Letters from the North of Scotland;" General Guest, Governor of Inverness; Colonel Lie, whose regiment was stationed in our town in 1728; and General Sabius, whose regiment was there in 1734. With these officers he traded and drank healths—avoiding, we may assume, that of "the King over the water." Guest lived for a time in his house, and continued to be his friend long after he left the North. In 1723 the Inverness magistrates had the tide-waiter and a soldier whipped by the common hangman. The military were greatly incensed, and threatened vengeance. The Bailie got Guest to intervene, and peace was restored. In 1728 there was a somewhat similar quarrel between the town and Colonel Lie, which was brought to an end by Wade, through the good offices of Guest. In 1729 Guest and Burt assisted Stuart in recovering the price of meal sold by him in Argyllshire. Stuart, in return, obliged the Hanoverian officers. In 1725 he discounted a bill by his friend, Captain Mungo Herdman, on Richard Whitehall for the cost of a frigate on Loch Ness for King George's service—Whitehall being the builder. In 1728 we find him arranging for the conveyance of baggage and invalid soldiers from the Barracks of Bernera, in Glenelg, to Fort-William.

Some of the Bailie's business agents and correspondents at home and abroad may be mentioned. His principal correspondent for many years was John Coutts of Edinburgh, the founder of the great house of Coutts & Co. Coutts discounted bills, but his business mainly consisted of ventures in herring, cod, salmon, corn, and meal. Stuart also did much business with Alexander and James Coutts and George Ochterlony, London; Marjory-banks and Coutts, Dantzig; John and Alexander Andrew, Rotterdam; Jacob Ferray, Havre; Desoby Brothers & Co., Amsterdam;

Henry Grahame, Stromness; and James Fall and Brothers, Dunbar. But to the student of Highland history it is more interesting to note that the great majority of his business correspondents bore Highland names—in Edinburgh, James Cumming and Patrick Cumming, of the family of Dulshangie in Glen-Urquhart; in Glasgow, Roderick Macleod and Macfarlane & M'Carroll; in Fort-William, William Macdougall & Co.; in Dingwall, Alexander Mackenzie; in Stornoway, Zachary Macaulay; in London, William Cumming, John Maclean, Donald Mackay, David Ross, Charles Mackintosh ("who is everyday on 'Change"), and Alexander Mackintosh of Kyllachy, grandfather of Sir James Mackintosh, the historian of England; James Campbell, in Stockholm; Hugh Ross, in Gothenburg; Alexander Ross, in Copenhagen; Robert Mackay, in Rotterdam; John Macdonald, "in Holland;" in Bordeaux, Robert Gordon and John Macleod; in Barbadoes, "Mr Mackay on the wharf;" and in Jamaica, "Donald Macdonald," my father's grandfather, who was transported to Barbadoes for his part in the Forty-five, and, escaping to Jamaica, changed his surname—and who now rests in his native Glen of Urquhart under a tombstone to the memory of "Donald Mackay-Macdonald, Esq., late Planter in Jamaica, and Representative of the Ancient Family of Achmonie." Even the Bailie's periwigmaker was a Celt—Maciver, Edinburgh; and so, with perhaps one or two exceptions, were his lawyers—in Edinburgh, John Macleod, advocate, who was concerned in the abduction of Lady Grange; Roderick Macleod, W.S.; William Fraser, W.S., proprietor of Balnain in Stratherrick, founder of the family of Aldourie, and grandfather of Patrick Fraser-Tytler, the historian of Scotland; and John Stuart, W.S., Commissary of Inverness. In Inverness Stuart's legal advisers were Evan Baillie of Abriachan, a successful "doer," whose most prominent client was Simon, Lord Lovat; and John Taylor, who held some land right in virtue of which he was one of the few "barons" or freeholders who were entitled to vote for a member of Parliament for the County of Inverness, and whose name still lives in Baron Taylor's Lane. Baron Taylor appears in the letter-books from 1720 to 1743.

VII.—Miscellaneous.

The Bailie's letter-books throw interesting side-lights on the mercantile and social life of his time.

