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(Fourth Volume)

CORDARA'S COMMENTARY ON THE EXPEDITION TO
SCOTLAND MADE BY CHARLES EDWARD STUART
PRINCE OF WALES

THE MANUSCRIPT HISTORY OF CRAIGNISH
MISCELLANEOUS CHARTERS, 1165-1300, FROM
TRANSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE
LATE SIR WILLIAM FRASER, K.C.B.



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COMMENTARY ON THE EXPEDITION
TO SCOTLAND MADE BY
CHARLES EDWARD STUART
PRINCE OF WALES

BY

PADRE GIULIO CESARE CORDARA

OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS SO LONG AS IT EXISTED

Translated into the Vulgar Tuscan by
the ex-Jesuit N. N.

Edited by

SIR BRUCE SETON, BART., C.B.

INTRODUCTION

AMONG the authorities recognised by writers dealing with the '45 is Cordara's *Commentary on the Expedition made to Scotland by Charles Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales*, written in Latin and translated into Italian.

The original work was written in 1751, but it did not become generally known in Europe until it had been translated into Italian early in the 19th century.

One version, dated 1815, in Italian, has been printed. The translator was Gussalli, and the work went through three editions, but it has never been translated into English. A review appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxix, December 1846 to March 1847, p. 150.

The conclusion arrived at by the Reviewer then may be summarised in his own words: 'We cannot reasonably look for much novelty as to leading incidents of the insurrection and of the two campaigns through which it was protracted. Neither can we regard him as our best authority for the wanderings of their hero. But as to the means whereby the Prince trained himself for what he considered his mission, and the circumstances under which it was prepared in Italy, we feel bound to accept the accomplished Italian as a new and important witness.'

The translation presented below, however, is taken from another Italian, or rather, Tuscan version, by 'the ex-Jesuit N. N.,' dated 12th November 1802. The manuscript, which is beautifully written, has only one defect—it is signed by the author with an almost illegible signature. Opinions indeed differ as to what the surname is; but it appears to be Ingo. It was prepared by the said Vincenzo

Ingo at the request of 'Don Francesco Caetani, Duke,' to whom it is dedicated; and, in a note to the reader, the translator explains that he has endeavoured to express the meaning and spirit of the author, and, at the same time, 'to respect those who have a right to give the law to our Italian tongue.'

Mr. Collison-Morley, to whom I am indebted for the translation of Ingo's work into English, has compared the two Italian versions of Cordara's Book and finds that Gussalli's is in a more terse style than that of Ingo.

The Vincenzo Ingo manuscript came into the London market in 1922, but its previous history is not known.

Giulio Cesare di Antonio Cordara, conte di Calamandrana,¹ historian and litterateur, was born at Alessandria 17th December 1704, the son of Count Antonio di Calamandrana. The family was of Flemish origin and had long been established at Nice, but had migrated to Alessandria in Piedmont to escape out of the zone of military operations during the war between the Bourbons and Austrians. Cordara's mother, Leonora del Cressini, died when he was quite young, and his father then went to Rome, leaving him at the age of seven in charge of the priest of Calamandrana. When he was ten years old he was sent to Rome and entered the Jesuit College there. In December 1717, when he was fourteen, he became a Jesuit himself, to the great disappointment of his father, who had intended him for a political or diplomatic career; and he soon acquired a reputation as satirist, poet, and historian. After completing his novitiate in Rome he was sent to Viterbo as teacher of rhetoric, and later to Ancona and Macerata. Here he made the acquaintance of Cardinal Lambertini,

¹ Authorities:—

Catholic Encyclopaedia.—EDWARD SPILLANE.

Bibl. de la Compagnie de Jésus II., 1141-1432.—SAMMERVOGD.

Nomenclator (Innsbruck, 1895), v. 376.—HURTER.

Bibliographie historique de la Comp. de Jésus (Paris, 1864).—CARAYON.

afterwards Pope Benedict xiv., who commended him warmly to the General of the Company at the Conclave.

When at Maccrata he wrote some satirical poems through which he became involved in controversy, and also a pastoral drama on the death of Clementina Sobieska, wife of the Chevalier de St. George, which was well received and played all over Italy, and which increased his literary reputation.

About 1740, Cordara was called to Rome, where he remained for thirty-two years. In 1742 he was selected to write the *History of the Society of Jesus*, embracing the period from 1616 to 1633. The first volume appeared in 1750; the second was published long after his death. He also wrote the history of the German College in Rome.

In Rome he was in great request whenever literary skill was needed, as, for instance, for a description of the funeral of the Chevalier. He also wrote many plays for the Jesuit Colleges.

When the Society of Jesus was finally suppressed in 1774, Cordara withdrew from Rome to Alessandria, devoting his remaining years to literature. Altogether he produced some sixty works from first to last. He died in Alessandria on 6th March 1785, aged eighty-one.

Cordara was intimately associated with the Jacobite leaders and the exiled Royal Family in Rome. He had known the young Prince and his brother, afterwards Cardinal, Duke of York, since boyhood; and it was at the request of the latter that he undertook in 1751 the compilation of the *Expediitio in Scotiam*.

Carducci, who had translated some of Cordara's Satires, refers in complimentary terms to the *Expediitio*, which he says was written 'in the finest and freest Latin the Jesuits ever wrote.'

Whatever its literary value, his work must be regarded

as of peculiar interest, if not of importance, inasmuch as it was written so soon after the disastrous termination of Prince Charles Edward's expedition, in a *milieu* in which the author was obviously in a position to get first-hand information from some of its survivors, and to know the views held by them and the Jacobite party in Rome on the course of events.

The question arises : What were the sources of Cordara's information ?

It is improbable that Cordara had access to many of the sources on which we now rely, in dealing with the history of the '45 ; but it is possible that he had seen some at least of the correspondence, now called the 'Stuart Papers,' preserved in Windsor Castle ; and the fact that he wrote his book at the request of the Cardinal, Duke of York, suggests that from the latter he may have obtained information not accessible to other authorities. This would apply specially to such matters as the intimate conversations in Rome between Tencin and the Chevalier, and the account of the Prince's journey to Antibes.

From the modern historical point of view the *Expedition* may not be of outstanding importance ; in certain details, indeed—notably in connection with the Prince's wanderings after Culloden—it is often very inaccurate. But it is interesting in regard to the early life of the Prince, his experiences in the field, and the negotiations which led up to his departure from Rome to Paris.

The most controversial feature of the work is the account given of these negotiations.

Cordara ascribes the activities of France, such as they were, principally to Cardinal Tencin, and he gives in considerable detail the substance of the Cardinal's speech at the Council of Versailles in December 1743, and the action subsequently taken by the French Government, without making any reference to the part played by Amelot.

We are indeed asked to believe that, without Tencin, there would have been no '45 at all.

Here, of course, he is not in accord with modern historians; but, on the assumption that the source of his information was the Jacobite Court in Rome, he presumably expressed the views there held.

These views may have been inaccurate, but they were certainly held by the Prince, who when he was on the spot in Paris, chafing at the repeated delays in the French preparations for invasion of Great Britain, wrote on 24th February 1745 to Cardinal Tencin, asking what the explanation was. In reply the Cardinal wrote on 15th March: 'J'ignore la cause . . . comme j'ai ignoré les raisons du mystère qui m'a été fait.'

Commenting on this letter, Colin, who had access to the records of the Historical Section of the French General Staff, says that it shows that the Cardinal, 'who was perhaps the first promoter of the enterprise and who had arranged the relations that existed between the Pretender and the French Government, was no longer kept fully informed of the course of negotiations, after the death of Cardinal Fleury—the time when they became serious. . . . It must be concluded that the enterprise was conceived and advised solely by M. de Maurepas, and by M. Amelot, whose disgrace speedily followed the abandonment of the attempt.'¹

Before this, the Chevalier, addressing King Louis on 23rd December 1743, says that he is writing to him direct, and not to the Cardinal: 'Parce que l'on me dit le cardinal n'est pas encore informé des affaires qui ont causé la mission de M. Macgregor.'²

These quotations certainly appear to indicate that, whatever Cardinal Tencin may have done before and immediately after the death of Cardinal Fleury, in

¹ Colin, *Louis XV. et les Jacobites*, 182.

² Colin, 36.

December 1742, when it came to the plans of the autumn of 1743 and the mission to Rome summoning the Prince to Paris, it was not he but Amelot who was responsible. In fact Colin, in his preface (p. viii), says that 'Lord Sempill's account of the negotiations never even mentions Tencin, and the few letters written by him after the event prove that he was not in the secret.'

Here there is, then, a direct conflict of opinion between the contemporary writer and the modern historian. Cordara ignores Amelot; Colin will have none of Cardinal Tencin. Colin's sources are, it must be admitted, so clear that it is difficult to believe he and modern writers have been mistaken.

On the other hand, Dr. Walter Blaikie has drawn my attention to a pamphlet, in English, 'printed for Mr. Cooper' in London in 1745, entitled 'Cardinal Tencin's plan, presented to the French King, for settling the Pretender's Family upon the British throne, and completing the long concerted Scheme of Universal Monarchy in the House of Bourbon.' This pamphlet may be a translation from the French, or it may merely express the views of the unknown author on the part played by Cardinal Tencin at Versailles. There is no indication as to its authorship or its authority; but it is curiously similar in sentiment to the account given by Cordara of Tencin's interview with the Chevalier and to his speech before the Council of State. Tencin, according to the writer of the pamphlet, urges the stirring up of the Scots by impressing on them the misery of their position, on account of their dependence upon England and the exile of their own King. The Irish are to be similarly induced to appreciate the ruin of their country, and still more of their religion, by the English Government. In England there is to be a carefully organised campaign against the Hanoverian King, as a foreigner, and against the heavy

taxation (especially the malt tax) which has been imposed by him, in the interests of Hanover, on his English subjects. The English navy and the army are to be corrupted in all ranks, and, when success has been attained, the Prince is to appear 'at the head of a numerous army.' Victory is certain, and it will remain only 'with the glittering trophies of fallen naval power to adorn the All-Conquering Universal House of Bourbon.'

In his brief article on Tencin in the *Encyclopédie théologique*, tome xxxi, Mons. L'Abbé Migne says that Tencin was for some time, during 1741-42, the French chargé d'affaires in Rome, and left that appointment to take up the Archbishopric of Lyons. Shortly afterwards Cardinal Fleury, recognising his talents, procured his appointment to Minister of State.

Cordara himself evidently had little belief in the intentions of France to assist the Jacobite cause for its own sake, 'except in so far as that assistance was of benefit to herself directly or indirectly. On the other hand, he was apparently as much misled by the optimistic reports of Sempill, Balhaldie, and the English Jacobites as were Amelot and his colleagues.

An interesting account is given of the mission of Macgregor (alias 'Drummond of Balhaldie') to Rome in December 1743, and of the family conclave which followed the deliverance of his message from Versailles. This probably may be accepted as an accurate account of what happened.

The description of the Prince's journey from Rome to Antibes is evidently the one current at the time; but it contains one or two mistakes, and differs in some respects from other contemporary versions. The 'English nobles' who were sent from France to Rome were 'Balhaldie,' and another whose identity is uncertain, but may have been Sir John Graeme or Graham.

Again, it is generally held that it was James Murray, titular Earl of Dunbar, who accompanied the Prince in the carriage in which he made the first stage of his departure from Rome ; but Cordara says it was Sir Thomas Sheridan, his Master of the Household.

According to Cordara the Prince had only one servant with him when he reached Massa and met the 'English nobleman.' He is then said to have himself joined the latter as a servant and to have travelled with him to Antibes. The Commandant of the port, however, in his official report of the Prince's arrival there, dated 23rd January 1744, stated that the Prince was accompanied by three persons ; and, instead of spending only a few hours there as Cordara states, he was, according to Colin, in Antibes until January 29th, when he left with 'M . . . ¹ sous les noms de Graham et Malloch.'

Dr. Blaikie considers that the Prince assumed the name Malloch, which was the usual pseudonym of Balhaldie.

The reader will be struck by some of the omissions of the learned author. Cordara cannot but have been aware at the time he wrote his commentary of the relations that existed, from the very first, between the Prince (misled by his Irish adventurers) and his able, loyal, and misjudged supporter Lord George Murray ; he probably saw the correspondence between the Prince on his return from Scotland and his father, making unfounded accusations against the man to whom he owed so much. But no reference is made to the matter—indeed, there is little in the narrative to show that Lord George occupied any position of particular importance at all.

Similarly, he barely refers to the sinister Murray of Broughton, who did so much to damage Lord George and

¹ *Sic.*

to hamper his military actions. In fact, the only reference to him is that he subsequently acted as a traitor.

To the Chiefs, too, there are few references in the narrative.

On the other hand, Cordara ascribes to the Prince personally much of the credit for military successes which should at least be shared by the leaders and the rank and file.

Military operations, whether from their tactical or their strategical aspect, obviously did not interest Cordara much; nor is this to be wondered at; and he underestimates—no doubt because he did not appreciate—the astonishing achievement of the little, badly armed, and untrained force, in invading England and withdrawing unhurt, in the face of far larger forces of trained Regular soldiers, led by professional officers. In an age when set battles were the rule and the time factor in warfare was regarded as of comparatively small importance, the march of the Prince's army into England and back was a truly wonderful performance; Cordara not only ignores it but is rather complimentary to Cumberland, whose ineptitude and lack of enterprise were only equalled by those of his colleagues and subordinates, Cope, Wade, and Hawley.

No reference is made to the difficulties the little army had to contend with while they were in and about Inverness—the bad commissariat arrangements of Hay of Restalrig, the acute lack of funds and the rapidly increasing number of desertions. Nor is any comment made on the fatal night march to Nairn or to the disposition of the field of battle by O'Sullivan, in opposition to the wiser opinions of Lord George Murray.

Probably Cordara, instructed by the Cardinal Prince, was unaware of these the determining factors in the debacle.

The fourth Book is difficult to follow, and there is such

confusion of dates and places in the Prince's wanderings as to make it almost valueless as a record. This is what might be expected, as the writer had probably had no opportunity, when he wrote, of getting information from those who, at various times, accompanied the Prince. O'Sullivan and O'Neill were not in Rome, and the narratives of Donald Macleod and MacEachainn and others were probably unknown to him.

The notes are designed, as far as possible, merely to show the points of difference between Cordara's narrative and the ordinary authorities; no claim is made that they clear up points still doubtful in the history of the '45.

As regards the Prince's movements, however, these notes are based practically entirely on information in the work which is the only really accurate authority on that subject, Dr. Walter Blaikie's *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*. To the learned author I am indebted for permission to use his work.

To Mr. Collison-Morley I am indebted for his great kindness in translating the manuscript from the Italian.

To His Excellency,
Sig. Don FRANCESCO CAETANI, Duke.

EXCELLENCY,

Having, at your Excellency's command, undertaken the translation of the Latin version of the Expedition to Scotland of Charles Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales, a posthumous work, which has only just seen the light, of Padre Giulio Cesare Cordara of the Company of Jesus, formerly my colleague and very dear friend, I have successfully completed the work, and, whatever its merits, I gladly dedicate it to your Excellency.

This proof of my obedience, which at my advanced age and in the habitual poor state of my health has kept me busy for two months, with an application even greater than my poor strength can bear, was more than due from me to a person of such parts, who has always treated me with marked favour and distinguished me with especial partiality. When I say '*of such parts*' there is no danger of my being suspected of flattery, seeing that it is well known that there is not a single Roman noble who surpasses you in eagerness to cultivate, promote, and protect the study both of pure literature and of the most sublime sciences. Your palace on the Esquiline Hill, dedicated to the encouragement of poetry, and that other splendid mansion in the heart of the city, destined to be the Academy of Science for Rome, have attracted an attention and an admiration so universal that not only our own Italy, but France herself, so grudging of praise to all that does not spring from her own soil, has lavished praise upon you in her journals.

It is not only from respect and gratitude that this humble work of mine should be dedicated to you, but from the interest of the story it contains. For none of the great families of Rome was so honoured with proofs of friendly intercourse by the Royal House of Stuart as your own. Rome still remembers the happy event of your most auspicious marriage with Donna Vittoria Corsini,

which James III., King of England, father of Edward, Prince of Wales, and of Henry, Duke of York, who is still alive, Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals, Grand Chancellor of Holy Church, and a true glory to the Sacred Purple—which marriage, I say, King James desired should be honoured with his Royal presence and celebrated in his own private Royal chapel. On that day he insisted on being present at the sacred rites of the ceremony prescribed by the Church, and, not satisfied with this, on the same day he insisted on entertaining yourselves with your respective nearest relations as his guests at a most sumptuous banquet, served with regal splendour.

Furthermore, the King himself, when his son Edward was starting on that famous expedition to Scotland, which put a new face on the affairs of Europe, and which had, for every political reason, to be kept absolutely secret, profiting by the friendship and intimacy he enjoyed with your most excellent family, chose the estates of Cisterna and Fogliano, of which your Excellency is Lord: and there for eleven whole days he was able to keep the great secret, which had to be hidden from the keen eyes of Rome, giving out that he was enjoying the exquisite scenery. Europe was thunderstruck when it heard of the arrival of Edward, Prince of Wales, in Paris, before it had been able to realise that he had left Rome.

Deign therefore to accept this manuscript of mine which is your due on so many grounds; and, though your refined taste may miss in it the matchless elegance of style of the immortal Latin historian, yet, if it can recognise the fidelity of the sentiments, and the true spirit of the author, which I have made it my one object to reproduce in this version, it will give me some satisfaction in the brief period of life yet remaining to me.

With all respect I have the honour to remain,

Your most humble, respectful and obliged servant,

VINCENZO INGO (?).

At home,¹ November 12, 1802.

¹ *i.e.* in the Caetani Palace?

BOOK I

AT a time when the whole of Europe had blazed out into war for the heritage of the Emperor Charles VI., when nearly all the Powers, either in their own interest or in that of their allies, either of their own free will or from necessity, were involved in the struggle, Edward Stuart, the eldest son of James III., King of Great Britain, suddenly came forward to play a leading part in the great tragedy. In this brief commentary it is my intention to relate the history of his momentous expedition. At first he entered upon the struggle completely unarmed and in appearance more like a reckless lad, determined to run all risks, than a person of staid gravity. The spectators, intent upon the issue of the venture, were astonished at his foolhardiness. Unprepared, without troops or any support, he took upon himself to carry on a war against a most powerful enemy single-handed. Yet little by little his energy, gathering strength from all sides, completely turned the tables. The whole of Europe looked on amazed and delighted at the sight. At the head of strong forces he overran kingdoms that were his by right of birth, captured strongholds that nature and the hand of man had made impregnable, gave battle, won glorious victories, and was so successful in everything he did that he seemed on the point of recovering the throne of his ancestors. Yet after this glorious beginning fortune deserted him. Though he gained little for himself, he not only did good service to his followers, but succeeded in entirely changing the face of affairs throughout the whole of Europe.¹

¹ One wonders how the writer can have come to this conclusion, after living as he did among men who had been ruined by the lost cause they had followed. It would be hard to show how the '45 had entirely changed the face of affairs in Europe, except in so far as it was the final ruin of the Royal House of the Stuarts.

These are the events which, though already well known to fame, I feel it my duty to narrate in a book, in order that achievements so richly deserving of record, and which happened in our own time, may be handed down to the memory of future generations. This task I undertake the more readily that a Prince, more generous than lucky, stricken and overthrown by a sudden change of fortune, was destined for an end very different from the early promise of his adventure. Indeed, the only reward of his efforts was the reputation for true courage and the undying fame which are ensured by nothing so much as by a well-written history. A poor comfort, maybe, but yet one due to the loss of a kingdom. I am also moved to write because enterprises, however glorious, which are not successful easily fade from the memory of men, unless they are accurately recorded¹ in a special history. And this happens either because writers of public news-sheets usually touch only superficially on matters, or because less attention is paid to events which leave no trace behind them, or because it is a weakness of mankind to respect only success. Moreover, enterprises such as this which end in disaster are, as a rule, wrongly condemned by the thoughtless, who judge everything by results. Indeed, most men praise them grudgingly or damn them with faint praise, as if lack of fortune, of all things the most fickle, in any way detracted from real merit. Undoubtedly, had our Edward's luck been equal to his courage, and had his expedition been crowned with success in the field, he would have been looked upon as a matchless hero and celebrated by all nations as a prodigy of his age. But now that he is overwhelmed with misfortunes, deserted and a wanderer, he is admired as he deserves only by those few

¹ Cordara describes his work as a Commentary; but here he claims the status of an historian rather than that of a commentator. It must be assumed, therefore, that he endeavoured, as far as possible, to secure accuracy in the narrative. Considering the date of his writing, and the fact that he must have had opportunities of meeting some of the leading actors in the tragedy of the '45 on their return to the Continent and of hearing their accounts of what happened, one must give him the credit of reporting what was told to him—even when the reports so received do not altogether tally with the accounts accepted to-day.

who see things in their just proportions and understand that glory won by true courage is not destroyed by the caprice of fortune, and that merit lacks nothing so long as neither pluck nor prudence are wanting. For myself, if Edward had recovered the kingdom he deserved and was now in London on the throne of his fathers, I might count him more fortunate, but not more brave or prudent, nor more deserving of the praise that is the right of virtue. Indeed, to my mind, he might well be deficient in the greatest of his qualities—I mean his steadfast and imperturbable constancy in misfortune and adversity. Neither his friends nor his troops have any share in this quality.¹ It is a merit all his own and one that will give ample material for my pen. Thus I am about to embark upon a narrative admirable in its early stages, successful and varied as it progressed, melancholy in its end, yet throughout shedding endless lustre upon Edward and the glory of his name. And before all else, in order to refute the charge of rashness that has been brought against this distinguished Prince by the ignorant, I will begin by setting forth the reasons and motives that prompted the enterprise.