Money was extremely scarce, and credit was consequently extremely long. The ready-money system was virtually unknown, and sellers and buyers lived in an atmosphere of bills and bonds

which frequently floated unpaid for many years. Reference has already been made to some of these obligations. A few more may be mentioned. In 1706 The Mackintosh granted the Bailie a bill for £15. In 1716 it was protested for non-payment. It was still past due in 1736. In 1738 the principal was paid; but the Bailie writes that he had lost thirty-two years' interest. "Too simple!" is his comment. In 1717 he is dunning Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, whose name has come down to us as one of the raisers of the Black Watch, for the contents of a bill; in 1728 the dunning is still going on. A bill by the Chief of Glengarry and Macdonell of Scotas, which was past due in 1722, was in the same condition in 1730. Lochiel's obligation, granted prior to 1720, was "not yet paid" in 1729. Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum's bill, signed before his gallant invasion of England in 1715, was unpaid in 1737. Colonel Donald Murchison's document for £6 7s was unpaid for years, and so, as we have seen, was John Roy Stuart's paper for £17 14s. Some time before 1735 the Laird of Mackinnon granted his bill for the then large sum of £114 19s 2d. Notwithstanding persistent pressure, it was still due in 1742. William Macculloch, a Ross-shire laird, signed a bill in 1728. In 1743 it is recorded that he is in Virginia, and that payment is expected when he returns. The bill is unpaid in 1749. About 1710 the Bailie's father took an acceptance from Angus Mackintosh of Kyllachy, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Preston in 1715. In 1735 the Bailie is pressing Kyllachy's son Alexander, the London merchant, for payment of it. In 1722 Stuart refers to the difficulty he has in recovering from Bumper John of Culloden a bill for £25, which represents a quantity of Culloden's famous claret. He experiences the same difficulty in 1740 in recovering the debt from John's successor and representative, Lord President Forbes. In 1717 our merchant is urging Lord Strathnaver and Lord Reay for payment of obligations long past due. The English officers who were then stationed in the Highlands, and whose paper the Bailie was always ready to take, were also frequently in default—among them being General Siburg, Governor of Fort-William, in 1725; Colonel Long and Major Ormsby in 1726; Captain John Trelawney in 1727; and our friend Edmund Burt, the critic of Highland customs, in 1729.

Although the Bailie found it difficult to get payment of his bills, they were not all allowed to lie fallow in his desk. In a measure they served him the purpose of bank-notes. He frequently sends them to his correspondents in satisfaction of his own obligations; and sometimes they return to him after many

days, and after passing through many hands. Highland bills were as a rule made payable at Crieff, where a great cattle tryst took place every year in September. The market was regularly attended by Highland lairds, tacksmen, and drovers, and Stuart was frequently present personally or by proxy, and did his best to exchange his paper for the gold produced by the black cattle.

There was in his time no bank within the Highland bounds, and no way of remitting money except in specie, notes, or bills transmitted by the ordinary posts, or by "expresses"—that is, special messengers. A post walked from Inverness to Edinburgh with more or less regularity every week, returning the following week. These posts—we have the names of some of them, Colin Dunbar, Robert Cattach, James Gilmour, Donald Jack, and William Macdonald—were selected for their strength, courage, and fidelity to trust, and during the Bailie's half century of business there is but one single charge against them—the post of 1722 was a drunken careless fellow. Their adventures were many, but they seldom failed to carry their mails and treasures to their destination. There were periods, however, of special danger. During the troubles of the Fifteen and the Forty-Five the service was suspended. In 1721 Stuart is unable to risk a remittance to Edinburgh "for fear of robbery, which is very frequent of late in the Highlands." He is at all times careful to seal the bag containing the money, or what represents money, and to send a separate letter specifying the bag's contents—the individual coins, the bank-notes and their numbers, the amounts, dates, drawers, and acceptors of the bills. The contents were of necessity mixed. In 1718 a remittance to Banff consisted of a bank note, 67 gold guineas, 5s in silver, and 2⅔d in copper. In the same year a special messenger was sent to the Earl of Moray in Fife, carrying "in gold £157 stg, all in guineas and half guineas, except 5 Luidores." Some idea of the rate at which these messengers were remunerated will be got from the following payments in 1735—to an express from Inverness to Lochbroom and back, 8s stg.; to one from Inverness to Loch Kennard, on the west coast of Sutherland—"50 long Highland miles"—and back, 7s 6d stg. In 1727 an express was sent to the Bailie from Dunbeath, Caithness, with a letter closing a meal bargain; in 1728 one from Orkney to report the loss of the Agnes; and in 1733 an express from Ardshiel, in Argyllshire. In 1726 Stuart sent an express to Dunvegan with a £300 bill for signature by Macleod of Macleod and Macleod of Ulinish. The sums paid to those messengers are not stated.

The prices of meal, iron, claret, hops, hoops, salmon, and slates have been referred to. In 1729, when there was a famine in Ireland and the Highlands, meal rose to 13s per boll of 8 stones—equal, considering the scarcity and value of money at that time, to not less than ten times that sum to-day. The price was frequently as high as 9s 6d and 10s. No wonder the poor people had, in times of distress, to depend on dulse and shell-fish, wild roots, nettles, and the blood of their living cattle. Coarse salt fluctuated from 1s 1d to 2s 6d per bushel; herring, from £6 to £7 per last; cod, from 13s to 14s per "qutte." Sherry, delivered on board in Spain or Portugal, cost £23 per pipe. Tea cost 14s per lb. For a tea table, which the Bailie bought in Edinburgh in 1734, he paid 30s. He bought butter in Kintail and Glenelg, in 1718, at 5 merks per stone, and cheese at 2s per stone. Tallow candles were sold at 6d per lb. Lemons, which were freely used to flavour drink, and which Burt tells us made even whisky tolerable, cost in Inverness 4s per dozen. "There are no lemons here to be had for anie money," writes the Bailie to the Governor of Fort-William in 1729, "but how soon anie arrive, which will be verie soon, I shall send as manie as a horse can carrie."

One would suppose, from the scarcity of money and the excessive prices which prevailed, that men of the Bailie's class, living quietly in remote Inverness, would have tried to exist without luxuries in food and raiment; but that was not the case. Not satisfied with the produce of the country, he bought his own clothes, stockings, shoes, and hats, and his wife's and daughters' silks and damasks, in London. From the same city, as well as from Newcastle and Leith, he brought such articles as coffee, tea, flour, biscuits, mustard, drugs, Epsom salts, washing rubbers, hair brooms, branders, spits, skewers, flesh crooks, flamers, pewter dishes, and even pear trees, apple trees, yews, laurels, and varigated hollies for his garden. The time-honoured deal cradle was not good enough for him, and in 1722 he bought a "wand cradle" from Rotterdam, and when that was used up he, in 1735, sent to Leghorn for a "watlin cradle." The walls of his rooms were covered with wall-paper from London. In the same city he purchased his books, including "coper plate coppie books for assisting my boys in their writing." Edinburgh sent him his newspaper, the *Caledonian Mercury*. Direct from the Mediterranean he got his lemons, oranges, olives, raisins, anchovies, and "best Florence eating oil." London and Rotterdam furnished his coffee beans and the "best Bohea," which his wife carefully kept for the refreshment of the county ladies who did her the honour to call.

With the leaf at 14s per lb., and the shillings rare, the delectable beverage had to be sipped sparingly.

VIII.—The Close.

The extent of the Bailie's business notwithstanding, it cannot be gathered from his letter-books that he ever really made money. As has already been said, he ventured and trusted too much; and his losses were great. His household and family expenses were heavy. He appears, however, to have made ends meet until about the year 1735, when he began to be in financial straits. After that things went from bad to worse. He made strenuous efforts to convert his bills into cash, but without much success. His creditors gave him trouble. The newsagent who sent him his weekly paper from Edinburgh served a summons on him in 1741, and so did Maciver, the periwigmaker. In December of that year he was threatened with horning and caption, and the other legal processes which were the dread of the impecunious. "I cannot pay these claims," he writes, "was I to be hang'd as well as imprisoned. I care not to go to a stinking gaol at this time of the year, in my old age." In January, 1742, he declares that "all the diligence [*i.e.*, legal execution] in Scotland cannot squeeze money out of me at present." But the law could not be restrained; and the Earl of Seaforth dealt him a great blow by arresting his salmon on the shores of Loch Duich. In 1743 he was "prodigiously straitned for pressing demands, and for the sustenance of my family." He was "perplexed and dunned to death by poor people." He got relief for a time, but pinching poverty returned, and in 1749 "swarms of small creditors are on my back." He is incessantly importuning his friends, and such of his sons as are doing for themselves. Some of his friends and several of his children, as well as his son-in-law, Captain Reid, did what they could for him, but his distress continued. His last letter, which is dated 28th September, 1752, is pathetic. At great length he gives his son John, who was then settled in South Carolina, an account of the family, and he concludes:—"Thus have I given you an account of all our family, so have only to add that your mother and I have laboured under great troubles of late years, and only subsisted by the bounty of our children—and few or non other of late—and our schemes have misgiven. May God sanctify every dispensation of his providence to us, as I am now very old, and of lait feel the effects of it. Your mother, Meg, and brothers give you their blessing, and to your spouse and child—in which I join." It was the last of his many epistles, and he did not long survive the effort.