From his boyhood Edward, called Prince of Wales, was brought up never to abandon the desire and the hope of recovering his kingdom. As a young man he was therefore instructed in all the arts of government. Nature herself had endowed him with the highest gifts that belong to the most honoured Princes; rare beauty and charm, combined with the grave dignity that becomes a prince; a character high-minded, liberal, and lively; an active mind, capable not only of conceiving, but of carrying out the most daring enterprises. Agile and strong in body, he was full-blooded and energetic. He was also hard-working, neglecting nothing that is expected of a king. Most notable was a

¹ This statement is a remarkable one. Failure though the expedition was, it at least stands out as an example of the steadfastness of many of the Prince's leaders and followers. 'Imperturbable constancy' may surely be credited to such men as Lord George Murray, Lochiel, the Duke of Perth, and many others of all ranks.

certain affability and charm in his expression, all the more pleasing from its unchanging serenity and the graciousness of his address. His abhorrence of all haughtiness and display was as notable as his care not to degrade his rank by any kind of levity. He never gave way to idleness or laziness, least of all to any of the temptations of the senses that so beset a young man and a prince in Rome. He had a good knowledge of languages, speaking not merely Italian, but Latin, English, and French. He also possessed considerable familiarity for one of his years with public affairs, and with history, which he had gained from books.

He had an overmastering passion for the profession of arms, looking upon it as a school of valour and glory. And though in Rome he enjoyed all the luxury and splendour he could desire and was treated by the Romans with the respect due to a Prince, he thoroughly disliked living there, because, in a city of ecclesiastics such as Rome is, the arts of peace alone were practised and he was obliged to spend the flower of his years in an idleness which he considered inglorious. His only amusements were riding and hunting; by this I do not mean that sport of the weakling, snaring with nets, but the toils of the chase, shooting birds and tracking down the wildest of game; and such was his skill that he was never known to miss a shot.¹ This sport he would sometimes prolong for the whole day. In heat or rain, in any weather he would make his way through or go round the wildest heath and the densest wood, where there was no trace of a path. At sunset he would return delighted with the excellent bag, though utterly tired out, scorched by the sun or frozen by the cold. This is how he accustomed himself to the fatigues of war. He felt that he had no lack of courage to face them, and when he realised that he was of an age to do so and that he possessed

¹ The Prince's skill as a game shot was well known. The Duc de Liria, son of the Duke of Berwick, writing about him at the age of six and a half, said: 'I have seen him take a cross-bow and kill birds on the roof, and split a rolling ball with a bolt ten times in succession.'—*Documentos Ineditos*, vol. xciii. p. 18. Lang: *Prince Charles Edward*, p. 15.

the strength, his only complaint was that he had had so little instruction in the school of Mars, the one road to his kingdom. He considered that sketching a fortress or the ability to talk sensibly on military matters was quite useless without practice and experience. Hence he was continually urging his father not to keep him longer idle in Rome, but to send him where he could learn the art of war by experience. Born and reared in the hope of a crown, he must be a soldier before he could be a king. This was the one path to a kingdom. Though at heart James, his father, approved the generous ardour of the youth, he gently checked an enthusiasm which he considered untimely, bidding him bow to circumstances and to necessity. The son answered that, on the contrary, they must fight against them and compensate for their cruel luck by courage.

His father consented in some measure to humour his son on an opportunity offering in the Neapolitan war of 1734, when the Spaniards were fighting the Austrians. A special reason for his yielding was that Fortune, having declared against the arms of Austria, and a great part of the kingdom having been brought under the power of Charles,¹ a Royal Prince of Spain, the Duke of Berwick,² a general of great renown, who belonged to the Stuart family, was busy stamping out the last traces of war. Berwick had collected his army under Gaeta and was making great preparations to storm the fortress, which was well protected by its position and by its defences, when Edward was allowed to go to the Spanish camp to watch the storming at close quarters.³

¹ Charles, son of Philip v., conquered Naples in 1735, and became King of the Two Sicilies the same year. He subsequently, in 1759, succeeded to the Crown of Spain.

² James FitzJames, natural son of James VII. by Arabella Churchill, was created Duke of Berwick in 1686. He accompanied his father into exile in 1688, and entered the service of France. He rose to the rank of Marshal of France and Grandee of Spain. He was killed in 1734 in the war between France and the Emperor.—*Scots Peerage*, i. p. 34.

³ The Prince was invited to go by Berwick's son, the Duc de Liria. He was accompanied by Murray (Dunbar) and Sheridan.—Lang, p. 22.

He flew eagerly to the camp, as to the height of his desires. So efficiently did he carry out all the duties of military discipline, that this boy of fifteen, a mere tiro, might have served as a model to experienced leaders and veterans. Every one was afraid of his coming to harm or feeling the hardships ; but, under the beating rays of the sun, in the midst of clouds of dust, he would ride round the trenches, minutely inspecting the mines, the platforms, the artillery, the tunnels and all the details of a siege. A volunteer, he did not shrink from the most arduous duties or the roughest encounters, never failing in any task he undertook. Though attacked by land and sea, the Germans resisted vigorously, firing unceasingly and continually making sorties to hinder the operations of the enemy. Edward always rushed to where the hail of bullets was thickest. Whenever there was a sortie, he was the first in the fray, encouraging his comrades by word and example, the heart and soul of the battle. Though Berwick, to whom his life was entrusted, disapproved of his running such risks, he admired him and held him up as an example to the others. When at last the Austrians were compelled to yield, the first to be seen on the battlements was Edward. He also wished to be the first in the fort, entering not through the gates, but through the breaches and the gaps in the walls and the heaped-up stones, the soldiers applauding and admiring the spirit of the royal youth. This was his first taste of war, and from it we may judge his courage, if he ever were himself to command in the field and to draw his sword, not to gain experience, but to conquer and rule. His passion for war was keener than ever when he returned to Rome, but in the meanwhile he did not interrupt his studies.

Not long afterwards the Powers were again in arms. Maria Teresa, Queen of Hungary, wished to preserve intact the heritage of her father, Charles VI.,¹ from her rivals, who were determined to divide it. The greater part of Europe being thus involved in war, Edward began to make

¹ Died 20th October 1740.

more ambitious plans, to think of his kingdom, and to believe that his chance had come. What specially moved him was the easiness of attempting the enterprise, which then seemed peculiarly timely. The King of France had openly declared against Maria Teresa, who was supported by England.¹ There was a growing rumour that the English would actively support Austria and send troops to her aid in the Low Countries, and he hoped that, if he tried to recover the throne of his ancestors, he would be assisted by France. However small her help, as the English troops were distracted by a foreign war, he thought that it would not prove difficult, with the aid of the many followers he still had in the heart of the country, to get control of the Kingdom. His confidence was increased by the knowledge that there had been disturbances in England and some beginnings of a political movement and that many people had expressed open disgust at the rule of the Hanoverian George II. It was rather the lack of a leader than any unwillingness to rise that kept them quiet. So he begged his father to give him a chance of proving his courage. Why should he wait? What would be the effect of longer delay but to weaken the loyalty of friends from the lapse of time, to strengthen the forces of the enemy by long possession, while they were letting slip an excellent opportunity that would not return? In the present disturbed state of Europe no prince ought to be blind to his own interests, least of all King James, who had been robbed of his kingdom and had lived in exile for so many years, even though, satisfied with the empty title of king, he set little store by the reality. For himself, he had no lack of spirit and he would run any risk for the glory and dignity of his king and father and for the common cause of his family. An attempt must be made and the issue joined. A kingdom was at stake, for the reconquest of which no effort should seem too great. What had failed before might succeed this time, and, even were he to fail, the mere

¹ In 1741 France declared war, and in 1743 England came in on the side of Maria Theresa. A sum of £300,000 was remitted to the Queen, and a contingent of 12,000 Hessians and Danes was raised by George II.

attempt would do good, by reminding the English that the Royal House of Stuart still existed, that it did not waive its claims, nor despair of its cause. King James fully appreciated the force of his son's arguments, but, weakened by age and his knowledge of the danger there is in great enterprises, he decided to run no risks and delayed still longer. Edward, on the contrary, could not brook further delay.

Fortunately at that time Cardinal Pierre Guérin de Tencin¹ became one of the most intimate councillors of the King of France. A man of great circumspection, he had been raised to the purple on the recommendation of King James and recognised how deeply he was indebted to him on that account. He desired nothing more than to be able to make some return to a prince who had done so much for him. It chanced that he had recently come to Rome on business of the French Embassy. Not only was he often in Edward's company, but he introduced to him his nephew, the Chevalier de Tencin, a man of conspicuous parts, who represented the Order of Jerusalem at the Papal Court, and he soon became on intimate terms with the Prince. Hence the Cardinal, either because he had himself divined Edward's wishes when in Rome, or owing to suggestions made secretly in his nephew's letters, only waited till he was, as we have mentioned, admitted to the royal counsels to propose that Edward should be summoned to France and supplied with money and troops for the recovery of his kingdom. He also suggested that the invitation should be made in such a way that King

¹ Cardinal Fleury, Prime Minister of France, died 29th January 1743, and was succeeded by Cardinal Tencin. Cordara regarded Tencin as principally responsible for bringing about the co-operation—such as it was—of France with the Jacobite party in 1743-1744. His views are opposed to those of Captain Colin, who, in his *Louis xv et les Jacobites*, says:—

'On paraît aussi s'être mépris sur le principal auteur du projet; s'il est possible que le cardinal de Tencin ait servi quelque temps d'intermédiaire entre Louis xv et le Prétendant, il semble être resté tout à fait étranger aux projets de restauration et de descente en Angleterre. Le récit laissé par Lord Sempill de toutes les négociations . . . ne mentionne même pas Tencin, et les quelques billets écrits par lui après l'événement prouvent qu'il n'était pas dans le secret.'

James would have no time for long consultations or for making difficulties. The Cardinal was by nature inclined to act quickly, an invaluable habit in carrying out important matters successfully, and he knew that the shorter the delay, the more pleased Edward would be, for he was naturally most impetuous. But since the attempt might be frustrated, if it were even suspected by any one at all, and since he realised that it must be managed with a caution worthy of its importance, he was on the look-out for an opportunity, which actually presented itself in the way I am about to relate.

The alliance between Maria Teresa and George II. had been made. Both sides had dispatched a number of troops to the Scheldt, and the English were soon to send others to join them in the Netherlands, while the Dutch, hitherto neutral, were, it was loudly declared, inclining towards Austria, meaning to join her as soon as possible. The French Cabinet was trying to devise a plan for preventing the junction of all these enemy forces. Obviously, if they could not quickly dissipate the storm that was steadily gathering, France's high hopes of subjugating the Netherlands would speedily disappear.

In these circumstances Cardinal Tencin said that the easiest way of dividing the enemy's forces would be to come to terms with James III., King of England, who had long been an exile in Rome, and provide him with means for the recovery of his kingdom. He had a son of great parts, as eager for fame as for his throne, who was thoroughly capable of successfully conducting a war himself. If he landed in Scotland with a reasonable escort of troops to regain armed possession of his ancient patrimony, all Scotland would fly to arms and a large part of England would come under Scottish rule. The Scots were most certainly very ready to rise for many reasons, but more especially because of their old hatred and jealousy of the English, who had been greatly favoured at their expense by King George, while they had to submit to their own affairs being controlled by them. They had always retained their affection for the House of Stuart, not merely

from the memory of earlier kings, whom they had always found good and just rulers, but from their special fondness for James, whom they once eagerly welcomed among them with the most devoted loyalty, acclaiming him their King. Nothing could increase their loyal devotion more effectually than for them to have actually before their eyes under arms James's son, Edward, a prince of great courage and highly endowed both physically and mentally. Many even of the English, whether from disgust at being ruled by a foreigner, or from an inborn desire for change, were turning to the Stuarts again. Most of them were beginning to repent of having unjustly driven out the legitimate heirs to the throne, who had not deserved such treatment, and allowing them to remain so long in exile. Certainly all the Catholics, of whom there were many in both kingdoms, would desire nothing better than to be ruled by a Catholic Prince of their own blood. They would then experience much relief and be freed from some of the intolerable burdens under which they were groaning and be able to breathe again. For these and other reasons there was no doubt that at the mere rumour of a Stuart invasion, things in England would take on quite a different complexion. The English troops would be obliged to abandon Belgium and hasten home to look after their own affairs, which would touch them more nearly than those of other people. The French would then experience no further resistance to their victorious advance through Belgium and their seizing with impunity the fortresses of that province. The Dutch, too, would be held and prevented from undertaking hostilities against France. If fortune smiled on the attempt and the Stuarts reigned again in England, what glory and profit would his Most Christian Majesty not win in the future by restoring to their throne a family of great nobility, above all things, a Catholic family, which had always been friendly to France and, after this new and signal service, would be attached to him by an even closer bond ?¹

¹ Did the Cardinal really believe that the position of the Jacobite party in Scotland, and in England, was as suggested? He certainly overestimates the strength of the alleged hostility to George II. in England, and of the

Tencin's speech was received with universal applause by the assembly. The King, who was sincerely attached to James, readily admitted that it was his duty to help this unhappy family, applauding the suggestion the more readily because it would also serve his own ends, and he would be listening to the claims both of glory and of friendship. It was decreed that an alliance should be made with James III., King of England, and that his son Edward should leave Rome for France. Ships and troops were to be prepared for the invasion of Scotland; above all, everything must be carried out with the greatest dispatch and without the least noise, since this was the first essential of success.

Such was the decision of the Council of Versailles at the beginning of December 1743. Soon after the middle of the same month two English nobles¹ arrived in Rome from France with orders that, under the pretext of visiting the city, they should make arrangements for Edward's expedition and, by holding out great promises and hopes, should induce him to ask permission to start. One of them was furnished with the usual credentials of an ambassador to King James, as a proof of good faith, and

enthusiasm of the English Jacobites. It is possible that he was merely reflecting the optimistic views of such Jacobite emissaries as Drummond of Balhaldie; but the subsequent history of the part actually played by France in honouring her engagement to the Prince surely indicates that, throughout the negotiations, Tencin, Amelot, and King Louis were merely utilising the Prince and the Jacobite schemes as a useful diversion against English activities on the Continent.

¹ This statement does not entirely tally with the accepted versions. William Macgregor, alias Drummond of Balhaldie, was sent from Paris to Rome to make arrangements, and arrived there on 19th December 1743. He left Rome on 25th December and reached Paris on 3rd January 1744. (See Balhaldie's *Memorial History of Clan Gregor*, vol. ii. p. 361.)

The question is, Who was the second envoy?

Cordara expressly says that he was to be the Prince's travelling companion, and was provided with English passports, and that he was sent on to Massa to await the Prince and make arrangements for his passage through Genoese territory; but he does not mention his name.

Lang, in his *Prince Charles Edward* (p. 41), says that 'a gentleman had met him on the way, and took part in his perils, a Mr. Graham or Graeme,' and that the Prince in a letter from Paris dated 10th February, speaking of this

played the part of French envoy. The other was to be Edward's travelling companion, and was provided with English passports which, as he travelled under an assumed name, might ensure his safety, in case of trouble. I do not propose to relate where and when this commission was executed with the utmost caution, in order to prevent any inkling of it reaching the public. The important point is that the French envoy, having been admitted to an audience by James III. in the presence of his son Edward and Tencin, the Ambassador of Malta, explained that all difficulties had been smoothed away and the whole thing would be quite easy to carry out. There was hardly a soldier left in England, as all the forces of the kingdom had crossed to the Netherlands. Many of the leading gentry were in Scotland and, as soon as Edward arrived, would at once take arms and gather under their banners large bodies of clansmen. It would be child's play to seize a kingdom thus unprepared, while all the defenders were away, with the support of a number of adherents and friends who were in complete readiness to help. France would supply ships, provisions, and arms, and Spain money. A powerful fleet in Brest was ready to carry the Prince to Scotland without awakening the least suspicion in the Court in London. But haste was essential. Delay would be fatal, whereas immediate action would inevitably mean success. The Ambassador set forth all these arguments at length, and the Chevalier de Tencin, at his uncle's prompting, spoke to the same effect.

James was really moved at news that touched him so nearly, not so much for himself as for his children. It

individual, said: 'He has been very careful of me.' Lang assumes that this Graham was Sir John Graeme (son of Graeme of Inchbrakie and formerly Solicitor-General in Scotland), who was afterwards created Jacobite Earl of Alford, and, for a short time, was Jacobite Secretary of State. (Lang, *History of Scotland*, iv. p. 446.)

Sir John Graeme, then, was probably the second of the 'English nobles' referred to.

In another respect Cordara differs from other authorities, viz. in making Sheridan accompany the Prince on his departure from Rome. It was Lord Dunbar, *i.e.* James Murray, who went with him, and acted the part he had himself drawn up, with the coachman.

grieved him to have to leave them, born to rule, in a private station and exiles at his death. For himself, he said, at his age, the loss of a kingdom was a small matter since he had adopted a manner of life untouched by anxiety and turmoil; in Rome the only prerogatives of kingship that he missed were its cares and its inconveniences. Nevertheless, he dreaded the uncertain issues of war, and said that matters could not be ripe for a step of such importance. He desired better and more detailed information concerning the munitions, the number of troops, the money, and other matters. The idea of risking the life of a son so dear to him, the hope of his royal house, upon a doubtful enterprise was not to be entertained for a moment. The very liberality of the promises led him to believe that this was not an occasion for haste. Though he did not doubt the good faith of the quarter from which they came, he saw that they would be very difficult to carry out. The most friendly of princes are often compelled to listen to necessity rather than to friendship. Things which seem perfectly simple in a peaceful gathering of councillors may often prove in the event very difficult of execution. Some day a war carried on with such vigour by the Princes engaged must come to an end. And who would venture to predict the terms of peace? Might not the King of France be compelled to grant conditions more necessary than honourable? The greatest and most powerful kings may experience many changes of fortune in a long war and agree to treaties of peace in which, while they dictate some articles, they must bow to others. Every one is bound to look after his own interests rather than those of his friends. Might is stronger than right in treaties of this kind. The man who is nearest defeat very often wins in the end, while the man with right on his side is compelled to give way. This he had learnt not by the examples of others, but by bitter experience.

Edward watched his father in silence while he was speaking to this effect; but he could not conceal his disgust, and his knit brows showed his utter disapproval of his father's view. His father saw and continued: 'However,

this is a matter that concerns my son, not myself, and it is for him to decide. For myself, I have suffered all that my age and my strength can endure. Advanced in years¹ and weak in health, it is for me to think rather of my eternal welfare than of an unstable kingdom. He is now of an age to understand and to act as he thinks best. He must decide. I leave everything to his judgment. It shall never be said that I have indolently let slip a good opportunity, nor will I ever lay myself open to the charge of sluggishness or indifference to my family. One thing only I desire, that, whatever decision he takes, it may be crowned with success.' He then motioned to his son to state his views clearly and freely.

With radiant face, Edward spoke bravely as follows: 'Were anything else but your kingdom, your glory, and your dignity at stake, upon my honour I should be daunted by the difficulties of the enterprise. Nor, in all probability, would anything else weigh sufficiently with me to induce me to tear myself away from a father so affectionate and lose from my sight one who is dearer to me than anything else in the world. But when proposals are made to me which, as I have learnt from your lips and your example, are to be preferred to life itself, I fail altogether to see why my expedition should be longer delayed. It will be full of hardships and perils, it is true, but such is the path of glory. The issues of war are uncertain; but glory is assured and my chances are splendid. What avails hope without daring? My father, do not therefore imagine that I am ignorant of the difference between courage and rashness, or that I am risking my life without duly weighing the circumstances. For the moment there is no question of my entering upon a war in Scotland, but only of my going to France. There, in a neighbouring country, the chances of war will be discussed, and I shall certainly not enter upon it unless the prospects of success seem far to outweigh the dangers. Such being my views, you have no cause to be anxious about me. Indeed, there is much

¹ The Chevalier was at this time in the 56th year of age.

that may give us both comfort. For once I shall escape from this inglorious idleness and look fate in the face, while you will, I venture to hope, see those high qualities which have been so often put to the proof flower again in a son who is not unworthy of you.'

During his son's speech the King gently wiped away the tears which his feelings drew from his eyes. Edward was not unmoved at the sight, and continued :

'I see that a most affectionate father grieves to lose a son who must soon be separated from him by so much land and water. But I beg of you, Sire, not to listen to your heart when great public interests are at stake, and in such a crisis to think rather of the duty of a king than of the feelings of a father. If there were room for tears at our parting, no one would have a better right to shed them than myself, since I must leave all that I hold most dear and break at a single blow all the closest ties of nature—to go whither? Among a people I do not know, perhaps to death. Nothing is worth such a sacrifice. We must seek glory even against all the promptings of Nature herself.'

His father could not endure to hear more. Praying Almighty God to bring the enterprise to a successful issue, he left him free to go to France when he liked and dissolved the Council.

Edward then prepared to start for France. So quickly did he make his plans that within twenty days of the arrival of the two Englishmen in Rome he had set out. He spent this time in doing everything to ensure his being able to leave with the utmost secrecy. If the secret had leaked out, through any trifling indiscretion, he would have been in great danger from the English, who controlled the whole Mediterranean with their fleet, and from their agents who swarmed over most of Italy. There were still so many very serious obstacles in the way as to make the attempt seem almost desperate. As we have said, the sea was scoured by the English fleet and he was obliged to cross it, at least on the voyage from Liguria to France. There were openly hostile as well as doubtful districts to be

traversed. It was mid-winter. There were terrible rains, as well as roads ruined by frost, water, and snow. Besides, from fear of the plague, which was raging in Sicily, the frontiers of all the provinces of Italy were carefully guarded. The gates of the towns were provided with wickets and guards, and every traveller arriving was rigorously examined, being questioned as to who he was, where he came from, and whither he was going. Everyone arriving at the frontiers of Genoese territory was subjected to fifteen days' quarantine before being allowed to proceed on his way, an intolerable nuisance to people in a hurry. Lastly, it seemed very difficult, almost impossible, for a Prince of such rank to take his departure without awakening a suspicion that he was making for France. By what trick could they hope to deceive the Roman people, always so wide awake and bent on probing a man's inmost thoughts, a people accustomed from the most ancient times to show the utmost curiosity about the doings of persons of rank and to keep nothing secret? Could anything escape the notice of a densely populated city, especially now that there was war in Italy, and strangers of all kinds were coming to Rome in greater numbers than ever; when party feeling ran high and the ambassadors of the Powers were watching for the slightest shifting of the breeze? And even if he succeeded in eluding the watchfulness of the city, how was he to deceive the servants he always had around him? Against these he had more especially to be on his guard, as there are generally spies among the servants of a Prince. Not long ago, and indeed at that very time, there had been cause for suspecting the presence of these pests in the household of King James. Edward understood the difficulties, but he was not dismayed, and by vigilance and courage he successfully overcame them all, both by land and sea. More astonishing still, he concealed his departure so successfully, that it did not become known in Rome till eleven days after he had started. I propose to describe how he did this in detail, because it is of interest in itself and because it may serve as an example to others similarly placed.

To begin with, one ¹ of the two English envoys we have mentioned was immediately sent back to France to warn Louis of Edward's imminent arrival. The other was ordered to go to Massa in the Lunigiana, which marches with the Genoese Riviera, to await the coming of the Prince and make the necessary preparations for continuing the journey through Genoese territory. To him were consigned some of Edward's belongings, for he had decided to travel on horseback, disguised as a courier, without any kind of baggage, accompanied only by a single servant. One of these, a man of proved fidelity and courage and with a good knowledge of the road, was told to be ready on a certain date to proceed to France with one of the Court gentlemen. He must on no account say a word to any one. Since it was of the utmost importance that none of the servants should have an inkling of the Prince's departure, this is how matters were arranged. The date was fixed for 9th January and an important shooting party was planned for that day at Cisterna, on the Via Appia, some thirty miles from Rome, an excellent spot for sport on account of the thick woods in which it stood. Thither servants and huntsmen were dispatched, with all that was necessary for the expedition. These preparations were not unusual, as the Prince of Wales had been in the habit of going there about this time of year with his brother, the Duke of York, to shoot, generally for about a fortnight.

Very few people had been let into the secret; only those who were to play a part in carrying out the plan. All this was organised by the Scotsman Dumbarii,² a man of rare discretion and extraordinary activity, who had instructed Edward in early days. There was some hesitation about admitting the Duke of York to the plot. Edward would

¹ Drummond of Balhaldie.

² James Murray, second son of the fifth Viscount Stormont, served on the Jacobite side throughout the '15, afterwards going to France. In 1718 he was appointed a plenipotentiary for negotiating the marriage between Prince James Edward and the Princess Mary Clementina Sobieska. In 1721 the Prince created him Earl of Dunbar, and in 1725 Knight of the Thistle (*Scots Peerage*, viii. p. 205). In 1724 James appointed him tutor to his son, Charles Edward.

have preferred to confide in him, for he disliked the idea of leaving a brother so dear without bidding him farewell, and the young Duke's discretion, which had already been proved several times to be greater than his years, did not admit of a doubt that he would keep the secret. But after due consideration he decided not to listen to the dictates of his heart, for fear that a possible expression of sadness on his face might awaken suspicion. Edward, meanwhile, with no other idea in life than the glory of his great enterprise, firmly smothered his feelings, displaying all his usual gaiety with his brother, the servants, and his friends to the last, to the astonishment of King James and Dunbar, who watched his face in silence, well knowing what he was concealing.

This was even more remarkable on the day before his start. When it became known in Rome that the Princes were to leave for Cisterna on the following day, the leading nobles came, as usual, to pay them their respects in the evening. Edward's self-control was absolute. He received them all with his usual grace, talked affably with them, addressing some by name, carrying on commonplace shooting talk and letting fall a joke now and then, as if he were going into the country for pleasure and not to undertake a long and difficult journey, full of hardships, to be cut off from his family, from all the associations of his early boyhood. James's fortitude rivalled that of his son. Though his heart was heavy within him, he played his part in the conversation with an expression so unconcerned that he gave not the slightest sign of his feelings. When the reception came to an end amid good wishes for a pleasant trip, it was followed by a private supper, King James sitting down with his two sons, as usual, nor did the gentlemen-in-waiting present observe the slightest depression or anything unusual. Indeed, after the meal, some time was spent in happy talk until the King rose and dismissed his sons, wishing them *bon voyage*. Edward was the first to retire to his room, but shortly afterwards he repaired to his father through a secret passage and conversed with him in private for the space of an hour.

And here during their last interview it seems incredible that father and son, both deeply moved, should not have given way to nature. Never to my mind were more genuine tears shed on an occasion more appropriate. A most lovable son was parting from a most loving father. Left to himself and to his own resources, he was now not merely to be deprived of his companionship, a trial severe enough in itself, but was moreover to go among unknown people, and to face a thousand deaths amid the uncertain dangers of war. If, in his misfortune, James was the most unhappy of princes, yet he counted himself, as indeed he was, the most fortunate of them all in having such a son. On the other hand, Edward, however careless of himself, was most loth to leave alone in his grief in his old age a good father by whom he had been admirably brought up, whom he regarded as his guide and master in the paths of virtue, whose will had always been his own. 'This alone, my dear father,' he said, 'gives me some little consolation and hope, that in my brother Henry you will find no small comfort and a son certainly better than I am. By his presence you will be able to console yourself for my absence till a better fortune brings us together again. And if, as I feel in my heart, this does not prove an idle dream, a passing sorrow will be crowned by a great joy. Perhaps the moment ordained by God is at hand when the fortunes of our house are to be restored. Live on, my King, and may He keep you in health both for my sake and for the sake of the kingdom.'

The King made a short reply, such as the time and place allowed, and then added: 'May your high qualities continue to multiply, my son. Rest assured that the only satisfaction left for me in life while you are away will be ever to remember your noble disposition and to enjoy the glory of being the father of such a son.' With these words he drew forth a proclamation signed with his own hand, in which he appointed his son Edward, Prince of Wales, supreme Administrator of his kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, vesting him with the royal

authority.¹ 'Keep this paper by you,' said he, 'so that you can publish it at a fitting time.' Finally he gave him other counsel, inspired by true religion and wisdom, which he was ever to bear in mind. Last of all he bent down and folded his son, who had sunk upon his knees before him, in a close embrace, blessing him, bathed in tears, and bidding him (he was weeping no less copiously) retire and rest.

Edward rested little. He had ordered a travelling carriage to be ready some hours before dawn,² with three saddle-horses in addition. He said he wanted to start thus betimes, in order, if possible, to begin the shooting at Cisterna that same day. When this had been promptly done, he sent a message to the Duke of York to follow him as soon as it was convenient. Then, taking Sir [Thomas] Sheridan,³ his Master of the Household, as travelling companion, he got into the carriage and reached Porta S. Giovanni in Laterano. The royal outrider, Stafford,⁴ had gone on a little ahead on horseback, with the groom who, as has been said, had been let into the secret about the journey to France, leading the other riding horse. As they had been directed, they immediately halted outside the gate, waiting for the Prince. When Edward arrived and saw them on horseback, he bade the coachman stop, as if he had been seized with a sudden desire to ride, left the coach and got on horseback. Then, in order to hoodwink the coachman and the servants, he shouted to Sheridan to push on along the Marino road, as he meant to take the Albano road, vowing, with boyish impetuosity, that he

¹ This Commission was dated 'at our Court at Rome,' 23rd December 1743. It was read publicly at the raising of the Standard at Glenfinnan on 19th August 1745.

² 9th January 1744. On that date James wrote to Sempill that the Prince and his brother had left before dawn. (Lang, *Prince Charles Edward*, p. 38.) According to Colin, however, (p. 53) he left on 13th January. Cordara, below, refers to the Prince having reached Genoa on 13th January after five days' journey—which would make the 9th January the day of starting.

³ Cordara is here in opposition to other historians who state that it was Murray (Dunbar) who drove out of Rome with him.

⁴ Stafford was appointed a tutor to the Prince in October 1728. (Lang, *Prince Charles Edward*, p. 20.)

would be at Cisterna before them. I may say that when you leave the Lateran gate there are two roads to Cisterna, one by Marino, the other by Albano, both places not far from the city, famed for the quality of the air and popular holiday resorts of the Romans. The former is the main road and far the most convenient, since there are posting-stations at regular intervals, where travellers in either direction can pay by the stage, and horses and coaches can therefore be changed more quickly. This is the road generally taken by the public couriers. The other road is a little shorter, but very muddy in winter, full of pools of water, and almost impassable. Before you reach these cross-roads, there is another road on the left, nearer the gate, that goes to Frascati.

Edward made as if he would follow the Albano road. Sheridan, who had been let into the secret, protested vigorously, reminding him of the difficulties of the roads, which at this time of year were impassable in places, and adding that, should the King hear of it, he would be very displeased. But he spoke to deaf ears. Edward, setting spurs to his horse, darted off with Stafford, the groom, down the Frascati road. In order that the coachman might not notice anything, Sheridan detained him some time in talk, pretending to have slipped and hurt himself as he got back into the carriage; not till he thought he had delayed long enough did he order him to proceed. Edward, having pushed ahead and successfully given the coachman the slip, put on a great courier's cap that concealed almost the whole of his face. Travellers generally use them to protect their face from cold during winter, but his object was to prevent any one from recognising him. He then dismissed Stafford, bidding him play his prearranged part well, and, ordering the groom to follow him, since his travelling coach had already passed along the neighbouring road, turned his horse and retraced his steps to the Porta S. Giovanni. Here he wheeled to the right under the walls of Rome, galloping along the whole circuit in the darkness to the Via Flaminia and then by Ponte Molle, and thus taking the road to France.

He again had to resort to a ruse in order to have the privilege of using the public posts and travel quickly. For a law forbade post-horses being supplied to travellers who started in private carriages. Edward had laid his plans. After covering some little distance he left the main road and made for Caprarola, a castle some thirty-five miles distant from Rome, and went straight to the Palazzo Farnese, a building famous for its size and for its architecture, which at that time had been lent to Cardinal Trajano Acquaviva, Spanish Minister to the Pope, so that every one thought he was one of the Cardinal's household. Acquaviva had been let into the whole secret and had given orders to the nearest post for two horses to be ready for secretly dispatching, as it appeared, a courier to Spain. They were ready, well fed and well saddled, waiting only for their riders. Edward, in his courier's dress, immediately mounted, and on the same day rejoined the main road. In four days he completed the journey to Genoa, changing horses at every post.¹

While Edward was travelling night and day, efforts were being made to keep his departure secret at Cisterna by means of a strange comedy, which deserves to be described for its originality and the variety of its incidents. The actors were few, but good, especially Sheridan, who, as we have said, had been left by Edward at the Porta S. Giovanni and played the leading part. On reaching Cisterna, he asked the first of the servants who came to meet him for news of the Prince, and, on learning that he had not arrived, he pretended to be surprised and alarmed. 'He has played a nice mad boyish prank, obstinately persisting in taking a thoroughly bad road at this time of year instead of the good one. It is all my fault, though, for not stopping him.' The apparent irritability and anger with which he spoke made the servants anxious and afraid that something had happened to the Prince. However, they did not give up hope, continually looking out to see whether

¹ According to Colin he rode to Carrara and thence went by boat to Genoa. Lang, however, says 'he drove, through heavy snow, to Massa and so to Genoa' (p. 39).

he was coming. After three anxious hours, the Duke of York arrived with his suite. Then every one was alarmed. Edward had left a letter full of affectionate greetings for the Duke on the Cisterna road, telling him of his secret journey to France.

The young Duke's expression naturally showed the grief he felt in a sadness which it was his duty to assume in order to keep up the comedy they were playing. Hearing that his brother, who had started so many hours before him and had taken a short cut, had not yet arrived, he became anxious and perturbed, insisting that some accident must have befallen him. Horsemen must be sent at once along the Albano road to find out what had happened to him. While the horses were being prepared and the servants were all in a state of excitement, Stafford arrived at full gallop. The sight of the Prince's travelling companion thus alone only increased the general panic. When Stafford had dismounted, he told them all that there was no cause for alarm, that the Prince would not arrive that day and perhaps not for three more days. Not far from Albano his horse had fallen under him and he with it; one of his ribs had been slightly injured and a swelling had appeared. So he had remained in a neighbouring country house at Albano to get well. There was no danger whatever, but the surgeon thought that, if the swelling would not go down immediately, his recovery might take some little time and give trouble. On one point, however, the Prince insisted, that it should on no account reach the ears of his father. So he begged his brother not to let any of the servants move and to go on with the shooting just as if he were there.

On hearing the news Sheridan exclaimed excitedly, as though it were true, that he must hurry off at once to Albano. It should never be said that he had left the Prince alone on an occasion like this, especially as he had been put in charge of him. But Stafford begged him by all that he held most sacred to calm himself. The Prince was in want of nothing and was well looked after. He himself and the groom could do all that was necessary for

him with the help of the caretaker of the castle. The arrival of any one else might awaken the suspicions of the people of Albano, and a secret which must be kept at all costs would leak out : the King would be distressed, and the Prince very angry. Every one present agreed that Stafford was right, and, as they were all of opinion that the Prince should be humoured, Sheridan was at last induced with the utmost difficulty to stay where he was. Stafford at once went back to Albano, and the Duke of York forbade any of the servants to say a word about the Prince's fall.

This clever and convincing story was believed implicitly by every one, both in the household and outside it ; for it was not possible to prevent it soon becoming known in Cisterna. To confirm it, messengers arrived from time to time from Albano during the next few days with letters from Stafford giving better news of the Prince and affirming even more confidently that he would arrive two days later, as he had promised. When the day came no one doubted that the Prince would appear. But towards sunset, just as the Duke of York was preparing to go to meet him, a groom arrived with a note from Stafford saying that the Prince wanted the whole hunting party to go over to the Lake of Fogliano, where he would arrive on the morrow.

The Lake of Fogliano lies at the foot of Monte Circeo, ten miles from Cisterna. The spot is rich in game and well suited for keeping the secret, since it is out of the way, and very sparsely inhabited, being, except for a few shepherds, a veritable wilderness. Here the next day was spent after the rumour had been spread through Cisterna that the Prince had already arrived from Albano. Though the Prince had not been seen at Fogliano and the servants and huntsmen began to have their various suspicions, the Duke of York organised a glorious shooting expedition, giving orders that every one was to attend strictly to his duty. The expedition lasted for several days, during which none of the servants was able to give information of the absence of the Prince ; for there was no communication with the outside world and all letters were opened,

those that spoke of the Prince being immediately burnt. As for the fishermen who take a quantity of fish from the lake several times a week to Rome, they were rough fellows who had no thought beyond getting the fish to its destination, and not in the least likely to be suspicious. Yet, when they started for Rome, they received strict injunctions that, if any one asked them about the fall and how the Prince was doing, they were to say that he was completely cured and in excellent health; and that he spent the whole day trying to make a good bag. In support of the story wild boars and deer in considerable numbers were sent to Rome from time to time and distributed as presents in the Prince's name among the nobility, as part of the bag. So successful were these measures that for eleven days not a word was said, nor was there even a suspicion of the Prince's departure for Paris.

When it became publicly known, it would be difficult to describe the universal astonishment, the excitement and the variety of opinions expressed. Everywhere it was the one topic of conversation with all classes, from the highest to the lowest, every one having his own opinion about it. Some praised the pluck of the young Prince in trying to recover the throne of his ancestors, no matter how great the risk. Others expressed more admiration than approval. Many refused to commit themselves, saying they would wait to see how he succeeded. All good people—and there are always plenty of them in the Holy City—offered up prayers and fervent vows to the Almighty for the success of the expedition for the sake of religion. Meanwhile both good and bad sorely missed the distinguished young man, complaining that Rome had lost one of her brightest stars. Pope Benedict xiv. more especially, to whom King James had personally communicated the news before any one else, approved of the expedition as soon as he heard of it, but he could not refrain from tears. Raising his eyes to Heaven, he exclaimed: 'I shall indeed be able to consider myself blessed if, amid all the disasters that have so long afflicted the Church, God gives me the consolation of seeing the Stuart family restored to its throne, a family

so truly Catholic, and one which has done so much for the Catholic religion. Were this to come to pass in my day, I should have nothing else to live for.' The saintly old man added that, if he could be of any assistance, he was ready to do all he could, even to supply money, exhausted though the treasury was in such calamitous times. And he afterwards showed by his actions that he meant what he said.

Meanwhile Edward, without drawing rein day or night, reached Massa from Caprarola. The English nobleman¹ whom we mentioned above had spent some days there and made all the arrangements for him to proceed on his way. In the first place, he had obtained passes for himself and a servant, with whom he was to travel beyond Genoa to enter Genoese territory without quarantine. This had not proved difficult, either because the plague was said to have greatly abated in Sicily, or because he was starting from Massa, which was so near the frontier as to allay all suspicion, or because he had bribed the guards. Hence, as soon as Edward reached Massa, he joined the Englishman as his servant² and with him continued on his way towards Genoa. After crossing the steep and wild mountains of the Riviera on horseback, he reached Genoa on the thirteenth of January about midday, five days after leaving Rome. Here, in the house of a friend, he rested for the first time and changed his clothes. Till then he had neither taken off his clothes, nor slept, nor touched food beyond hastily drinking a few eggs. Yet on the same day, towards evening, he hired a travelling coach and once more started on his way towards Savona, which he entered on the following day.³

Here all the fruits of his labours, all his hopes, were almost ruined. The part of the Genoese Riviera that looks

¹ *Vide supra*. Probably Sir John Graeme.

² Colin says: 'Le 29 Janvier, le prince Édouard partit d'Antibes en poste à cheval avec M . . . pour Paris, sous les noms de Graham et Malloch' (p. 55). Malloch was nominally the pseudonym of Balhaldie, and was probably assumed by the Prince. Graham was probably Sir John Graeme.

³ 14th January 1744.

west is intersected by the Marquisate of Oneglia. The Riviera bounds it and separates the County of Nice from Narbonese Gaul, both provinces belonging to the King of Sardinia. They are not large, but, from the nature of the ground and the narrowness of the roads, very difficult to cross. Now, as the King of Sardinia was allied with England and Austria, these passes were guarded by strong bodies of troops against the French and the Spaniards, who had long been threatening Italy and trying to force their way through the boundaries. This route was therefore closed to Edward, and a 'speronara'¹ had therefore been hired at the port of Finale, which was to be in Savona on an appointed day, take our travellers on board and convey them to Antibes, the French port nearest to Italy. A small light boat had been chosen, partly on account of its superior speed, partly because it could hug the coast more closely and there would therefore be less risk of encountering the English ships that were always patrolling that part of the sea. But, as often happens, the wind blew persistently from the south and the sea was quite rough—a common accident on a sea voyage. Consequently the pilot of the 'speronara' could not be at Savona on the day appointed, nor for six whole days could Edward find any other boat whatever, or leave the port.² The irksomeness of this delay to a young man so impetuous can easily be imagined. After having come right through Italy as if on wings, he was hopelessly held up on the very borders of France in a place where there was every cause for alarm, and the danger was obvious. Under his eyes was the threatening English squadron, and he could see how it infested the whole of that coast. What would happen, if his departure were known throughout Italy, as was quite likely; if the news reached the ears of Matthew, the High

¹ A small lateen-rigged boat much used in this region.

² This is a more reasonable explanation of the delay than Lang's suggestion (p. 39) that the Prince 'seems to have got into some difficulty.' His brother Henry wrote to the Prince on 6th February 1744 and said he had been very anxious about him, 'particularly whilst I heard you was locked up at Savona, for certainly you was there in a very ugly situation.' (Lang, p. 40.)

Admiral of the English fleet, as might well happen when spies were so numerous? Obviously there would be an end of him and of all his plans.

In this critical state of affairs, when all his companions were seriously perturbed, Edward alone kept up his spirits, resolving, as a strong man should, to face the danger and to overcome the obstacles of Fortune. He saw his one hope of safety. The course he adopted was bold, but, in the circumstances, necessary. He proceeded by land to the port of Finale,¹ and, having found the little boat we have mentioned ready, he went on board and gave orders that it should set sail at once, if it were possible to get successfully through the English fleet, which was anchored opposite Villafranca, in a single night. As a last resort he trusted to the English passport which, as we saw, had been given him in Rome under a false name. The decision he had come to with God's help was most fortunate, as there was a strong, favourable wind. However, something happened which seemed to make it probable that news of his departure from Rome had reached the English and that they were on the look-out for him. At daybreak the little boat that was making sail so recklessly in such a storm was sighted by the English fleet as it sped swiftly on its way over the broad stretch of sea between Monaco and Antibes, and they gave chase with another small boat with an armed guard on board, either to seize it or at least to search it. Whatever their object, they failed to overhaul it, but continued the chase right to Antibes, the two boats reaching the port together.²

The English continued to make themselves troublesome even in the port itself. Our travellers asked permission to land and enter the town: the English did the same with threats, declaring that they had come to buy provisions, and they claimed that, if they were not allowed to land, permission should also be refused to the men from Finale.

¹ If he waited six days at Savona this would make the date of his going on board at Finale 20th January.

² This would be on 21st January, though according to Colin it was 23rd January (p. 34).

The Governor of the town, not knowing who the strangers were and desiring to be fair to both parties, refused to allow either to land, declaring roundly that he was forbidden to give pratique to any one coming from Italy. This meant that Edward must leave the harbour again, and, on reaching the open sea, fall a prey to his enemies. Meanwhile the two boats were lying close together, almost touching, nor could either leave under the eyes of the other. The mere thought of this incident makes me shudder, when I remember the danger the Prince was in, thus close to enemies who were superior in number, ruthless, and armed. However, the English did not use force, out of regard, I suppose, for the right of asylum they both enjoyed, a right sacred and inviolable among all nations. But, seeing something threatening and stormy in their looks, our men requested the Governor at least to compel the English, who had now got the provisions they needed, to leave the port first. When this request was granted the Prince revealed his identity and his rank. The Governor, who was quite unprepared for anything of the kind, was dumb-founded. He offered the most heart-felt apologies for having detained him through ignorance of his identity. However, in order not to appear unfair to the English by granting the others favours refused to them in allowing them to land, he transferred the Prince as best he could to another ship and gave orders that the boat that had brought him should also leave immediately. Hardly had it left the harbour when the English once more gave chase and pursued it to Monaco. Then at dusk the Governor went down to the harbour and, without any display, fetched the Prince from the ship and took him to a suitable lodging.