Stuart, as has been seen, did not allow politics to interfere with his friendships or his business. He was, nevertheless, a sincere and hopeful Jacobite. In August, 1716, he contributes £1 sterling to a fund for the relief of the Jacobite prisoners in Edinburgh Castle, and three months later he sends a contribution to Carlisle, for the relief of "the poor gentlemen" incarcerated there. In 1717 he notes with evident approval that his father prays God for the restoration of the ancient royal line. His letter-books make no allusion at the time to the events of the Forty-Five, but in October, 1748, his son Francis hands Bishop Forbes a written account of the cruelties that followed Culloden, and in the following month he himself writes the Bishop on the same subject. "I do not think," he writes, "there were ever greater inhuman barbaritys and cruelties of all kinds perpetrat in anie countrie, either Cristian or Infidel, than was in this at that period; and all by order of the Commander."

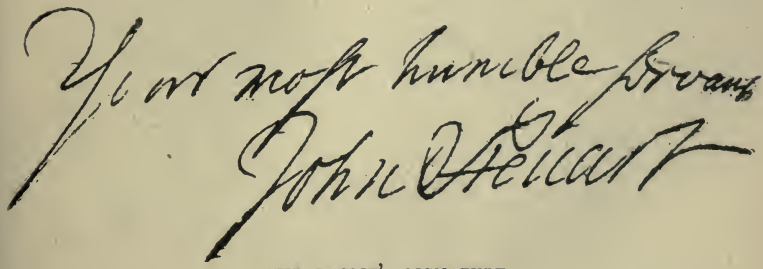
Soon after the close of the war Stuart is in correspondence with the Highland exiles on the Continent; and in March, 1751, he makes a journey to France, where he remains till November. He records his cordial reception by his friends there, through whose hospitality he "lived at little expense," and who made an effort to get for him a "share of the pension settled by the Court of France for certain gentlemen in distress." The effort was without success, "as I wanted certain qualifications without which my project could not doe, but at the same time I got assurance that at a proper time I would be provided for." The proper time did not come, and notwithstanding his son John's offer to allow him £20 a year if he settled in Boulogne, the disappointed old man returned to his native Highlands to resume for a few months his struggle for existence.

In Church politics, it is almost needless to say, the Bailie was an Episcopalian. In 1717, when factor of Petty, he declares that he has "no stomach for planting [Presbyterian] kirks." In 1734 the Rev. Robert Jameson, "minister of the Gospell to the Episcopall Congregation of Inverness," made over his library in trust for the congregation—among the trustees being Stuart and "John Taylor, writer"—Baron Taylor. In his letter of November, 1748, to Bishop Forbes, he states—"We are here in a Deprest confin'd condition as to the public profession of our religion, though our good worthie Pastor [Mr James Hay] does all he can; but I dare say matters will not long continue so. Meantime, God grant us patience and resignation to His unerring Providence." When the Bishop visited Inverness in 1762, and again in 1770, he found the good Bailie's memory still green in the Highland Episcopal fold.

Stuart's family was a large one. Of his children, Ann married Richard Hay-Newton of Newton, in East Lothian, and it is to her descendant, the present Laird of Newton, that I am indebted for the use of the letter-books. Another daughter married Captain Reid, and another Captain Wedderburn. His son Alexander was a wine-merchant in Leith. James went to India, where he prospered. John, after spending some years at sea, and going round the world with Lord Anson as purser of the famous "Centurion," settled in Charleston, South Carolina, where he was appointed British agent for the Carolinas. He is said to have been the sole survivor of the massacre at Fort Loudoun, on the Tennessee River, in 1760. In the American War of Independence he took the British side, and, on the conclusion of the war, left America for ever and settled in England, bringing home with him a young son, who was destined to become famous as Sir John Stuart, Count of Maida—the victor of Maida, where, to the surprise of the world, "the veterans of Napoleon fled before the British steel."

The Bailie's sons, Francis, Patrick, and Henry, also settled in South Carolina, where descendants of Francis are now well-known citizens. Many Highlanders emigrated to the same state in the early years of the eighteenth century, and for generations Gaelic was as much spoken there as in the parish of Inverness. The Gaelic is now dead in the state, but in Charleston the "Old Stuart House," built by John and Francis, still stands.