Edward spent but a few hours in Antibes,¹ where he was known only to the Governor. Thence he took post for Avignon, where was living the Duke of Ormond, a

¹ Here again there is a discrepancy in regard to dates. Cordara's date for his departure from Antibes would be 22nd January, but Colin says 'le 29 Janvier.' (Colin, pp. 54, 55.)

The Commandant of Antibes says he was there for five days.

Jacobite of long standing, whose age and experience commanded respect. With him he meant to discuss his views and the whole plan of his enterprise. Then, having sent to inform the King of France of his arrival, he set out for Paris.

Meanwhile letter after letter from Italy¹ brought news to London that the Stuart Prince, the eldest son of King James (the English called him the Pretender), had suddenly left Rome for France, doubtless summoned by the King of France, who meant to use him in carrying on hostilities.

Though the news was very disagreeable to the English Cabinet, due importance was not at first attached to it. Not that it was not credited, but because it was to King George's interest that the rumour should not spread among the people, as it might prove very dangerous to the public peace. Then soon afterwards information came from France that the grand fleet, the fitting out of which had been hurried forward without the object being known, was now at last fully equipped with men and arms and every other munition of war and had sailed directly for the Channel. It was also rumoured that a new naval expedition was being hastily fitted out in Dunkirk and that, so numerous were the ships and the troops gathered there, that it seemed likely that there was thought of bringing over an army and effecting a landing.² No one doubted that all these preparations were aimed at the coasts of England and Scotland. And people who said that they had actually seen him with their own eyes declared that there was in Dunkirk a young man of very handsome appearance, dressed in a brilliant uniform, whom all

¹ Horace Mann communicated with the Duke of Newcastle on 11th February from Florence. On 25th Mr. Thomson also wrote from Paris. (Lang, pp. 39, 42.)

A French agent in London wrote to Paris on 8th September 1743 that the frequent conferences between the Chevalier and the Pope were giving rise to fears of a French invasion, aided by Spanish troops, and that naval and military precautions were being taken accordingly. (Colin, p. 40.)

² The force consisted of 15,000 men under Marshal Saxe; the escorting fleet was one of thirteen vessels of the line, under Mons. de Roqueville, which for several days displayed itself in the Channel.

officers of every rank, and more particularly those of the Irish brigade, which was in the pay of France and fought under the French flag, treated with greater respect and deference than any one else. They all suspected that this was Edward himself.

When this news was confirmed, the anxiety in London was great, for it was of the utmost gravity. King George, seeing that he was threatened with danger both from a French invasion and from the revolutionary tendencies of many who were discontented with his rule, called a solemn council.¹ Being present himself, he described the measures France was taking against the freedom and the religion of England. He then bade the two Houses prove by their actions that they meant to keep their oath of allegiance to their king. Both Houses answered that they would always remain loyal to the King and that they would allow no one to conspire against their common country and their religion with impunity. And they were as good as their word. A natural rivalry has always existed between England and France, and the English were particularly indignant at the injury she had recently done them; hence, though from natural inclination they might favour the Stuarts, they could not endure the thought of this family being restored to the throne by the French. So with one accord they set about preparing to offer determined resistance to the attacks of their enemies and to forestall any rising at home.

In the first place an atrocious proclamation² was issued against the person of Edward, describing him as a public enemy and a disturber of the realm, who was guilty of high treason. To any one who should kill him was promised a reward of thirty thousand pounds from the public Treasury, a sum equivalent to more than 120,000 scudi of our money.

¹ On 15th February the appearance of the French fleet in the Channel and the arrival of the Prince in France were reported to Parliament in a message from the King. Loyal addresses followed, and the King was urged to increase his forces.

² This proclamation does not appear to have been issued until the end of July 1745, after the Prince's departure from France.

Furthermore, all Catholics were banished from London,¹ as they were thought secretly to favour the Stuarts, and they were threatened with the death penalty if found within ten miles of the capital. There were eight thousand² veteran troops with the colours daily expecting to be sent to the Low Countries to join the allied army. These were ordered to remain at home. As they were not thought sufficient, the army was increased by new levies. Fresh troops were raised and sent to garrison the parts of the kingdom that were most exposed to the enemy. The fleet³ put to sea and was ordered to patrol the coast opposite France. Lastly, Trevor, the English ambassador at the Hague, was told to arrange to have six thousand men sent to England as soon as possible, this being the number that each of the two nations was to provide for the other in accordance with their long-standing friendly agreement; for these were the conditions that bound these two nations, allied as they had been for many years in defence of their common interests. The necessary funds were liberally voted by the two Houses, and more money was promised if necessary.

Not content with this, King George determined to leave no stone unturned which might avert the blow. Though his chief hope lay in armed force, he decided to try to come to an understanding with the King of France by means of arguments and negotiations. So he bade his ambassador⁴ in Paris inform him that news had reached London of the secret arrival of the Prince of Wales in France and that it was rumoured that he had come with the intention of invading the kingdom of England, which he claimed by

¹ On 28th February all Papists and Non-Jurors were banished from London, and their horses and arms confiscated. Arms were seized in Plymouth and in London. Colonel Cecil, Carte the historian, and Barrymore were placed in custody. (Lang, p. 42.)

² The army in England at the time probably did not exceed 6000 men.

³ There were only six ships of the line at home ready for sea, as the Grand Fleet was in the Mediterranean. In a very short time, however, a fleet of nineteen ships was available under the command of Sir John Norris. On 25th February this fleet was ordered to Spithead.

⁴ Mr. Anthony Thompson.

right of birth, with help supplied by France. Truth to tell, the story appeared so unworthy of him that it was hard to credit it. No one could believe that the Most Christian King would, without declaring war, conspire in this way against England, and, like an avowed enemy, make a kind of attempt at murder upon the person of His Majesty. However, as such rumours were growing daily and were supported by strong evidence, King George requested that the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht might be observed. Among its provisions was one that the King of France should never lend his support to the Stuarts, nor ever allow any of them to reside in France. Meanwhile, as in duty bound, Louis should order the Prince to leave immediately and withdraw beyond the frontiers of his kingdom.

For some time no reply was made to this request, which was tantamount to a refusal. But when the English ambassador became more pressing, Amelot,¹ the first Minister of the King of France, at last answered as follows: It was useless for one who had been the first to break the treaty to appeal to it. Treaties should be observed with equal loyalty by both parties. However, as soon as George, King of England, gave satisfaction for the injuries done to France and for the conditions of friendship that had been violated,² the King of France would abide by the treaty, and would be willing to explain his views on this matter. The English were particularly annoyed at his answer, so that everything threatened an open rupture.

And, in fact, a declaration of war by both sides soon followed,³ and hostilities commenced. Though Edward had already embarked at Dunkirk, even the most cautious persons doubted, and with reason, whether it was really proposed to invade England with such a fleet. For the

¹ The Foreign Minister.

² France certainly had grounds for feeling aggrieved. England's action in the Low Countries—including the affair of Dettingen—and the Mediterranean blockade, carried out without a declaration of war, must have been regarded as violations of even the appearance of friendship.

³ In March 1744.

ships, eighty in number, though heavily laden with troops and munitions, nevertheless furled sail on the beginning of a storm even before leaving port, and abandoned all idea of starting; and soon afterwards the troops were again put under canvas, as before, the munitions were returned to store, and all thought of the expedition was abandoned. Even the Brest fleet, which had left harbour and put right out to sea, came back to France without doing¹ or even attempting anything, on the plea that it had been damaged by the wind. What was the object of all this preparation of ships and arms? Was it to frighten the English and prevent them from sending the rest of their army to the Low Countries, of which the French hoped to obtain possession? Was it to awaken King George's fears by these formidable preparations for immediate war and induce him to recall for home defence the naval armaments he had dispatched to our seas under Admiral Matthew, and thus throw open the Mediterranean to the French and Spanish ships that had long been blockaded in the harbour of Toulon, so that they could at once take the sea and bring Philip, the Spanish Prince, over to Italy with a number of troops? As the whole route through his kingdom was carefully guarded by the King of Sardinia, and there was no chance of the Spaniards being able to advance that way, all their hope lay in a landing from the sea, which Matthew's fleet had hitherto succeeded in preventing.

¹ Although war had not been declared de Roqueville sailed up the Channel and anchored at Dungeness to await the arrival of the transports. On 24th February Sir John Norris discovered him at anchor, but, on account of the wind and tide failing, he could not attack him. In the night a gale blew up, and de Roqueville escaped to Brest. Meanwhile, the fleet of transports was prevented by the gale from putting out to sea. Marshal Saxe had already 7000 men on board, and others were being embarked. Several of his ships were wrecked, and others were badly damaged; and the expedition was then abandoned. The Prince tried to induce Saxe to make a fresh start, but he declined.

War was declared by France on 20th March, and by Great Britain on 31st March 1744.

After the first disastrous storm of 7th March, d'Argenson wrote to Marshal Saxe that the embarkation must stop at once, as the King required all his troops for the frontier. (Colin, p. 162.)

The most convincing reason for this theory was that, as Matthew continued obstinately to blockade the same points, the Toulon fleet, which consisted, as has been said, of French and Spanish vessels, was at last ordered to put out from port and attack the English and try to force them back on their coasts, since it had hitherto proved impossible to draw them off by a ruse. But this attempt was no less unsuccessful. There was a fierce fight off the Steiade (Hières) Islands ;¹ though the English suffered loss, they successfully beat back the allies and drove them from the Tyrrhene Sea. The Spaniards threw the blame on the French Admiral, who did not want to fight and had left port in a way that resulted in his becoming rather a spectator of the battle than a combatant. The Frenchman pleaded in excuse his bad position, the unfavourable wind, the force of circumstances. Some of the English ships were put out of action by gun-fire and towed off, one was sent to the bottom, and for a long time the issue remained doubtful. At last the Spaniards were overborne by the superior numbers of the English ; their ships were either set on fire or put out of action ; and they were obliged to retreat to Spanish ports. This event spoiled their plan of becoming masters of the sea and bringing their army over to Italy.

For these reasons, though others were urged against them, many people thought it likely that at that time the King of France had no intention of really pressing England hard. The only object of these naval preparations was to hamper the English in their relations with the League and to prevent them helping the Austrians in the Netherlands against himself and in Italy against his allies the Spaniards.

However, the fact that this view was firmly held by many of the English, and above all that it had been adopted by the Cabinet in London, was of great service to Edward. Since George II. was certain that the King of France had no enthusiasm for the Stuarts and had never seriously thought of invading England, or, if he had had such an idea, that

¹ 11th February 1743-4.

he had completely abandoned it,¹ he was so reassured that, while he had at first sought foreign aid for the defence of his kingdom, he now declared that the loyalty and the courage of his own people were defence enough. As there was nothing more to fear, he not only refused with thanks the troops that the Dutch were ready to send him, but ordered the eight thousand English we have mentioned to proceed to Belgium. He thus stripped himself and most of his kingdom of nearly all his forces to help the Austrians, who were in danger.

Soon afterwards, so safe did he feel himself and his kingdom to be from French aggression that he placed the government in the hands of four chosen counsellors of proved loyalty and left for Germany to intrigue personally with the princes there for the election of Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany, husband of the Queen of Hungary, to the Empire in place of Charles VII., an Emperor of the Bavarian House who had just died.² On the other hand, now that the English believed that the Stuart Prince had been abandoned by the French, their hatred of him greatly diminished, as they knew that he was not acting from the same motives as the French, their enemies. They could not bear to hear his name when he was acting with the French, but now that he was acting apart from them and had been deserted by their arms, if they did not actually love him, at least they did not hate him. So much does hatred or love depend on knowing how to choose one's friends, as Edward was well aware. Hence, in order to work even more effectually upon the English, whom he believed to be not so much hostile to himself as to his supporters the French, Edward decided not to parade the

¹ Colin says: 'Before the end of February 1745 no one continued to be very enthusiastic about the project; no one had any confidence in the Jacobites.' Reviewing the plans, he considers the attempt to land troops in England might have succeeded if it had been carried out in January. The delay was occasioned by the Jacobites themselves. (Colin, p. 133.)

² The Emperor Charles VI., father of Maria Theresa, had died in 1740. On 24th January 1742 the Elector of Bavaria was elected Emperor as Charles VII.; he died 20th January 1745, and Francis of Lorraine was elected Emperor on 13th September.

friendship of the King of France and to make very little and only secret use of the assistance offered him, as though he relied entirely on his own countrymen and meant to submit himself absolutely to their will. This resolution met with the complete approval of King Louis. During the whole sixteen months of his stay in Paris he never once went to the Court at Versailles, appeared very rarely in public, and had scarcely anything to do with any one except English, Irish, and Scots, of whom there were a great number in Paris.

Meanwhile this is the secret information he received about the state of affairs in England. It was not very clear which way the sympathies of the main body of the nation were inclining. There was great division of opinion, and many, influenced by false prejudices, detested the name of the Stuarts, as they were said to be French in sympathy and Romanist in religion.¹ The majority of the Scots of all classes were strongly in favour of Stuart rule. They lacked neither the courage nor the spirit to rise, and wanted only a leader. If the standard were raised, the whole of Scotland would rally to it. The magistrates in the cities and the chief castles of the kingdom were on the alert; but the Highland clans, who formed the majority and were of great ferocity, all looked to their chiefs, and such were the feelings of most of these that they would not hesitate to expose their property and even their lives to any risk for their ancient kings, to whom they were devoted. The time seemed admirably chosen for the attempt. George was away and wholly engrossed in the affairs of Germany and the Roman Empire. The four men left in charge of the government had no suspicions and were living in complete security. The veteran troops and the most experienced officers had all crossed to Belgium. Though some castles in Scotland were well garrisoned, there was no army of any kind in England, nor were there apparently any means of collecting one easily. Lastly

¹ 'In openly identifying himself with the action of England's enemy, Charles was one day to find that he had alienated the heart of the English people.' (Hume Brown, iii. p. 271.)

the coasts, especially in the west, were altogether un-garrisoned.

In these circumstances Edward had high hopes of being able to bring his enterprise to a successful conclusion, while he was continually receiving letters from people urging him to hasten his coming to Scotland.¹ However, he still delayed, determined to risk nothing without ample justification. Not till he had spent a year in learning how matters stood did he decide to make the attempt. Before risking his life, on which everything hinged, he sent some faithful adherents to Scotland to sow the first seeds of disaffection by urging the people, especially in the more remote districts, to revolt, and distributing arms and money among them.

While he was thus feeling his way something leaked out in spite of the utmost caution, and in London suspicions began to be awakened of the existence of disaffection which might become serious if it spread. The government at once dispatched agents to Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, who began to make investigations by taking rigorous proceedings, and to throw into prison persons suspected of treason. But they could discover nothing really incriminating against any one. Trusting, therefore, that the others would be sufficiently cowed by the threats of punishment, they desisted from their efforts and returned to London with the assurance that Scotland was perfectly quiet. When they were gone, the movement once more began to spread, but, after what had happened, every precaution was taken. Matters at last reached such a point that it was almost impossible to restrain the Highlanders from rising, and quite impossible to keep the conspiracy secret. Then at last, Edward, full of high hopes and resolved to risk everything, decided to start. In

¹ Cordara makes no mention of the fact that Murray of Broughton visited the Prince in Paris and told him that an attempt on his part to land in Scotland must end in disaster, and that he could only reckon on four or five thousand men joining him. In spite of this, Murray returned to Scotland, and, during the spring of 1745, was collecting subscriptions and promises from the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Perth, Stuart of Appin and others.

planning his departure there were two things upon which he was determined. The first was to give no hint that might suggest that he was an enemy or had French leanings; the second, not to attract the slightest attention. The news of his leaving must precede the knowledge that he intended to start. The care of his friends made sure of a third point, that he should run no danger. This is how everything was arranged.

In the South of Brittany there is a harbour, small, but well protected by the rocks that shelter it, called St. Nazaire. Opposite it rises Belleisle, called Dalonesos by the ancients, a small island where there is both a harbour and a strong fort. In this secluded spot it was decided to make preparations for the expedition. An Irish noble named Velsio¹ (Welch), who had lived long in France, because he was a warm adherent of the House of Stuart, hired a good-sized xebec, well manned and provisioned, and also equipped with eighteen pieces of cannon, and arranged that a ship of war should be ready in the roads of Belleisle, armed with seventy guns of large calibre and six hundred French soldiers, to escort the privateer and assist it in case of any hostile encounter on the voyage. The duty of protecting it was entrusted to the commander, a man of courage and a very able sailor.

When everything had been carefully arranged, Edward, accompanied by only a few servants and without the knowledge of any one, proceeded to St. Nazaire, went on board the privateer and left port, following the warship

¹ Anthony Welch or Walsh can scarcely be called an Irish noble. He was an Irishman, long resident in France, and a man of means who had large interests in trading in Martinique. Privateering was one of his occupations, and Aeneas Macdonald, in his *Journal*, says he possessed '24 merchantmen and privateers,' one of which took a battleship and sold it to the King of France. After landing the Prince he went privateering under letters of marque. (*Lyon in Mourning*, I. p. 293.) The negotiations for these ships were carried on with the knowledge of the French Government. (Browne, iii. p. 2.)

Welch's ship was the frigate *Doutelle*; the 'ship of war' was French, the *Elizabeth*, which was got from the Government by Walter Ruttledge, an Irishman, a merchant at Dunkirk, who had also arranged to do some privateering. (*Lyon in Mourning*, I. p. 287.)

at a short distance. Such were the resources, incredible though it may seem, with which he set out to make war upon a powerful king with the object of seizing his kingdom. His whole force consisted of not more than seven followers.¹ Such is the confidence inspired by a man's consciousness of his rights and by personal courage.

Edward left France about the middle of July² and reached Scotland at the beginning of August 1745, having spent a fortnight on the voyage. The delay was not due to contrary winds, but to the fact that he preferred to sail round the south of England and land on the west coast of Scotland, which was less protected. Although the voyage was pretty lucky, it very nearly proved disastrous, and he would certainly have fallen into the hands of the enemy, if he had not been protected by the escorting warship. Keeping to the open sea and sailing along the whole of the south coast of England, he had entered the Irish Sea, making for the Hebrides, a group of numerous islands in the Deucaledonian Sea. Because they lie along the west coast of Scotland, the English, using a word of their own language, call them the Western Islands. While they were making for the part that faces Ireland, a large convoy of English ships sailing together³ suddenly appeared before them. The leading ship was a man-of-war of several decks; as soon as it caught sight of the two French ships, it immediately left the others, changing its course and luffing, and prepared to open fire. The commander of the Frenchman,⁴ who was entrusted with the Prince's safety,

¹ The Duke of Atholl, Sir John Macdonald, Mr. Aeneas Macdonald, a Paris banker, Colonel Strickland, Sir Thomas Sheridan, the Prince's tutor, Captain O'Sullivan, George Kelly. Besides these may be reckoned one, Buchanan, an assistant to Aeneas Macdonald. (*Lyon in Mourning*, I, p. 283-5.)

² The Prince actually embarked on the *Doutelle* at Nantes on 22nd June. The *Elizabeth* joined him at Belleisle on 4th July, and the expedition started the next day.

³ No reference to a convoy appears in Aeneas Macdonald's Journal. The English ship was the *Lion* (Captain Brett, 58 guns). A council of war was held on the *Doutelle*, and it was decided that the *Elizabeth* should engage her. Welch apparently refused to let the *Doutelle* take part. This action took place off the Lizard on 9th July.

⁴ Captain D'oe or D'eau.

boldly advanced to the attack. He ordered the gun-ports to be opened and the troops to stand to arms, and prepared for a gallant resistance. His one object was to keep the enemy at bay so as to give the xebec time to escape. The fight began. Warming to their work, the two ships continued the struggle with amazing ferocity for seven hours without ceasing. Night alone put an end to the combat. Either ship might have gained the victory and captured the other, had not each of them thought itself beaten and in danger of destruction, so heavy were the losses on both sides.

Edward meanwhile, having escaped in the heat of the fight, held on his way without further trouble, and, after entering the Deucalionian Sea, landed at Malca¹ (the inhabitants call it Muli), one of the Hebrides. As this island is separated from the mainland by a little strait, which may almost be called a loch, the crossing to Scotland was easy. He halted with his companions in Glenfinnan in the Lochaber province.

¹ Mull. Cordara was completely misinformed as to the place of landing. The Prince landed at Eriskay on 23rd July. From this point onwards Cordara's information of the details of the itinerary was defective, and the value of the narrative is proportionately reduced. He did not go to Glenfinnan until 19th August.

BOOK II

WHEN the news of Edward's arrival became known, his friends and supporters crossed the neighbouring hills and began to scour the whole countryside and to call the Highland clans to arms. They said that the hour for rising had come at last. Let them consider their own condition and the lamentable state they were in. How long were they to live as slaves of tyrants? Were they never more to think of throwing off foreign rule, of freeing themselves from the yoke of oppression? They must come with them and join their deliverer and their Prince; avenge their own wrongs and the wrongs he had suffered in a righteous war: let them pledge themselves to recover their ancient freedom and dignity under their lawful Chief. They need have no fear of George, for, like all tyrants, he was more likely to be afraid of them, and, tortured by remorse, had already fled to Germany. In order to spread the news a manifesto,¹ printed in Dublin, was distributed broadcast, in which Prince Edward himself made friendly appeals to the Scots, sincerely and earnestly summoning them to their allegiance of his father, James.

The declaration also sought to inflame their hatred against King George. He was no king, but the usurper of a kingdom he had seized without right. He had nothing

¹ This manifesto from James VIII. was 'given under our sign manual and privy signet of our Court at Rome,' and was dated 23rd December 1743. It was preceded by the commission of the same date appointing the Prince 'sole regent of our kingdoms.'

Much of the alleged contents of the manifesto did not appear in it. For details see Browne, *History of the Highlands*, iii. p. 21.

There was, however, a later manifesto, issued by the Prince at Kinlochiel on 20th August, in response to the Government's intimation of a reward of £30,000 for his apprehension; in this he offered 'the same amount for the apprehension of King George, the 'Elector of Hanover.'—*Ibid.*, iii. p. 36.

but the name of king and the power given him in an evil moment. Instead of bringing justice to his people and promoting the common good, he used the common good merely as a pretext for devouring the property of the nation; he was ever devising new methods of extortion, continually imposing fresh taxes in his insatiable avarice, and every year sending large sums of money to his native Hanover. This was not how the Stuart Kings, his ancestors, had reigned, nor was this how his most just father, King James, or he himself, would reign. There was a great difference between the rule of a native prince and a foreigner. A foreigner is living as if in a hostile country, thinking only of enriching himself, so long as he is allowed, with the spoils of a kingdom which he will one day have to give up. A native king looks upon the fate of his people, whatever it may be, as his own, from a common love of country. After setting all this forth at length, he dealt with the shameful proclamation placing a price upon his head, to which we have already referred. He was sorry that his life was declared forfeit, that cut-throats were thus armed against him and bribed by gold to commit murder. In no circumstances, even were the right of succession to the throne of England in the House of Stuart doubtful, should a Brunswick nefariously plot against the life of a prince of that house who was endeavouring to recover his rights. Did he wish to do so, he could set just as large a sum on the head of King George. But he placed a higher value on the life of a king, nor was he so cruel and inhuman. The question of right and wrong between kings was not to be settled by secret murder or by the hand of cut-throats, but in honourable battle in the open. For himself, he was not looking for a traitor or paying the price of a crime; he did not grudge life, but a kingdom, to a rival who had treated him so ill. And this very kingdom he was claiming as the incontestable heritage of his family not so much by force of arms as by his own right. This is why he had come alone, with nothing but his sword at his side. Two most powerful kings had offered him strong forces for a war, but he had refused both; and if George

of Brunswick did not intend to bring in foreign troops, he had decided not to avail himself of them either. He was absolutely determined to triumph over his enemies with the forces of his countrymen alone, and he ardently hoped that the victory would not prove bloody or disastrous to any one.

This was the substance of the manifesto that was spread broadcast through the kingdom, everywhere awakening the greatest excitement. In a moment upwards of two thousand Highlanders¹ hastened to the Prince, gathered in bands, in orderly array and armed according to the custom of the country. As these people played the principal part in the war, I do not think it out of place to say something here about their character, manners, and customs.

These Highlanders are distinctly wild, of astonishing strength and, both by nature and habit, born soldiers. They dwell in the very high, generally precipitous, mountains of which Scotland is full, some running in continuous ranges, others separated by valleys. Most of them live by tilling the soil. As has been said, there are numerous valleys intersecting the mountains, which abound in cattle and rich pastures and are, on the whole, pleasant. The Highlanders come down from the heights and till these valleys with considerable profit which they derive from the sale of grain, barley, and other crops. Many live by hunting, which is excellent along the mountain ranges, as they are for the most part wooded and covered with all kinds of vegetation. They are quite contented with the flesh of the game they kill, and they do a good trade in the skins of deer and the goat. The Highlanders have a language of their own, which is akin to Irish, and are quite unacquainted with the language spoken in the plains.

Their dress is very simple. They do not wear trousers as we do, or socks, or long garments, but a short, close-fitting vest. They throw a plaid over them to keep off the cold, and round their legs, out of modesty, they wear a kilt not unlike that worn by our lackeys. The feet and

¹ There were probably about 1200 men at the end of the ceremony at Glenfinnan,

extremities of the legs are wrapped in a kind of buskin, all the rest of the body being free. They are thus very agile and ready for any undertaking. The head is covered with a small bonnet, generally of cotton, and they seldom cut their hair. In war, besides guns, they use great swords, which they wield with extraordinary skill. The whole nation is divided into clans, each one of which comprises several towns. Each tribe boasts an ancient Irish founder, from whom they claim descent. They scorn connections with foreigners, marrying only women of their own region. Each clan is like a single family with several branches, all descended from the same stock, and united in the closest blood-relationship. Of this they are very proud. In each clan there is a person of authority, to whom all look up as chief, regarding him as their common father. To him they turn whenever there is a crisis, or anything has to be discussed in common. They respect friendship and the rights of hospitality with absolute loyalty. Deceit and fraud are hateful to them above all else. But they never forget an injury, and it will not be long before they avenge it. During the lamentable schism that occurred under Queen Elizabeth in England and Scotland the errors of Calvin reached even these wild mountains, and many, deserting the faith of their fathers, listened to the new doctrines, which, in course of time, struck root even there. Nevertheless there are still a number of Catholics left among them who are not only staunch adherents of the ancient truth, but also most eager to spread it. For this purpose they do not fail to provide for suitable priests among them. The others have gone astray rather from ignorance of the truth than from natural perversity.

As I have said, two thousand of these people appeared in Glenfinnan. Edward was highly delighted to see them round him, particularly on account of the ferocity of their wild, grim expressions and the enthusiasm with which they acclaimed him their Prince and liberator. Above all he was delighted with their costume, which was so easy to provide and left them so much freedom of movement

both for marching and fighting. He even obtained a Highland costume, wearing no other, an act which won him the affection of these rough mountaineers to an extraordinary degree. On the very day of their arrival they formed a camp in a suitable spot and, after fortifying it to the height of about two feet all round, they raised the standard of the Stuarts in the centre with great pomp and ceremony, amid wishes that the expedition might abound to the glory and profit of King James and his sons and of the whole Scottish people. At the same time war was declared on George of Brunswick. 'War,' shouted these new troops, repeating the cry exultantly, all impatient to get at the foe and fight. But Edward, knowing full well that courage and enthusiasm were useless without training, and realising that they were not soldiers, but a mob, until they had learnt to keep their ranks, follow the flag, advance, retreat, or halt, at the word of command, handed them over to regular soldiers for training and discipline before leaving camp.¹ He was also anxious to procure needful supplies and increase the numbers of his army. When at last he thought them adequately trained, and had appointed their officers, and made all necessary arrangements, he ordered the standards to be raised and carried forward and the march to begin.

From Lochaber county he marched south and, after crossing the province of Breadalbane, they at last reached the river Tay,² which divides the whole of Scotland into two halves, Highland and Lowland. During the march the army had grown to four thousand men, perhaps more. Not only did they come down from the neighbouring mountains, but many Lowlanders also joined Edward's

¹ This is imagination on the part of the learned author. The Prince only remained at Glenfinnan on 20th August and marched next day to Kinlochiel, where he stayed until the 23rd August; on that day he reached Fassefern.—Blaikie, *Itinerary*, p. 8.

Such elementary instruction as was given at all was given during the halt at Perth from 4th to 10th September.

² There is a considerable hiatus in the history of the advance here. No mention is made of the Prince's movements up to his arrival at Dunkeld on 3rd September.

banner, attracted by his name and by his good qualities. We had better emphasise once for all a point which would otherwise have to be continually repeated in the course of this work. Edward's extraordinary charm and popularity, not at all unbecoming in a sovereign, made so profound an impression that every one was proud to fight under such a leader. Though he had no lack of horses, he always went on foot in the midst of his Highlanders, rivalling them in endurance and not sparing himself. He forded rivers like the rest. In camp he would not let his tent differ from those of his troops, while his food and mode of living had to be exactly like those of the simple soldier of the ranks. At night he generally slept on the bare ground, wrapt in his plaid, considering it effeminate if occasionally they got him straw to lie on. They had at times to pass through thick brambles or deep mud, in the midday heat—for it was the height of summer—or in heavy rain. Edward endured all these discomforts of the march with a lightness of heart and a courage above the common. Instead of being born and educated in a royal household, he might have been brought up amid the hardships and poverty of the Highlanders. Moreover, it was his habit to address each of his men by name, heartening them by his words and example to show courage, while every now and then he would make them presents of money. The fame of all this spread far and wide. Every day fresh bodies of men came from the neighbouring villages to offer their services, proud to join him.

Meanwhile news reached London¹ both of Edward's landing and of the Highlanders flocking to him, rumour adding to their numbers, simultancously. The four ministers left in charge of affairs consequently set about taking steps to stamp out the rebellion in its early stages.²

¹ The Government had information of the Prince's departure from France before the end of July, and on 30th July Tweeddale warned Cope. News of the actual landing reached Edinburgh in letters from the Justice-Clerk and the Sheriff of Argyll, dated 5th August.

² A proclamation was issued on 6th August, in the *Gazette*, promising a reward of £30,000 for the apprehension of the Prince.

In the first place, orders were sent to Scotland to Cope, who was in command of the royal troops there, to get his men ready and go after the rebels—for so they were called—wherever they might be. They thought it would be easy to crush them if they were not allowed time to increase and consolidate their strength. As it was known that the total army ¹ was inferior in numbers to the Jacobite force, men were hastily pressed in the neighbourhood of London and dispatched to him with a good train of artillery. At the same time all the lords-licutenants were ordered to raise fresh levies in their respective provinces. Trevor, the English ambassador in Holland, also received instructions to take effective steps to secure once again the auxiliary troops, as had been previously stipulated. If he succeeded, he was to send them at once to Scotland. Lastly, the Duke of Cumberland, the King's son, who was in command of the British troops in the Netherlands, was informed in the name of the realm that it was to the interest of the whole nation that he should detach a body of cavalry and infantry from the allied army, put it on board ship and send it immediately to the assistance of his country which was in danger. They pointed out that they were threatened with imminent ruin and that it was imperative that the men should be in England and not out of it.

The Government took these measures with the utmost dispatch, at the same time informing King George of the state of affairs by expresses. The letters bringing this news begged and conjured him above all things, if he valued the safety of his kingdom and his crown, not to lose a moment in returning to England, where his presence at such a crisis would be invaluable whether in recalling the rebels to their allegiance or in preventing others from rising.

This unexpected news brought home to King George the seriousness of his position. He realised that the evil was already widespread and that the very strongest measures

¹ There were about 3000 regular troops in Scotland—two regiments of dragoons (Gardiner's and Hamilton's), and three infantry regiments, and twelve companies scattered all over the country. Cope took the field on 19th August.

were necessary. His very kingdom was at stake. He made up his mind at once. Unwilling though he was to leave Germany at a time when the choice of a new Emperor was being hotly debated in the Diet of Frankfort, he judged it wiser to look after his own affairs than those of other people, and either broke off or settled the negotiations he had in hand. In any case, shortly before Francis of Lorraine was acclaimed Emperor with the customary formalities, he returned to England.¹ And of all the measures taken by those left in charge of the Government, this was the only one that was promptly and successfully executed.

Governor Cope, who, as has been said, was in command of the King's troops in Scotland, immediately hastened in obedience to his orders with the few troops he had at hand to the river Tay,² where he had heard that the Jacobite forces were encamped. But when he discovered the numbers of the enemy as compared with his own, so far from attacking them, he did not even venture to reconnoitre them at close quarters. Instead, he retired towards the north, being content for the moment to draw the enemy after him and delay them at least until reinforcements were sent to Edinburgh, since it was of the utmost importance that this city, which was the capital of the kingdom, should not be caught unprepared. But his plan, clever though it was, miscarried. The Jacobites set out to overtake Cope, but finding that he had a long start, and guessing the truth, that he had no intention of giving battle, and realising that it would be difficult to compel him to do so, they retraced their steps. Crossing the Tay, they made for Dunkeldin [Dunkeld], a town in Perthshire called *Castrum Caledonium* by the ancients, which threw open its gates to welcome Edward.³ Here for the first time he produced

¹ King George arrived in England 31st August.

² Cope reached the Tay on 23rd August and Dalwhinnie near the Corryarrack Pass on 26th. He held a council of war next day, and it was decided to abandon the original idea of going over the Pass to Fort Augustus, and to go north to Inverness instead. He reached that place on 29th August.

³ 3rd September 1745. The proclamation had already been made at Glenfinnan.

the proclamation of his father, James, appointing him Supreme Administrator of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The proclamation was read from a platform and the whole of the vast crowd assembled broke into joyous cheers, calling down from heaven with the greatest enthusiasm every blessing on King James and on his son, Edward.

Edward now gave orders that he was to be called Prince of Wales and Governor of the Kingdom. He made use of his new title and authority to depose the magistrates of Dunkeld, appointing new ones, and he granted patents for trading freely to a number of merchants. Then he followed the river to Perth. The Duke of Perth himself, a very powerful Scots noble, came to meet him just before he reached it and paid him homage. A number of other prominent nobles also came to meet him with troops of cavalry and joined him. After he had made his entry into Perth amid universal enthusiasm¹ and had received the submission of the townsfolk to King James and himself, he issued a proclamation, inviting the Scots nobility to join him and promising that, if he obtained peaceful possession of the kingdom, Scotland should be restored to the dignity and prosperity it had enjoyed before the union with England. He then started with all his troops for Dunblane, the capital of the Menteith.²

A regiment of enemy cavalry, called Dragoons, under the command of Gardiner, had marched from Edinburgh to the neighbourhood of Dunblane and taken up a position on the banks of the river Forth,³ with the object of preventing the Jacobite forces from crossing. And they would have succeeded in delaying their passage if they had known how to take advantage of the ground. For they might have fired down from it, since the river was

¹ The Perth magistrates had fled to Edinburgh. *Murray of Broughton's Memorials* (p. 188 *note*) states that the city was 'wanting in respect' to the Prince and his army. Perth was compelled to pay a sum of £500 for the Prince's funds.

² The army reached Dunblane 11th September.

³ The Fords of Frew.

difficult to ford owing to the strength and volume of the stream, and it would not have been possible to bridge it quickly under the eyes of a foe. But as soon as they saw the Highlanders enter the river and bravely swim it, whether from fear or from despair of being able to beat them, they turned and fled at full speed to the city of Falkirk. Nor did they stay long even there when they saw that the enemy had come within gun-shot. The Jacobite forces advanced boldly and took possession of Falkirk without resistance.¹

This unbroken success was followed by the capture of Strivelin² (otherwise known as Stirling), a strongly fortified city, the capital of the province of Stirling. It had been held by Gardiner's men, but was quickly given up to the Jacobites, who were pursuing them. Such was Edward's luck at this time that his mere presence and the terror of his name put the royal troops to flight.

Many believed that Gardiner's men had an understanding with the rebels and had no intention of fighting, since they secretly favoured their enterprise and supported their cause. Others held that they acted wisely and in accordance with the rules of war in avoiding the danger of battle with superior numbers; for these little skirmishes could only weaken unnecessarily the forces of the kingdom, which might be better employed on a different occasion and in a different place. Whatever the reason—for I cannot speak with certainty on the point—Gardiner's men everywhere took to shameful flight, gradually retreating to Edinburgh, where they joined Hamilton's Dragoons, who had been left to guard the city. The Jacobites, on the contrary, were greatly elated when they found that the royal forces everywhere took to flight, setting down the motive as abject fear. They took unopposed possession of all the ground they yielded, until they actually reached Edinburgh and encamped within sight of the royal city. The two regiments of Dragoons we have mentioned advanced a

¹ 14th September.

² This statement is inaccurate. The Prince marched by Stirling—the Castle there firing at him—on to Bannockburn, and thence to Falkirk.

little way beyond the town¹ and occupied some rising ground suitable for defence, to await the enemy's attack in the open and prevent him from entering the town, at least until the coming of Governor Cope, who was expected with the King's army and was said to be bringing with him ample forces for its defence. Some companies of town militia had also been brought out and posted on suitable ground behind the regulars.² Everything was prepared for a stout resistance.

Having learnt from the small body of skirmishers he sent forward to reconnoitre that the whole city was under arms and was prepared to defend itself, Edward advanced with all his men and, after urging them to fight bravely, sent forward his first column. The Highlanders charged in two divisions with astonishing speed, but their charge was anticipated with even greater speed by the flight of the royal troops. As soon as Gardiner's and Hamilton's Dragoons, who were mounted in front, realised that they were being charged, they were afraid of being surrounded and cut off, and, in spite of the appeals of their officers, who behaved bravely, they lost heart. Without waiting for the first onslaught of the foe, they turned tail, set spurs to their horses, and scattered far and wide. The town militia, seeing them flying in terror, also fled precipitately and shut themselves inside the city walls.³ The result was that Edward had Edinburgh at his mercy sooner than he had dared to hope, without bloodshed. For the Governor,⁴ seeing that he had not strength to resist, and despairing

¹ To Coltbridge, with an advance guard at Corstorphine.

² The original intention was, besides the Town Guard and the 'Edinburgh regiment,' to employ the volunteers, who had been recently raised. Very few of these latter, however, turned out, and even they, on the advice of the clergy, retired when they reached the Grassmarket. The other two units, about 190 men, joined the cavalry.

³ Cordara's account of the charge by the Highlanders is incorrect. A reconnoitring party rode close up to the cavalry and fired pistols at them, with the result that the latter at once bolted. The infantry had to follow.

⁴ This presumably refers to the Lord Provost, Archibald Stewart. His action was to a large extent determined by the summons to surrender sent in by the Prince in the afternoon of 16th September.

of the possibility of Cope arriving in time, thought to conciliate the enemy by a voluntary surrender. The victorious troops were at the gates, and if they were compelled to storm them, there was no doubt that they would inflict upon the defenceless city the worst horrors of war.

The garrison having meanwhile withdrawn to the castle which dominated the city, envoys were appointed to proceed to the Jacobite camp and convey to the Prince the wishes of the citizens of Edinburgh.¹ He was told that the gates would be opened to him, but the city desired that he would grant the terms that were presented to him for signature. The envoys were received, heard, and sent back with much honour, but we do not know whether the terms were granted or not. However, all that day and the following night the town militia undoubtedly remained under arms; the sentries were on the alert on the walls, as if there was a possibility of having to repel the enemy. It was generally believed afterwards that the people of Edinburgh did not wish to appear to surrender to Edward until some force had been used. King George might have accused them of treason if they had yielded before they were compelled to do so.

However, on the following morning, about daybreak, a thousand Highlanders appeared at one of the town gates. They easily broke it open and cleared it of its defenders, and, scattering through the town, they compelled the militia to lay down their arms without fighting. When the city was perfectly calm, the rest of the Jacobite army to the number of five thousand² made its entry in military array and with more than military discipline, doing no harm to any one, and took up its position in the gardens of the palace. The last to enter was Edward, surrounded by a

¹ The Prince's headquarters on the 16th were at Gray's Mill, and it was in the night that the deputation came to him—they were seen by Murray of Broughton, who refused to give them any time for compliance. Later in the night a second deputation was sent, but was again dismissed and returned to the city at 2.30 A.M. Between the dispatch of the two deputations news had arrived in Edinburgh that Cope's army transports were off Dunbar.

² This is a greatly over-estimated figure.

picked body of mounted officers. He was in Highland dress, but what caught the eye of every one was his handsome person and the dignity of his bearing. After receiving the keys of the city and the homage of all the chief inhabitants on his first entry, he made his way to the palace in the midst of an immense crowd of people. In the square facing it a platform had been raised, covered with purple hangings and tastefully decorated.¹ Here a proclamation was made to the assembled people by a crier, announcing that from henceforward they must do homage and swear fealty to the Prince there before them, as the son of King James and supreme administrator of the kingdom. And in order that it might be better known and legal, the instrument by which King James entrusted his son with the administration of the kingdom was read aloud. The vast concourse listened to what the crier read in deep silence. Then, to the accompaniment of trumpets and pipes, cheers of joy rose in the air and prayers that God would preserve to them for long years, in health and prosperity, King James and his son Edward.

Edward remained there for about three days, and during this time it was easy to see how deeply rooted was the memory of the Stuart family and how great the affection of the people of Edinburgh for their ancient kings. Though they realised that, should George prove victorious, they might have to pay with their lives for any demonstration of homage beyond what necessity compelled them to make to Edward, and the thought of this prevented the most level-headed among them from openly expressing their joy, they were unable to conceal an unusual cheerfulness in their faces and they wore a certain air of gaiety that no fear could repress. When they remembered that he was a scion of the royal house which had ruled Scotland for so many centuries, which had brought so much glory upon the nation, which had bequeathed so many memories of its good deeds to posterity, they were almost beside them-

¹ The commission of regency and the declaration of the Chevalier, as also a manifesto in his own name, dated 16th May 1745, were read at the Mercat Cross, not at Holyrood.

selves with joy, nor could they feast their eyes upon him enough. They looked upon him as a superior being who had been sent down from heaven to them by God. Some were attracted by his extraordinary good looks, others by his lofty and generous nature, others by his rare graciousness of speech. Others, on the contrary, exalted his military courage, saying that he deserved to reign more than any one else, since he was grasping not at a Crown that chance had thrown in his way, but at one of which he had been robbed by the caprice of fortune. Then the old men, as usual, recalled the past. Scotland was really happy under the Stuart Kings. Their rule had been mild but just, the rule of true fathers. No action or decree of theirs had ever been prompted by cruelty, passion, violence, or caprice. Everything was regularly done in accordance with the law and custom of the land. The intolerable taxes and extortions under which they now groaned were not so much as heard of. The contrast with the present made men unconsciously inclined to side with the Prince, who looked as if he might restore their fortunes as they had been under his ancestors. Edward himself confirmed these favourable judgments in many ways, by his wonderful good sense, the singular gentleness of his manner, the perfect ease of his bearing towards all men, his gracious address, and lastly his whole life, so conspicuous for its modesty, so utterly untainted by meanness or pride.