I shall conclude by referring to a trait in the Bailie's character, which, although trifling, is pleasing and not without interest. He was fond of gardening and flowers, and was in the habit of placing sprigs of southern wood, balm, and other sweet-smelling herbs between the leaves of his letter-books, many of which lay there undisturbed until I perused the volumes after the lapse of almost two centuries.



THE BAILIE'S SIGNATURE.

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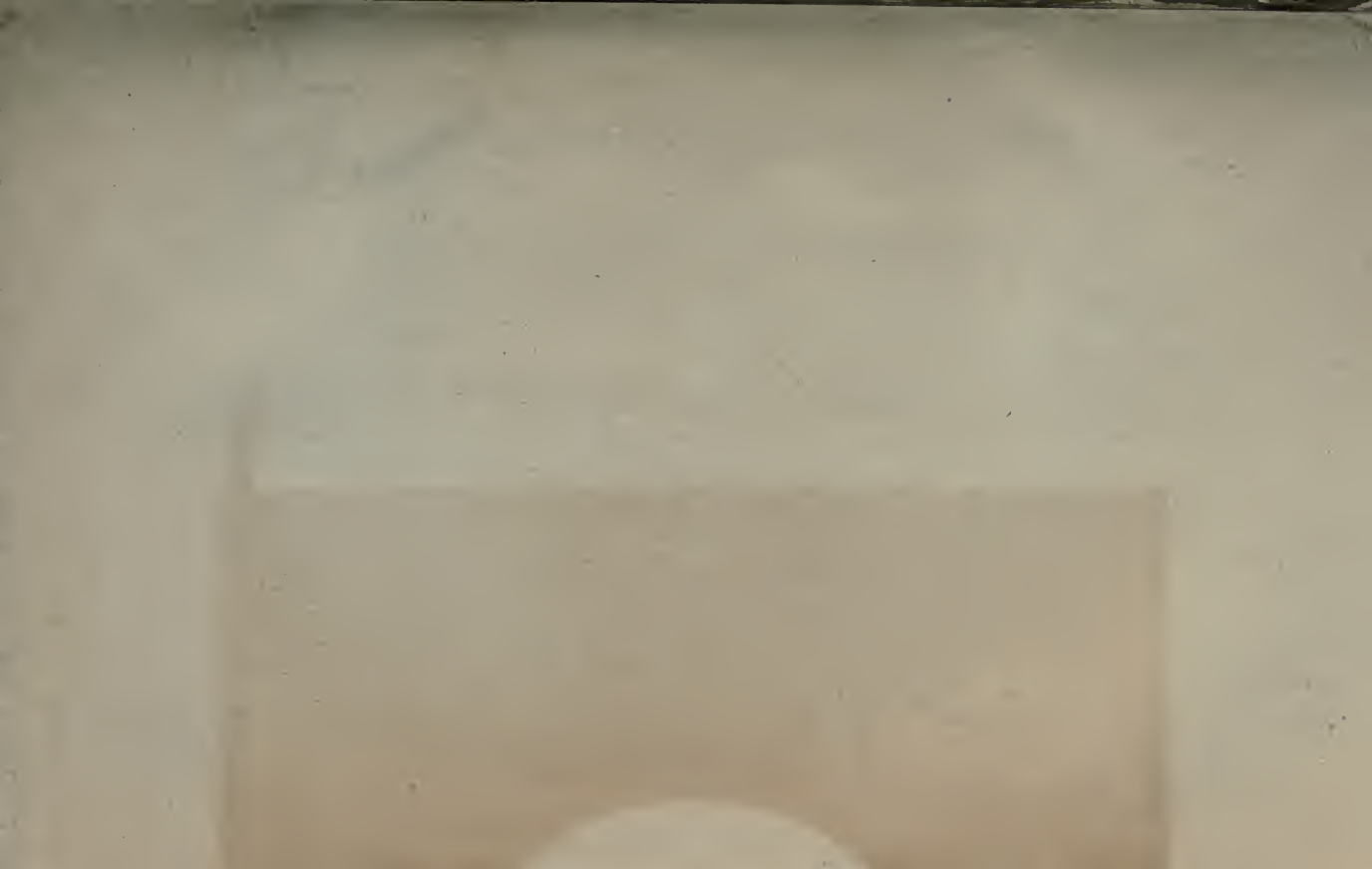
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