Trifling though it may seem, I do not propose to pass over an incident which shows conclusively that he was fired only by a desire for glory, and that he had a noble indifference to pleasures that so often awaken human passion. A prominent noble was chatting familiarly with the Prince and, desiring either to flatter him or to say something to please him, expressed surprise that, though a number of women, and among them some of the most attractive, were daily presented to him, he, a young man in his prime, never so much as glanced at them. Edward then called by name one of the tallest and strongest Highlanders present and began to stroke his rough chin and hairy cheeks, saying: 'These are the beautiful

girls I must court now. One of these means more to me than all the pretty dainty women in the world!' Glory alone could charm this lofty spirit, bent on accomplishing great deeds.

Only the Calvinist ministers, called preachers, could not endure him or hide their detestation of his presence. The whole crew had an extravagant hatred of the word Catholic. Owing to their insane loathing of the Roman Church, they would have been bitterly opposed to the rule of a prince born and educated in Rome, and the consciousness of the implacable feelings they entertained towards him convinced them that they were, or deserved to be, odious to him. Though they could not openly oppose an armed conqueror, they vented their bitterness in secret murmurings, and complained in private that their religion was in danger. To allay these suspicions and also to conciliate these factious and unruly people Edward issued a proclamation on the first day of his entry to the effect that under the new rule every one should be allowed complete liberty to practise the religion he preferred. Further, in the same proclamation he had declared that it was his wish that public sermons and prayers should be continued as usual. The only difference was that, so long as the war lasted, no names should be mentioned in the prayers for princes. But all this was of little avail. The following day, although a number of people had gathered in the churches at the sound of the bell, not a single minister appeared to preach. Remaining concealed in their houses or escaping secretly from the town, they maintained obstinate silence in the pulpits until Edinburgh returned again to the rule of King George. The worst of men, they had not the courage to stir up trouble by their words, but they testified by the treacherous contumaciousness of their silence to the bitterness that rankled in their breasts.

Besides these men, whose hearts he failed to win, there was still Edinburgh Castle to capture, whence the royal troops to some extent overawed the city below. It was very difficult to storm, because it was situated on a high hill and because the defences were good. It was, moreover,

strongly held, whereas the Jacobites had no heavy artillery or other means of storming it. The only thing to do was to starve it into surrender by preventing supplies from reaching it. By this means the garrison would soon¹ be in difficulties and compelled to surrender. For, thanks to the commander, who considered the Highlanders to be a band of infamous cut-throats, and held that there was nothing to fear from them but robbery, burning, and general plunder, the castle was altogether unsupplied with food. His chief care had been rather to secure the official archives, the treasury,² and the gold and silver brought by wealthy citizens, than to make sure of a supply of corn and other provisions, in case the siege should prove a long one.

Edward was well aware of this. Yet he decided not to embark on hostilities against the castle, not only abstaining from all warlike action, but allowing provisions to be introduced into it. He was, I imagine, afraid that, if the garrison were short of food, it might make this a pretext for turning upon the town and inflicting upon it the horrors of a bombardment; and he chose to spare his enemies rather than to inflict suffering upon his friends. This moderation of the victor was universally remarked, and he was loudly praised in consequence.³

This was the state of affairs in Edinburgh when news arrived that Cope was advancing with his army and was only two days' march from the city. Strange though it may seem, Edinburgh was not in the least perturbed. The officials and the labourers, the nobles and the people,

¹ The garrison had six weeks' provisions in hand.

² See Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1779, p. 212.

³ The guard of Highlanders, under Lochiel, stationed at the Weigh-house, did not molest the transport of food into the Castle until they were fired on by the latter. It was then decided to start a blockade on 29th September. General Guest, the Commandant, then informed the Lord Provost that unless the blockade were removed he would bombard the city. The authorities appealed to the Prince, who said in the event of bombardment he would make reprisals on the estates of officers in the Castle. On the 4th October there was a cannonade against the houses occupied by the Guard, and this was repeated, but more extensively, next day. It was then that the Prince issued his proclamation withdrawing the blockade.

all went about their work as if everything was as usual.¹ On the other hand, the Jacobite troops were delighted at the news, expressing their keen joy and satisfaction that they had at last got the chance of giving actual proof of their courage. Hitherto, though they had often been in sight of the enemy, he was always in flight and they were never able to overtake him. At daybreak the Prince led his troops out of the city and learnt the position of the enemy from his scouts. Hearing that Cope had halted near the town of Prestonpans, where the Forth flows into the Bodotrin² (this is a marsh) in a broad valley, he hastened to seize a hill which enabled him to see the whole of the enemy's camp below him. As soon as the Highlanders caught sight of it from above they gave vent to a wild yell, either to challenge the enemy or to rouse their own enthusiasm for the fight. Their one idea was to charge down into the plain and join battle. The Prince held them in check, ordering them to await the signal. After a careful inspection he saw that a frontal attack would certainly involve losses. A long trench had been dug across their front protected by light guns, which would obviously mean death to any one advancing from a distance, whereas the defenders, protected by a rampart reaching almost to their heads, could attack in absolute safety an enemy appearing in the open. The enemy were also more numerous than had been expected. In addition to four thousand veteran soldiers, commanded by skilled and distinguished

¹ 'Cope left Aberdeen by sea, 15th September; arrived at Dunbar, 17th; was joined there by Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons; marched to Haddington, 19th; and to Prestonpans, 20th.'—Blaikie, *Itinerary*, p. 16.

The Prince got information of Cope's advance on 19th, and at once left Holyrood and joined his army which was at Duddingston. Next morning he advanced, crossing the Esk at Musselburgh, on to the high grounds of Faw-side. From here Cope's army could be seen, and it was decided to move more to the left towards Tranent. Cope, who was facing west, changed his front to face south; on his right was the wall of a park, and beyond that Preston. Behind him was the sea and Cockenzie, and on his left flank the village of Seton. There was a ditch full of water and a hedge on his front. Between the two armies was a marsh. It was Lord George Murray, not the Prince, who inspected the nature of this obstacle, and considered it impracticable.

² Bodotria is the Latin name of the Firth of Forth.

officers, there was a large body of militia, partly raised in the neighbourhood of London, partly sent by the English nobility as proof of their loyalty. There were also a number of volunteers who sought no other reward than glory. These the commander-in-chief had placed in the centre. Lastly he had with him Gardiner's and Hamilton's Dragoons, who had been put to flight, as we have said, at Edinburgh. These covered and supported the flanks of the army. Cope kept his men in their positions, ordering them to stand to their arms and await the attack of the enemy.

Having made these observations he [Edward] decided to stay where he was for the present,¹ especially as it was nearly sunset. He ordered his army to remain in position on the hill and pass the night quietly, as there was no danger of their being attacked by the King's troops. On the following morning, having left a body of picked men in a suitable position to cut off the retreat of the enemy to Edinburgh, he moved forward with the rest of his army, and, by a circuitous march, advanced against the enemy's right, where there was a wide expanse of level ground and the position offered no difficulties. He drew up his men on a gently sloping hill. When Cope saw that he had to do with an enemy who was not only resolute and full of fight, but also by no means ignorant of military discipline, he sought an opportunity of avoiding battle. He thought of turning towards Edinburgh, convinced that he would score heavily, if he could recover the city without slaughter or bloodshed. But when he discovered that the approaches

¹ The Prince's army, on Lord George's advice, was then moved to the east of Tranent, where it stayed the night of the 20th.

There is no evidence of the existence of English militia units in Cope's army. Mr. Blaikie (*Itinerary*, p. 90) shows that, besides the six squadrons of cavalry, there were Murray's regiment (46th), 5 companies of Lee's (44th), 2 companies of Guise's (6th), 8 companies of Lascelles' (47th), 5 very weak companies of Lord John Murray's regiment (42nd), and Lord Loudon's, and about 16 Edinburgh volunteers. There were six guns and some mortars. The strength of the whole was about 2560.

When Cope saw the Prince's army taking up a position east of Tranent, he resumed his former position, facing south. He had been compelled to change his front four times that day.

to the roads he would have to take were barred by the enemy, he determined to face him and risk a battle rather than allow himself to be caught between two bodies of his men and assailed both in front and rear.

The two armies halted face to face with only a short distance between them. The right wing of the Jacobites was commanded by the Duke of Perth, the left by Murray, both of them generals. Edward commanded the centre in person. Stepping forward to address them and showing them his naked sword, he said: 'I have thrown away the scabbard of this sword and I am determined not to sheathe it till the war is over. My brave men, now is the time for you to give an even more unmistakable proof of your courage. Fight like warriors whose one hope of safety lies in their valour. If we win, glory, liberty, and wealth will be ours. If we lose, death stares us all in the face. You see what is at stake. If you feel as I do for you, if you are true Scotsmen, no degenerate sons of your fathers, show the stuff that you and your loyalty are made of in this first battle.' With these words he roused them. So extraordinary was the courage that animated them, that when the trumpets gave the signal for battle, they were more like lions leaping upon their prey than soldiers charging the enemy.

They were received with a hailstorm of bullets fired from musket and cannon, but though many fell,¹ they neither slackened their pace nor lost their dash. Closing ranks they pressed on, discharging a volley at the enemy no less terrible and better aimed, because at shorter range. The places of those who were wounded and fell were taken by others yet more vigorous. Throwing away their muskets, they seized their claymores and with wild yells attacked the foe at close quarters. Not for a moment did the royal troops stand up to this onslaught. The ranks were broken, confusion reigned, and every one sought safety wherever fear or a chance for escape offered. The Jacobites

¹ According to Home (*History*, p. 118) Cope's guns were served by a few men who fled instantly, and Colonel Whiteford had to fire them with his own hand. The first discharge killed one private and wounded an officer of Clan Cameron.

followed, mercilessly cutting down the scattering fugitives and inflicting awful slaughter upon them. They would have destroyed almost the entire army if Edward, who had fought fiercely in the foremost ranks, had not leaped on horseback and, rushing hither and thither, prevented them by his orders from taking a cruel advantage of their victory. Then at last the bloodshed ceased and the fury of the troops abated. The Dragoons retired to a neighbouring hill and halted there, out of danger and out of range. Some of the Highlanders saw them. It was impossible to prevent them from hastening to dislodge them. Such was their speed and dash that they took them by surprise and, though the troopers fled precipitately, they inflicted no small damage upon them in the rear.

Thus ended this terrible battle. The Jacobite infantry alone—for the cavalry took no part in it, being merely spectators, though they were quite ready to give assistance if needed—the infantry alone, I say, defeated signally a far larger body of infantry and of regular cavalry, thereby winning a name for great courage. The total losses of the Jacobites were only thirty men and four officers killed with about eighty wounded. The enemy lost over five hundred killed, nine hundred wounded, and fourteen hundred prisoners.¹ The rest succeeded in escaping. The arms, food, and all the other munitions of war remained in the hands of the victors. Among the fugitives was the commander, General Cope. When he saw the battle was going against him, he made off and is said to have escaped to the neighbouring coast and gone on board a warship anchored not far out.

Delighted though he was at his victory, Edward was not unduly elated or proud. His first thought was for the

¹ Lord George's estimate of the prisoners was about 1700, including seventy officers (*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 40). The Chevalier Johnstone reckons the number of killed alone in Cope's army as 1300; other authorities give a much smaller number, from 400 to 500.

The two dragoon regiments were rallied, numbering 450 men; but they could not be induced to attack again.

wounded. Many of them lay among the hills and made piteous appeals by raising their hands. He sent post-haste to Edinburgh and the neighbouring villages for all the available surgeons to be brought to the army. When their wounds had been attended to and they had been distributed among the hospitals, he completed his act of mercy by ordering that the dead should be collected and buried in a deep trench. Then, loaded with booty and covered with glory, amid the cheers and applause of his men, he returned to Edinburgh in less than four days after leaving it.¹

Before all that I have been relating occurred, the Dutch Government had granted permission for six thousand troops to be sent to England for the suppression of the rebellion in Scotland. This was the number that had been asked for by the English ambassador in accordance with the terms of the long-standing alliance and convention between the two nations, as has been said elsewhere. When they came to discuss how these troops could best be raised after duly considering the state of the Republic, the only men that appeared to them to be available were those who had recently been driven from Tournai and the other fortresses of Belgium by the King of France, and who, as was then customary, had been set free on certain conditions. With these troops the Dutch could dispense without the least inconvenience, as they had been released on condition that they should not fight for two years either against France or against any of her allies, nor serve any Prince who was at war with France. Strict observance of these terms made it impossible, in the view of the Dutch, to use these troops, except perhaps against the rebels in Scotland. For although the King of France was pleased at their success, he did not appear to be especially interested in it. So it was decided to send the troops to England.

But while ships were being prepared for the crossing, the French ambassador, the Abbé de la Ville, asked for an

¹ 22nd September.

audience in the States, and, when it was granted, began to express strong disapproval of the decision and to blame them severely for taking a step so dishonest, and so unworthy of themselves and of their sense of justice. The decree, he maintained, struck a blow at public honour, which should be kept sacred among all nations. The surrendered soldiers were restored to the Batavian Republic only by the good-natured generosity of the King of France. Though he had every right to make them prisoners and send them in chains to France, he had nevertheless released them from the fortresses with the full honours of war. But they must at all costs observe the conditions imposed upon them by the conqueror, namely that, released as they had been, they must not fight under the enemies of France. A king so powerful would never allow terms to be thus violated with impunity.

The whole Assembly was deeply hurt by a speech so emphatic, independent, and menacing. In reply to these objections it was urged that the Dutch Senate was unfairly blamed for breaking its word in a step which had only been taken after the most careful consideration. The King of France had imposed two conditions on the men who had surrendered: the first that they should not fight against him or against his allies; the second that for the space of two years they should not take service under any Prince who was an enemy of France. Neither of these conditions was being violated in the present instance. The Stuart Prince, against whom these troops were being sent, was certainly not, so far as was known, bound to France by any tie of alliance, nor had King Louis, a monarch of the highest sense of honour, hitherto done anything by which he might be considered to aid or abet a rebellion so wicked. George, King of England, in whose service these troops might in a way be thought to be, was, it is true, by the declaration of war, an enemy of France. But these troops were not being sent to him to help him against France. They belonged to and were in the pay of the Dutch Republic and were being used in the common cause of both nations. Further, they owed

no allegiance to England, nor were they fighting under English orders, but were to act as a separate corps with their own standards and leaders.

Thus did the Dutch settle everything to their own satisfaction, and certainly with no lack of subtlety. But, truth to tell, their arguments were more suited to a law-court than to a treaty between princes, and, in the opinion of many, they were not strong enough to rebut the charge of a violation of the conditions. However, they considered that this answer had completely cleared them from any charge of breaking their word, though the French ambassador insisted in vain to the contrary, and threatened condign punishment unless the decree were repealed. The troops stipulated were sent to England. Louis, however, was not a man to be put off with words or to be satisfied with specious and superficial arguments. As a mark of his indignation he ordered that his ambassador should immediately quit the Hague without taking leave of the authorities, a course adopted only in the case of an open rupture. He thus passed from protests to active measures in seeking redress for the violation of his rights, and with such effect that the Dutch were at last compelled to observe the agreement and recall the troops they had sent to England, as we shall relate in due course.

Meanwhile, as we have said, the Jacobites had won the battle of Prestonpans. The victory seemed to establish Edward's authority in many districts, and an astonishing display of enthusiasm throughout Scotland was the result. Most of the cities sent deputations to him to make their submission. Panic reigned in London as if the enemy, flushed with victory, were already at the gates, threatening the undefended city with dire destruction. The King at once ordered Parliament¹ to assemble and himself described the state of affairs in a lengthy speech. A great horde of rebels, a ruffianly and crime-stained mob, guilty in the eyes of the law, tricked and deceived, enticed by the hope of booty and plunder, maintained by foreign aid,

¹ Parliament met on 17th October.

had gathered round a youth of utter recklessness, and, what was worse, a Catholic and a Roman. Though he belonged to the family which all the estates of the realm had for excellent reasons banished for ever from England, he had the audacity to usurp the name of King, to claim rights over Scotland and play the tyrant of the kingdom. His dark designs were more than clear. What else could be the purpose of a young man brought up a Roman, a slave of the King of France, but the subversion of the religion that had flourished for so many years in England, and the making of England herself into a vassal of France? At first they could afford to treat with contempt the advance of a horde of madmen instead of taking measures against them. But now that the rebellion had gained ground and grown in strength and boldness on account of some success, every effort must be made to prevent it from spreading further. The deadly poison must be cut out, the knife and fire must be used against a contagion that was daily becoming more disastrous and, as a contagion will, was ever spreading and increasing. If prompt remedies were not used against the evil, it might involve the downfall of the whole kingdom. Such was the remedy demanded, and he hoped to obtain it from the estates of the realm, whose devotion, loyalty, and love he had experienced in so many ways. Moreover, he concluded, 'If you are not tired of me as your king, if you are satisfied, as I hope you are, with my efforts on behalf of the common weal, if I have never wearied of upholding your dignity before all else, it is for you to make sure that the rebels shall repent of their ill-advised enterprise, and that all other enemies of England shall realise to their shame that it is folly to attempt to attack in his very palace a king who is protected by the authority of the law, by his blameless life, by the support and loyalty of his people.'

The House thanked the King for informing them of what had happened. Not only were his demands granted unanimously, but he was told that they would see that the life and the dignity of an excellent sovereign were not endangered and that no change whatever in the govern-

ment would be tolerated. Nor was this all. As a further proof of their loyalty some of the wealthiest among them ordered soldiers to be raised at their own expense, offering large sums of money for the purpose. This prompt and generous help was, to my mind, the result of the great efforts made by the King of France to prevent assistance being sent from Holland to England. It convinced many people that he had undoubtedly come to an understanding with the Stuart Prince and, since he had failed to secure the election of a friendly Roman Emperor, he was endeavouring to set up in England a king who was a friend, even a dependent. However this may be, a resolution to the following effect was passed by Parliament. The rebels must be put down at all costs ; George and his descendants must be maintained upon the throne ; all the needful funds should be found by the Treasury. Further, the military establishment was to be increased and fresh levies raised in the most populous cities. The garrisons were increased in London, since the loyalty of many was suspect, and orders were issued that they were to remain under arms day and night. In order to bind men more effectively, the magistrates were told to administer a fresh oath of allegiance to King George. Further, in addition to the Dutch troops which had already landed in England, the Hessians, Danes, Swiss, and Hanoverians in English pay, who were fighting for the Queen of Hungary, were recalled. The King's son, the Duke of Cumberland, was made Commander-in-Chief of the army. A young man of spirit, he had given proof of great courage on more than one occasion, while his loyalty to his father was above suspicion. Orders were sent to him to leave the Netherlands at once and return to England. The first object was to prevent the Scotch rebels from entering England. So the newly arrived Dutch troops and regiments of regulars, amounting to nearly twelve thousand men, were dispatched to the border. Wade was placed in command and ordered to advance against the Jacobites. If they endeavoured to enter England they were to be pursued with all energy. Lastly, as it was said that men and money were being

secretly sent from France and Spain to the Jacobites, and there was a rumour that the King of France was making more extensive preparations, orders were given that the navy was also to be put in readiness and that a number of men-of-war under skilled commanders were to patrol all the coasts of Scotland.

While these measures were being taken in London, Edward, who was subduing almost the whole of Scotland,¹ had but one wish, to advance with his army into England and attack the very capital of the kingdom. He had established in Edinburgh a supreme council, consisting of the most influential and upright citizens, in whose hands were vested all power and authority. It regulated the taxes and sent the money to the Prince's Treasury. It also took measures for increasing the army and supplying its needs. He spent six weeks in arranging matters and sending commissioners to various districts with orders to provide troops and forage, carts and horses for conveying provisions, and dispatching light corps for the protection of the roads.

About the middle ² of November he left Edinburgh and took the road for England, having under his command, as was said, some twelve thousand troops.³ There was much surprise that a Prince, who did nothing without mature consideration, did not first set about capturing Edinburgh Castle, either by assaulting it or by starving it into surrender, and was not deeply concerned at leaving the city without any garrison to protect it. Many held that he should have taken Stirling Castle first, and that it was foolish to start for England without holding any fortress in Scotland, leaving all the strong places in the hands of the enemy. This he fully realised. But as he hoped for greater successes in England and considered that everything depended on swiftness, he preferred not to waste time and strength on these enterprises—two things the loss of which is fatal and irreparable in war.

¹ The author's estimate of the consequences of the victory at Prestonpans on the country as a whole is extraordinarily inaccurate.

² Actually 3rd November.

³ A remarkable over-estimate. The army certainly did not exceed 7500.

French promises also encouraged him to press on. Amid great preparations they had collected a number of ships in the French ports that faced the ocean, and it was said that they were to bring him help, which he was expecting from day to day. Perhaps also he thought that, even if he lost Scotland, he could easily recover it, as he was so popular with the people, and in any case he could always find a refuge in the Highlands.

He marched straight to the banks of the Tived [Tweed], the boundary between England and Scotland, unchecked by any encounter with the enemy. For Wade, who commanded the King's troops, and who had at first marched energetically against him, pleading as excuse an infectious disease that had attacked his men, had unexpectedly halted at Newcastle, in the county of Northumberland, and had advanced no further. Meanwhile an event occurred that caused no little disgust when it became known; namely, that Edinburgh had been recovered by the royal troops and that a similar fate had befallen other towns also, which had returned to their ancient allegiance. This is what happened. Cope having been removed, the command in Scotland was taken over by General Handasidio [Handasyde].¹ He had recently been besieging ² Berwick with four regiments, not so much as an offensive measure, but in self-defence. The moment he learnt that the Jacobites had left Edinburgh and were some distance off, and, almost incredible as it seemed, had left no garrison there, he marched the little way that separated him from it with his regiments and the city immediately surrendered.

For the moment no arrests were made, not even among those who were known to have taken the lead in the rebellion. This was, I imagine, due to caution, in order to give no excuse for disturbances and not to endanger the public peace which it was very important to preserve at

¹ General Handasyde arrived at Edinburgh on 14th November with the two unfortunate regiments of dragoons which had been at Prestonpans, and two infantry regiments.

² This statement is, of course, incorrect.

that time. In other respects, great changes were made. The old rule was re-established; the old magistrates were recalled to their posts; Edward's proclamations were torn down; all orders given by him were declared null and void; the inhabitants were completely cowed and no one dared to protest. Most notable of all, the ministers and preachers who had lain in hiding, now came out from their lairs like drunken men, and began to exercise their eloquence that had long been in check with such excessive vigour that it looked as if they were eager to make up the arrears of their long silence in a few days.¹

Though Edward was very disappointed at this news, it did not turn him from his purpose. After crossing the Tweed, which, as we have said, is the boundary between Scotland and England, he turned west and entered Cumberland, a maritime English county that faces Ireland. Before him at the mouth of the River Iden [Eden] lay Carlisle (called Lugvalle by the ancients), the capital of the county, defended by a castle and a garrison. If he subdued the city and captured the castle, not only would he secure a foothold in England, but he would be preceded by a reputation for courage and capacity, a precious asset in war, while his success would make a glorious opening to his expedition. For these reasons, and also because it might have been dangerous to leave such a stronghold for the enemy behind him, he ordered his army to advance upon the city and invest it closely. The terrified inhabitants at once sent envoys to make their submission and opened the gates. The garrison, however, shut itself up in the castle and looked like bravely enduring a long siege. But the moment they saw the enemy over the moat and under the battlements, putting up ladders everywhere and preparing for a final assault, their courage failed them. However, in order that, if they surrendered, they might not be accused of coming to terms with rebels, they seized

¹ 'It is certain that the Presbyterian preachers in Scotland were the best recruiting serjeants and the best intelligencers that Cumberland and his father had.'—Robert Forbes, 27/5/1748 (*The Lyon in Mourning*, ii. p. 108).

a favourable opportunity for slipping out unobserved¹ and abandoned the castle.

Meanwhile, Wade, who, as we have seen, had halted at Newcastle, having been informed of the siege and of the danger to Carlisle, was advancing with the King's army by forced marches to the assistance of the threatened castle. But, while still on the way, he received news that he was too late to be of use. Carlisle was already in the hands of the enemy. The garrison had not done its duty in defending the castle, but had shamefully deserted it. He halted his army for a space under this blow, then he retraced his steps to Newcastle and reoccupied his old camp.

After capturing Carlisle, Edward circulated a proclamation, printed in Edinburgh,² before he advanced further, in which, as he had already done in the case of the Scots, he summoned the English to return to their allegiance to his father King James. This proclamation was similar in tone, except that he adjured the English not to allow themselves to be deceived by such empty names as popery, tyranny, and other bugbears of the kind, with which George of Brunswick in his insane and boundless ambition made such play in order to maintain his unjust rule. They must put aside these baseless charges once for all. In questions of religion neither he nor his father would ever make the slightest innovation. Whatever had been established or should be established in the future by the estates of the realm should always remain fixed and inviolate in every way. This he said because he was well aware that these were the principal weapons employed to stir up hatred against him, for he was denounced as a rabid Catholic who would restore the Pope's authority. And as many people charged the Stuart family with the crime of being friendly to France, and used the charge to make him unpopular, he added: 'Much less must you believe that we

¹ No doubt they might have offered more resistance than they did; but they left after a formal capitulation.

² The proclamation was issued on 15th November. It was actually dated Rome, 23rd December 1743.

are so bound and enslaved to France that in our rule we shall pay more heed to her than to your interests and to our own honour. Though we acknowledge some obligations to the French Monarch, we shall not, once we are established in our kingdom, do anything that is not becoming to a King, and an English King. It is our resolve to loosen any such ties, not to draw them closer. As for me, you yourselves are witnesses that I was not escorted by French troops, that I did not cross on a French vessel, but on a single hired ship; that I landed on this island without men, without money, with but seven friends of my own. So you may rest assured that I put my faith in no other arm than the justice of my cause and in the justice and the affection of the people. With these arms alone I have, with God's help, recovered the whole of Scotland and won it back to the allegiance of my father. With these I hope to capture the hearts of the English, and buoyed up with this hope I have long refused all assistance from the kings of Spain and France. Had not George of Brunswick summoned foreign troops to defend his evil cause, which is already lost in the opinion of all men, I should never have accepted aid from abroad. But now that I see in arms against me in the heart of England not only my own countrymen, but Dutchmen, Hessians, Swiss, and Hanoverians, why should I feel scruples about opposing foreigners by foreigners? Why may not I follow the example of my rival who is so much stronger than I am and get help in any way I can? I flatter myself that you would make no objections. Furthermore, rest assured that your power, your liberty, your rights of every kind will always remain safe and unimpaired, nor shall we ever refuse to ratify, approve and welcome everything that the estates of the realm may decree to the advantage and glory of the nation. This I solemnly swear to you both in my name and in the name of my father James.'

He ended the letter with a fervent prayer that, if in the past there had been differences between the English nation and his own royal house, no more should be made of them and the memory should be buried. For himself, he said,

in accordance with the authority received from his father James, he forgave every one all the injuries, old or new, with which his rights and his name has been so cruelly outraged; but in his turn he asked that, if his ancestors had incurred the wrath of the nation through any grievance, it should be put down to the circumstances of the times and wiped from the memory of all men. If they had been guilty of a fault, they had paid heavily enough for it by being hurled from their throne and driven from their country. The cruellest indignities had been heaped upon their innocent sons and grandsons, who had now for over fifty-seven years been leading an unhappy life of mourning and misery in exile and poverty. Was so monstrous a punishment never to have an end? Would the anger of the English never be appeased? Now was the time for restoring to every man his rights, for peacefully making up differences, for giving back the Prince to his own kingdom, the kingdom to its own Prince, for letting by-gones be by-gones.

This was the tenor of the manifesto. Passed from hand to hand, it made an extraordinary impression upon the people, as may be gathered from the fact that when soon afterwards Edward marched his army out of Carlisle and began to lead it along the shore of the Irish Sea,¹ people crowded round him wherever he went, welcoming him with cheers of joy.² But, if the truth must be told, the nobility hardly rose at all, seeming to take little part in the joy of the people. Then the preachers and other Nonconformist ministers attacked him freely, and successfully checked these popular demonstrations. Everywhere Edward took over the reins of government, levied contributions, and endeavoured to make men swear allegiance to King James. On leaving Carlisle he went to Kendal, a little town in Westmorland, washed by the River Ken. Then he proceeded to Lancaster, a town of the same name

¹ Cordara's geography is not quite accurate here.

² 'During his progress to Preston, Charles received no marks of attachment from the inhabitants of the towns and country through which he passed.'—Browne, iii. p. 143.

as the county. After a short stay there, he made his way into the county of Cheshire, in order, it was thought, to enter the boundaries of the Principality of Wales¹ that stretches for a considerable distance along the sea. But he suddenly turned to the left towards the east, marching inland in the direction of Derby. The reason for this decision will appear later.

The Court of London was much perturbed at all that was happening, and great indeed was the consternation. With the swift and successful advance of the rebels it looked as though either the forces were inadequate, or, what was worse, both officers and men had not the will to check them. The flame of rebellion had apparently spread to England, and the roar of the fire, so to speak, could be heard close at hand. What would happen if it drew even nearer, if the capital itself began to blaze? In that case the remedy of the evil was more to be dreaded than the evil itself. London was a populous and free city. Gatherings of the idle were common, while party feeling continued to run ever higher. Voices were heard attacking the existing Government freely both in public and in private, and it was as dangerous to try to check them as to leave them unpunished. There was the added danger that on the approach of the rebels the revolutionary elements might become insolent, stirring up trouble in the very heart of the kingdom which could only be put down by a civil war which might involve the ruin of the country.

The secret manœuvres of the King of France, which seemed to threaten an invasion of England, were another cause of anxiety. It was certain, in spite of all the pretexts hitherto urged, that he had strong sympathy with the House of Stuart and that he would not be sorry to see a Prince bound to France by so many ties ascend the throne in England. There was ample proof that he was inclined openly to support his cause. For some time past unusual preparations of arms and ships were being carried on in different ports of his dominions that faced the ocean.

¹ There seems to be no ground for this statement.

At Calais, Boulogne, Dunkirk, Brest there was great activity in building and fitting out men-of-war. Arsenalns were being filled, and sailors enrolled in large numbers. What could be the object of all these preparations, if an expedition against England had not been decided upon? Henry, Duke of York, second son of King James, had recently been summoned from Rome to France.¹ It was rumoured that he had immediately hastened to Brittany and had halted at the spot where naval preparations were most active. What other object could he have, except to cross to England with the invading troops to assist his brother's enterprise?

All doubt was removed by the King of France himself in an official manifesto² of clear import, in which he proclaimed himself the ally and confederate of Edward, Prince of Wales, declaring that he would regard his enemies as his own, whosoever and wheresoever they might be. The Dutch were the causes of his taking this step. As we have said, King Louis was very angry with them for having sent to the assistance of King George the troops who had surrendered after being driven from the fortresses of Belgium, contrary to the terms of the surrender. To punish them for this wrong he had already issued a proclamation withdrawing their rights of trade from the Dutch merchants, rights from which they derived great profit. He had also caused some merchantmen in the ports of France to be seized, and confiscated their cargo. As even this failed to induce them to recall the troops, he resolved on the final step of publicly declaring himself an ally of the Stuarts. By this means he hoped to break down the obstinacy of the Dutch, since it left them no valid excuse, and at the same time to cause the English no little embarrassment. He considered the step a wise one, because there was now no longer any motive for concealing an alliance made so long before. Hitherto there had been reason to fear that English hatred of France, then particularly bitter, might

¹ He left Rome 29th August, and reached Avignon about the end of September.

² The treaty signed at Fontainebleau 24th October 1745.

vent itself against an innocent Prince from the mere fact that he was suspected of being in league with France. Hence, though King Louis was with him heart and soul and had from time to time secretly helped his enterprise with subsidies, he thought it best to keep secret the bond that united them. So true a friend was he that he deliberately concealed his friendship in order not to do him harm. Now, since the mere suspicion of a friendship which could no longer be concealed was seen to be injuring the innocent Prince, and a number of Englishmen were holding aloof from him for no other reason, Louis wisely decided to take a step which would make the friendship of France as valuable to him in the future as the suspicion of it had been harmful in the past. And at first it was certainly of great service, for the Dutch troops were recalled from England and the forces opposed to him were considerably diminished. If everything had continued as it had begun, we may suppose that one whose rights were so incontestably superior would not have proved inferior in the field. But it often happens that even the most powerful kings are unable to keep their promises.

This declaration of alliance ¹ on the part of King Louis, being confirmed by all the papers, was soon known in Holland, whence the news spread to England. The consternation it caused in both countries is not easily depicted. While the Dutch were hesitating as to what course they should adopt [Lord] John Drummond, brother of the Duke of Perth, who commanded the Irish Brigade ² in France, unexpectedly arrived in Scotland with a few hundreds of Irish troops. Having managed to slip by a number of English ships, he landed at Celurca (this is a little village on the sea in Angusia, commonly called Montrose), and without a moment's delay divulged the alliance between the King of France and Edward, Prince of Wales. In order that it might be more widely known,

¹ The treaty of Fontainebleau, 24th October 1745.—Browne, iii. App. xvi., p. 449.

² Lord John Drummond commanded a regiment in the French service known by the name of 'Royal Scots.'

he sent round public letters¹ announcing it, and although he was at the head of only a few squadrons, he described himself as General commanding the French troops in Scotland. Relying on this title, he declared war to the death against all who had taken arms against Edward unless they laid them down at once. He arranged for similar letters to be delivered to Count Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch troops, and bade him, unless he wished to be the cause of a war between the Dutch Republic and a king as powerful as Louis, to keep the terms of Tournai and forthwith to evacuate the island with his troops without a moment's delay. Nassau's answer to these threats is not known, but the Dutch troops left England a few days later, returning to their posts. The Dutch Estates, in order to keep faith with King George in some other way, replaced them by hiring an equal number of Hessians to fight against the Stuarts.

Now that the determination of the King of France was no longer doubtful, there was much discussion in London as to whether the danger at home or the danger abroad should be met first. For it was said that the French were to be expected with a very strong fleet, and that at the same time Edward was advancing with a formidable army into the heart of England, seemingly threatening to invest London itself, the capital of the kingdom. When all arguments on both sides had been weighed, those who advocated a division of forces between the two enterprises gained the day. Most of them were to be sent against Edward as the nearest and therefore the most dangerous enemy. Many things might prevent the coming of the French—storms, winds, and the other accidents that make sea voyages uncertain. Though the English coast was not well protected, there were so many men-of-war cruising round it that a landing would not be easy.

While these decisions were being taken, the Duke of Cumberland had already arrived from the Netherlands, bringing with him the pick of the army there. To him

¹ Proclamation dated 2nd December 1745.

was entrusted the task of attacking the Jacobites with the main body of the forces of the kingdom. His father, George, urgently impressed upon him the extreme gravity of the crisis, exhorting him to defend his tottering throne.

Cumberland, a high-spirited youth with a passionate thirst for glory, desired nothing better than to meet Edward and win the fame of having saved the kingdom. Entering upon his task eagerly and resolutely, he hurried off with all speed to Essex, where the troops were assembled. Edward had halted at Congleton in Cheshire before proceeding to Wales,¹ when he heard that the King's army, having reached the banks of the river Stonam, was not more than ten miles away. Thinking that it had advanced thus far to give him battle, he assembled his troops and immediately changed his plans. Instead of continuing his way towards the Principality, he marched his men to the Stonam. He felt sure that there would be fighting there, but he was mistaken. Though he had a much larger army, the Duke of Cumberland, whether from fear or from caution, retired precipitately for thirty miles to Coventry. The Jacobites, on the other hand, advanced and camped at Derby.

It had never occurred to Edward that the enemy would retreat so suddenly. He occupied Derby and, as he was hardly thirty leagues from London, he began to entertain hopes of ending the war at a single blow. Summoning a council of war, he laid before his staff the plan he had long entertained of pressing on with his army to London. Opening the debate, he said they must follow hard upon the enemy now that they were demoralised by fear and had lost confidence. If they continued their retreat to London, not only might he have a good chance of reaching the capital without suffering loss, but it was quite likely that a number of his partisans, seeing him close at hand, armed and advancing upon the city in the guise of a

¹ Cordara appears to have confused dates. It was not until the council of war met at Derby that the Prince, objecting to the retreat strongly urged by Lord George Murray, suggested marching into Wales. This was negated by the council,

conqueror, would rise against George. If they determined to face him and stake all on a battle, as they would have to do sooner or later, it made little difference that they were fighting on hostile territory, because in case of disaster there would always be Scotland. So long as Scotland was safe, the war could always be prolonged or revived. But, if fortune favoured him, he might, at one blow, and in one day, become master of everything. The King's army, in which all George's hopes were placed, and on which hung the fate of the country, once beaten, it would be quite easy to subdue London, crush the Cabinet and the Court, and reduce the whole country once for all to obedience. Many of the members of the council shared his views.

But others would not hear of it. They called heaven and earth to witness that, if he determined deliberately to rush to his destruction, they would follow him to the death, but would never approve of such a decision. How could he be so mad as to risk all on a battle, the result of which was uncertain? What could be more foolhardy than to rush into a bitterly hostile country, where the enemy had everything on his side and could use his advantage to the full? Perhaps it was with this idea that Cumberland had feigned a precipitate retreat, hoping to entice the unwary Jacobites into a trap and overwhelm them when elated by the hope of victory. Finally, they added, if we are strong enough to be able to hope for victory in the field, why not wait for the help from France, which will make victory certain?

When Edward objected that it seemed to him too long to wait for reinforcements that were expected every day, but never actually came, Murray,¹ who was the Prince's secretary and had great influence with him, though, as we shall see, he afterwards betrayed him, replied that it was impossible to doubt that the King of France would not keep his promise. It might be that the reinforcements were delayed by the usual difficulties of the sea, but they

¹ The author has evidently confused Murray of Broughton with Lord George Murray.

would never fail. In his opinion the French would make not for the east coast, but for the west, as being not so well guarded, where they would effect a landing. The Prince would be wiser to shut up his army in some well-fortified place and there await the attack, instead of himself challenging the enemy. In his view, they should return to Carlisle. A strong place on the west of England, it had the additional advantage that it would be more easy for them to welcome the French there when they came. This seemed to him not merely useful, but necessary, especially when the army, now far removed from Scotland, found itself in difficulties from lack either of friends or of money, without means of procuring forage. Things were daily going from bad to worse. Let the Prince think of some more profitable plan. Let him beware of taking a course which, however attractive it might appear, offered few real advantages, and let him remember that war needed not youthful enthusiasm, but rational methods. Thus spoke Murray, and the majority of the council seemed to side with him.

Most unwillingly did Edward decide to retreat and abandon a plan which had hitherto proved so successful. Above all he felt the ignominy, which would certainly be looked upon as a disgrace by the crowd ignorant of the true state of affairs ; for he saw that the Duke of Cumberland, whom he had been following in retreat, would in turn pursue him, now that he was retreating. However, he submitted to the authority of the council, which was of opinion that nothing should be undertaken that involved greater risk without the assistance of France. Considering it too dangerous to advance further towards London, useless to think of the eastern counties, futile, even harmful, to linger in Derby, he began to retreat sorely against his will. Retracing his steps, he made his way from Derbyshire to Cumberland with, it must be admitted, the best intention in the world, but with disastrous consequences, as will appear later.

BOOK III

EDWARD'S hopes of the arrival of the French proved to be without foundation. Long expected, they never appeared, being held up, as they declared, by unfavourable winds. Yet it looked every day as if they must come. In addition to the marines there were assembled in Dunkirk some twelve thousand infantry, brought from Belgium. There were also more than fifty transports ready with men-of-war sufficient to act as escort. The Duke of Richelieu, who was to be the admiral of the expedition, himself supervised everything. The Duke of York, Edward's brother, was also there and, from his natural desire to see his brother again and help him, did all in his power to ensure their sailing. But although everything was ready, the marines being put on board and making sail practice daily, the expedition never started. By some strange fatality no sooner was a day fixed for the start than the fleet was unable to weigh anchor. The wind was either too light, or too strong, or the sea too stormy. Shrewd observers noted this, suspecting, not without cause, that under these winds or storms lurked a mystery; but if this were so its real nature was never divulged.

These events gave rise to a good deal of talk of different kinds throughout Europe. As the English ships were as thick as quails on the sea, if I may put it so, and the port of Dunkirk was almost besieged, some said that the French were afraid of encountering so many of them and were unwilling to risk a fleet that had cost them so much; others that the mere fitting out of such an expedition was of sufficient assistance to Prince Edward, since it compelled the English to divide their forces. A considerable number of the troops with which they might have crushed the Jacobite army had to be kept on the coast in readiness

for an enemy invasion from abroad. This was equivalent to the landing of 12,000 men in England. Another argument in defence of French loyalty was that, though the Dunkirk fleet never sailed, other ships had been sent to Edward's assistance and still more would follow shortly. These small separate landings of troops made little actual show, but they helped him none the less. Taken together, they were as effective as a pretentious expedition. People thus drew different conclusions according to their way of thinking and their sympathies. However this may be—for it is beyond my power to offer a definite solution—this much at least I can say. It would have been far better for Edward if the fleet had either been actually sent or had never been promised at all. The expectation of this powerful support certainly influenced him in deciding to act on the defensive instead of taking the offensive. And it was after this decision that his prospects began to change and take a turn for the worse.

As soon as Edward withdrew from Derby, the Duke of Cumberland led his army out of Coventry and began to press hard upon him. Naturally every one believed that the tables were turned, the Prince having all the appearance of being in flight and the Duke of pursuing. This mistaken idea—for men are easily deceived by appearances—put an entirely different aspect on things. In the first place, the morale of the two armies felt its effects, the apparent difference of fortune making them either dispirited or buoyed up with hope. Then the feelings and views of the people among whom Edward found himself began to change, as we see, from the very beginning of his retreat. Though his route was the same that he had followed but a short time previously, and though he passed through the same towns, he found the attitude towards him different. Those who had welcomed him as a victor with every honour paid little attention to him now that he was retreating with a haste that looked more like flight than victory. Many also rather ignobly refused to receive him from fear of the royal army which was pressing hard upon him, and the power of which was more to be feared. So fickle is man,

his enthusiasm and his feelings varying with circumstances. This was the first sign that fortune was abandoning him, the first proof that in future the Stuart cause would fare ill and would go from bad to worse. Edward had, in fact, relied chiefly on the goodwill of the people. When he lost this, as he was short of money and provisions and hard pressed by the enemy, he had no chance of acting otherwise and facing the enemy. Soon afterwards other misfortunes overtook him.

Edward had stationed one wing of his army in Penrith and Clifton, two towns in the county of Cumberland, to check the advance of the enemy who were pressing him, until he should reach Carlisle with the remainder of his troops. Two thousand Highlanders were stationed in these towns, all brave men of proved loyalty, who had hitherto never shown fear in the presence of the enemy and had actually put them to flight several times. And yet, as soon as they knew that the Duke of Cumberland was close at hand with the royal army, the Highlanders were seized with an unwonted panic and took to flight, shamefully abandoning their posts, and even congratulating themselves that the enemy had not pursued them hotly, but allowed them to retreat at leisure.¹ Cumberland was prevented from pursuing them by the heavy rain that had fallen and by the fatigue of his men, for he had advanced by forced marches. But thinking that a flight so precipitate was a proof of abject terror, he decided to push on to Carlisle, where the enemy had shut themselves up. So as soon as the siege-train and the artillery, which had to be brought up more slowly, were ready, he advanced with his whole army and encamped in sight of the town.

Edward was aware of the flight of his men; he was also short of provisions, and he saw the enemy advancing with everything ready for a siege; so he hesitated, unable to decide on the course he ought to adopt. He had more

¹ This is a remarkable travesty of the actual facts. (Cp. Chevalier de Johnstone, *Memoirs*, p. 65; Lord George Murray, *Memoirs*, p. 65; *The Lyon in Mourning*, ii. p. 88.) The Highland casualties were 12 killed; the enemy lost about 100 killed and wounded.

than sufficient men to defend the city and the castle, but at the same time, he knew that he had not provisions enough for a long siege.¹ Moreover, whatever his decision, he saw that he must take it at once, as events were moving too fast to give him time to ask advice. He therefore assembled his principal officers in a hasty council and proposed to them one of two courses, either to make a hurried retreat to Scotland or to stake all on a battle. He showed that there was no other alternative, since the shortage of provisions made it impossible for them to hold out against a long siege. The leaders, who did not yet despair of French aid and were convinced that it would never do to put all to the hazard before it arrived, were of opinion that they should immediately break camp, abandon England, and withdraw the troops to Scotland while they were still in good condition. There, in a friendly country, and above all one where provisions were abundant, it would be possible to keep the war alive, frustrate the enemy's designs and ultimately defeat him. Only they were of opinion that the castle of Carlisle ought to be held and a sufficient garrison left there.² When this plan had been adopted by the Prince on 1st January 1746, a year memorable in history for Edward's defeat, he left Carlisle and, recrossing the Tay,³ found himself once more in Scotland.

About four hundred men were left to garrison the castle of Carlisle, well supplied with everything. They were ordered to do all in their power to put up a stout resistance, not to surrender, no matter what the terms offered, unless everything else had failed and they were reduced to the last extremity. The Commander and his men all gladly undertook to carry out the orders. But they did not keep their word. When the Duke of Cumberland's army had entered the city, he gave orders that platforms should be

¹ There is no evidence that there was ever any idea of holding on to Carlisle in force.

² Lord George Murray was entirely opposed to this step. The responsibility must rest with the Prince himself.

³ ? Esk.

prepared and palisades erected round the fort and the artillery put in position. All this, though bullets and missiles of every kind were showered from the battlements, was immediately done. Then the defenders were informed by a bugler that, unless they surrendered the fort at once, they would be treated with all the rigour of the law against rebels and traitors to their Prince. At first the officer in command laughed at these threats, saying that a castle so strong and so well garrisoned did not surrender at the mere rumbling of thunder. Strenuous efforts would have to be made and much blood shed in a prolonged siege, the end of which no one could foresee. Infuriated at this haughty answer, the young Prince signed to his men to begin at once breaching the walls of the fort with guns of heavy calibre. The violent cannonade was continued for a couple of days, with the result that a great breach was made in the walls. The defenders were dismayed at the damage, and, thinking that they would not receive quarter if the enemy stormed it, they pressed round the commanding officer, begging him and compelling him to do nothing more that might provoke the fury of the victor and, with ill-timed obstinacy, make even worse a cause that was already desperate. Let him rather endeavour to placate the angry Prince by a voluntary surrender and to obtain good terms from him. Yielding at last to the vehemence of these remonstrances, the commander ordered a white flag to be raised in sign of his wish to capitulate and to come to a parley. The Duke of Cumberland on his side at once sent a bugler with an officer to ask the Governor whether he still persisted in his former sentiments. The Governor immediately offered to surrender and undertook to give hostages. One thing only he asked, and that was that terms should be granted. The officer replied scornfully that the Prince held no dealings with rebels. They must immediately lay down their arms, leave the fort, and throw themselves on their master's mercy. Faced with a choice between immediate surrender and certain death, the garrison chose surrender and did as they were bidden.

Thus was the fort of Carlisle recovered, and with it went the last possession of the Jacobites in England. Satisfied with his success, Cumberland entered Carlisle in triumph. He received the citizens, who implored his pardon for what had happened, kindly, promising to intercede for them with the king his father, and to plead their cause. He ordered the walls to be repaired as well as they could be in the circumstances wherever they had suffered from the cannon, and he left a garrison of several squadrons¹ under the command of Bligh. Lastly, entrusting Hawley with the command, and ordering him to follow the Jacobites into Scotland, he returned to London to give his father an account of what he had done and to discuss further measures with the King's ministers.

Though the numbers of his army were considerably reduced, Edward, not in the least dismayed by all his ill-fortune in the loss of Carlisle, endeavoured to repair in Scotland the losses he had sustained in England. Forging the numerous rivers on his line of march, he led his army through wild and mountainous country which was difficult of access to the enemy. He levied contributions of money on the towns he passed through, forcing them to provide transport and the necessary supplies. These were given much less willingly than before and in much smaller quantities, either because the first enthusiasm, as often happens, was beginning to cool, or because, owing to the uncertain issue of the war, they objected to the certain loss of their property. Having reached Glasgow, the capital of Glottiana, and seeing that unless he halted in some well-fortified place he would find it difficult to defend himself against the king's troops who were following him, he set about besieging the castle of Strivelin. But it was too late, and the time was ill-chosen for a step which should have been taken much earlier.

Stirling Castle is splendidly constructed and is counted one of the finest buildings in Scotland. It lies on the River Forthy [Forth], the waters of which wash its base.

¹ Cumberland put Bligh's regiment in garrison.

The town is connected with the castle by an ancient stone bridge. It was well supplied with heavy artillery and provisions and held by a strong garrison under the command of Blakeney, the governor, a warlike Englishman and a brave soldier of unquestionable loyalty to King George. Meanwhile, having organised the siege, Edward moved off into the Stirling district and encamped opposite the town. Some of his troops he sent to Perth under [Lord Lewis] Gordon, ordering them to fortify the castle. Another body he placed at Lind [Linlithgow], a town in the county of Laudon [Lothian], lying between Edinburgh and Stirling. This step was necessary in order to prevent the royal troops from leaving Edinburgh to raise the siege. He then summoned the people of Stirling to deliver up the town. They refused and prepared to endure all the hardships of a siege. The townspeople held out for two days, partly of their own free will, as they were no supporters of the Stuarts, partly from confidence in the royal troops, a large number of whom were in Edinburgh and were said to be coming to the aid of the threatened town as quickly as possible. But when they saw the town invested and the supply of provisions cut off, when they began to suffer from hunger and to fear worse was before them, their present sufferings gained the day. They opened the gates and submitted to the Prince.

Having got possession of the town, Edward was preparing to besiege the castle and had already begun to establish platforms and fortifications, when he heard that the enemy were advancing from Edinburgh and the body of troops he had placed in Linlithgow had been defeated.¹ This news forced him to abandon the siege for a time. But it is only right that all the details of what happened should be known. When Hawley, who, as we have said, was left in command of the army, started from Carlisle, the Jacobites moved too quickly for him to keep up with them. So he made for Edinburgh by a shorter route, ordering

¹ This is inaccurate. Lord George Murray and his five battalions merely fell back before superior forces.

Wade's men to join him there, meaning to strengthen his own army with them. For their commander, Wade, had been deprived of his post by the King and summoned to London to explain the loss of the battle. On learning of the danger to Stirling, he hastened thither with all his forces, intending either to crush the Jacobites, who were busy with the siege, or to help the threatened castle and at least throw reinforcements into it. On his advance, the Jacobite troops who had been left to garrison Linlithgow, in order to escape being overwhelmed by the far more numerous forces of the king, fled and withdrew into Falchirch [Falkirk], nine miles from Stirling. Though they could not be blamed for their retreat, it nevertheless increased the boldness of the enemy, because it seemed to have been inspired by fear and despair. Hawley attributed to cowardice what was the result of prudence and, being convinced that they would all behave alike, urged his men to take heart, as the war would soon be over. He occupied Linlithgow, and, barely allowing his men a night's rest, once more marched forward. Linlithgow lay on the direct road to Stirling. He turned to the left towards Falkirk in order to capture the town on his way, as it might be very useful to the Jacobites.

Edward, who could not press the siege of Stirling unless he held Falkirk, had already advanced thither with his whole army. Not only had he forestalled the enemy, but he had seized a favourable position for fighting so promptly that when Hawley arrived he was himself at the head of his men drawn up and ready for battle. Nevertheless Hawley decided to fight on the spot. Though taken aback by this unexpected move, he drew up his men and urged them to fight bravely. When the signal was given, both sides advanced with their weapons in their hands. Here, if anywhere, the superiority of dash and courage over numbers was made manifest. The lowest estimate makes the King's army fifteen thousand. The Jacobites were less by half. Yet as soon as they charged, sword in hand, such was the panic among the King's men, that the cavalry forming the first line, terrified by the ferocity of the Highlanders'

attack, immediately turned and fled. In vain did Hawley endeavour to stem the tide by appeals, by sending forward the infantry, by threats. In spite of everything the cavalry continued to fly and, charging the bodies of their own infantry, crushed a number of them under their horses' hoofs. The same blind panic spread to the infantry. In a moment the army was thrown into disorder and defeated, as if the sky had fallen upon it or the earth had opened under it, fleeing in headlong terror. It would be hard to say whether the disgrace or the slaughter were the greater.

The Jacobites and their supporters exaggerated this defeat, great though it was, when they said that over 14,000¹ of the royal troops were killed or made prisoners. Hawley himself could not hide his disgrace. He returned immediately to Linlithgow, raging and gnashing his teeth at having been worsted, as he put it, by an infamous gang of cut-throats. On the same day he led his dispirited troops, who had been rallied after the flight, back to Edinburgh, though it was raining in torrents. So hasty was his retreat that he was unable to bring off seven light guns, which he left at Linlithgow² with a number of tents in the hands of the enemy.

Having driven back the enemy, recovered Linlithgow, and left a new garrison there, Edward returned to Stirling and resumed the interrupted siege of the castle, busying himself in repairing the tunnels, the platforms, the galleries, and all the other works that had been destroyed by the besieged. But all that seemed likely to improve Edward's position was, after this victory, the beginning of his downfall—so fickle is fortune in war. The news of the defeat of Falkirk spread quickly to London and convinced the Cabinet that the rebellion in Scotland was not on the decline, as many imagined. George II. felt this unexpected defeat more than any one. Blaming Hawley, he ordered

¹ Maxwell of Kirkconnel estimates between 400 and 500 killed, and some hundreds taken prisoner; the Chevalier de Johnstone shows 600 killed and 700 prisoners.

² ? Falkirk.

the Duke of Cumberland to hurry back to the army, since with his departure the troops seemed to have become demoralised.

The Duke sped post-haste to Edinburgh. His return effected an extraordinary change in the morale of the army, showing clearly the importance of the quality of the general in command and the value of a reputation for superior courage. The mere presence of the Prince heartened and fired the soldiers to such a degree that men who, a short time previously, had been terrified at the mere name of Jacobite, were now filled with contempt for them and shame at their own behaviour. They vied with each other in their desire to face them in the field and to wash out the stain of their previous flight in a fresh battle. Seizing his opportunity, Cumberland led his army, which was in this excellent frame of mind, from Edinburgh straight to Stirling.

Meanwhile Edward had failed to storm Stirling Castle, partly because the heavy rains had interfered with his operations, partly because his gunners were said to be not very skilful,¹ and partly because Blakeney, the Governor, held out obstinately and repulsed all attempts with the utmost courage. Finally he was very ill-provided with what he needed for the struggle owing to the ill-will of the townsfolk. Encouraged by the approach of the King's army, they did not supply him with provisions, or with other things he required, refusing to obey his orders.

For these reasons, and because he had received sure intelligence that some ships had left France, bringing him reinforcements of men and money, he decided to give the orders to start immediately and forestall the coming of the enemy. The baggage was prepared. They took with them all the corn they could, damaging the rest with water and fire, and the town and the siege were alike abandoned. Perth was reached after a two days' march. The inhabitants of Perth were warm supporters of his

¹ Principally owing to the entire incompetence of the French engineer in charge of operations, M. Mirabelle.

cause, and the town was fortified sufficiently for it to be possible to resist the enemy easily. But, as he failed to secure sufficient supplies and his hopes of prolonging the war with the assistance of France had revived, he spent [only] a day in Perth to rest and once more started on his way, having decided to make for the north of Scotland beyond the River Spey, where he knew he would find a number of his friends and supporters, and where he trusted that he would not fail to find means for carrying on the war.

On leaving Perth he divided his army into three sections. The first, consisting of French and Irish auxiliaries,¹ under the command of [Lord John] Drummond, he ordered to march east and follow the sea-coast through Celurca to Aberdeen, which lies at the mouth of the Spey in the province of Mar. As this coast is without harbours, he hoped that the French reinforcements, if any had been sent, would land there. In any case he thought it would be against his interests to keep far from the sea. The second, consisting of men recruited in the Lowlands, was placed under the command of Fabnum,² with all the artillery and the baggage. He also was ordered to proceed to Aberdeen, but by a different route, which, he was told, would be very easy as it was by Duncheldin [Dunkeld]. The third, consisting of Highlanders, he himself led through the mountains of Athol. For, in case of disaster, he did not wish to be cut off from an easy retreat among the mountains.

While the Jacobites were thus on the march the King's troops reached Stirling. Here the Duke of Cumberland bestowed high praise on Blakeney for the loyalty and courage with which he had defended the castle, and, after rebuilding the bridge which had been deliberately destroyed³ to hinder the progress of the siege, he prepared to pursue

¹ Also the Lowland regiments, except Ogilvy's.

² The second column was commanded by Ogilvy, and consisted of his regiment and the Farquharsons.

³ The bridge had been destroyed by Blakeney to prevent Lord John Drummond crossing the Forth at Stirling with the guns he had brought from France.

the enemy to the very end of the kingdom. The enterprise was beset with many difficulties, both on account of the very bad roads, which were all in a shocking state, and because the question of transport was a serious one, since he was obliged to take provisions and everything else he required for a number of days with him on carts. All the provisions in the districts through which he had to pass were consumed by the enemy who preceded him. Cumberland was also well aware that, with so much baggage, he would be obliged to travel much more slowly than he ought to do if he were to catch up an enemy who was already some way ahead of him and marching vigorously. But no difficulty, however great it seemed, could daunt the noble youth in his desire for glory.¹ Cumberland was further spurred on by the example of Edward, his equal in birth and age, though far inferior in strength and power, for he could not endure that he should be ranked as his superior in pluck.

Two things gave him anxiety. One was that it was generally rumoured that the Jacobites had gone to meet French help. They themselves had deliberately spread this rumour in order to keep the people loyal, and it appeared to be confirmed by the fact that a section of them had marched towards the coast. The other was that they were divided and marching through different districts. This was the more troublesome because Cumberland did not want to divide his forces, and he was afraid that, after he had followed them a long distance in one direction, they might turn off in another, and recover all they had once held on this side of the Tay. Then, if he were to drive them off again, they would retreat once more, and, by retiring and advancing according as necessity dictated, they might prolong the war and fool him and his army. To prevent this he took two measures. He ordered the admiral of the English fleet, by letter, not to leave the east coast of Scotland, but to continue to cruise there. He was

¹ Cumberland's caution appears, as usual, to have been a more marked characteristic of his military character than his thirst for glory.

to keep strict watch especially at the entrances to the ports, to permit no vessel to enter or leave until it had been visited and searched. Then he garrisoned all the towns in his rear. And, as the six thousand Hessians who had replaced the Dutch, as we have seen, had by this time arrived, having disembarked at Leith, a small town in Laudon [Lothian], he distributed them in Perth, Edinburgh, and Stirling. He then bade their commander, Prince Frederic of Hesse, remain in those regions, as if to winter. Having made these arrangements he gave the signal for departure and started north.

He went direct to Perth, and, as the Duke of Perth was fighting with the Jacobites, he ordered his mother, a lady of the highest character, to be arrested and taken to Edinburgh Castle. We must not fail to record that a number of other distinguished ladies were for similar reasons arrested and suffered imprisonment. For all those who had husbands or sons with the Jacobites fell under suspicion of conspiring with the rebels, or were at least charged with sympathising with them. As all those implicated were thus rigorously treated many women pleaded guilty voluntarily from fear and threw themselves on the King's mercy. Many, however, who were more spirited and of a courage beyond their sex, openly declared for Edward and fought henceforth under his standard on horseback: truly a wonderful example, and one that will be handed down to the memory of posterity, rare in its kind and deserving of the highest admiration, in Scotland!

However, the Duke of Cumberland, deciding to follow more especially the column that was marching along the coast, hastened from Perth to Celurca and then into the county of Aberdeen. Everywhere the Jacobites had left and were already far away, so that he could never catch them, though he followed them with wonderful swiftness.¹ It was generally thought that he would push on to the Spey and ford it, but, either because he was short of provisions or because he wished to wait for a more favourable

¹ Cumberland left Perth on 20th and reached Aberdeen 27th.

season for fighting, contrary to the general belief, he decided to winter in Aberdeen, being content for the present to camp in a safe place not far from the enemy.

Meanwhile, Edward had reached the Spey and had been joined by the two corps arriving from Aberdeen. On the banks of the Spey, where the river runs through the district of Badenoch, lies a fort called by the inhabitants Ruthven which, though in itself of small importance, would have made it possible, if left unoccupied in the rear, for the enemy to cross the river and advance at will. Edward saw the trouble it might give and therefore determined to set about besieging it. Bringing up his artillery and dropping a few shells into it unexpectedly, he compelled the garrison to surrender at once. Considering the fort useless for himself, though most serviceable to the enemy, he set it on fire and burnt it. He then threw his army across the river, and, after leaving two thousand men in a small fort¹ specially built to guard the banks and prevent the crossing of the enemy, he marched away into Inverness.

Inverness is the most important city of north Scotland both in the number and in the distinction of its inhabitants. It is well fortified and lies in a good position on the Moray Firth. The garrison, commanded by the governor, [Lord] Loudoun, consisted of three thousand men. Had he kept within the walls and remained purely on the defensive, it would not have been easy for Edward to reduce it. But, in his desire to win glory, Loudoun decided to do something more, to come into the open with his whole force. He did not dare attack the Jacobites by day, as he knew they were superior in numbers, and had had much experience in fighting, so he determined to make up for his weakness by a ruse. He started by night along unfrequented paths, meaning to attack the camp treacherously and fall upon the men when asleep. While he was pressing forward and dawn was just breaking, it chanced that the leading patrols of the advance guard fell in with

¹ This does not appear to have been the case.

some Jacobites, who were acting as sentries some way from the main body. They raised a shout and fired their muskets. The Jacobites, hurrying up at this unexpected sound, quickly seized their arms and poured out of the trenches in every direction. Loudoun, seeing that his plan had failed and made nervous by the consternation of his men, immediately sounded the retreat and hastened back by forced marches to occupy the town. But he had made a wide circuit in coming. The Jacobites, who were nearer the town, caught him half-way, and not only prevented him from entering it, but compelled all his men to take to headlong flight. He himself escaped with difficulty from his pursuers. However, having got away with his troops in confusion, he retired to Ross and then to Sutherland. Finally he reached Cromarty on the sea, repairing thence on board ship to join the royal army.¹

When Loudoun had gone, Edward directed his army towards Inverness, entering the unprotected town as a conqueror.

In Inverness there is a castle of considerable strength, due both to its natural position and to its fortifications. Loudoun had left two hundred men to garrison it. He had also provisioned it amply, supplying it with everything necessary for sustaining a siege. Edward chose it for his headquarters, and, with the intention of making it the centre of his camp, he ordered it to be invested and attacked. Almost at the first assault he got possession of the outer works, and in a couple of days he had become master of the castle. No less easily did he capture Fort Augustus in the Lochaber region in nine days.² But its capture was facilitated by a stroke of luck. For while the walls were being bombarded by the artillery, a shot fell into the powder magazine. The powder ignited, and large pieces of masonry being blown up, a breach was made in the fort on this side, so that the garrison was forced to surrender.

The enemy having thus been driven from the most

¹ Loudoun actually moved over to the west coast of Sutherland and embarked there with 800 men for Skye.

² The siege began on 3rd March, and the fort surrendered on 5th.

strongly fortified places in the neighbourhood, Edward's prospects looked much brighter, as the country was quiet and he had ample provisions. Unopposed he had gained possession of the whole of Scotland lying between the Spey and the north. The islands, both the Western Islands and the Orkneys, which face the north, were for the most part for him. Not satisfied with these boundaries, he sent raiding parties, which brought back men and cattle, every now and then into the nearest provinces across the Spey. On one of these raids into Buchan a number of soldiers of the royal army were made prisoners¹ under the eyes of the Duke of Cumberland himself, who did not move on that account. Edward even dared to think once more of the River Tay, nor did he hesitate to send some squadrons drawn from his own army to capture Blair. If he had managed to get possession of that castle he would have gradually succeeded in besieging Cumberland and preventing him from obtaining forage. But the Duke had provided against this, as we have seen, by placing the Hessians in the most important positions. The Prince of Hesse immediately hastened thither and took matters in hand, driving off the enemy squadrons and forcing them to withdraw over the Spey, where they were stationed.

While the war was thus blazing up in various directions and the Duke of Cumberland was still wintering with his army in Aberdeen, the Jacobite movement was being widely discussed throughout England. Some thought that the rebellion was almost stamped out. Reduced to extremities, cut off from foreign aid, short of money, their friends discouraged, they could not possibly recover. Others, on the contrary, remembered that, so far from being utterly crushed, Edward had not yet been beaten in the field and that he had come off victorious in every battle. Now he was in possession of the most fertile portion of Scotland, well supplied with castles and harbours, while he had every chance of retiring to the mountains in

¹ This possibly refers to the capture of the garrison of Keith by Major Glasgow on 21st March 1746. Cumberland was still in Aberdeen.

case of defeat. Hence they could not believe his cause so desperate that it might not triumph ultimately in the conquest of the kingdom. What more especially encouraged this view was the slowness of the Duke of Cumberland, a prince as a rule so energetic and so eager for glory. Though he was in command of a splendid army, with every prospect of putting an end to the war, and though he had penetrated to the heart of Aberdeen, he lingered there inactive instead of boldly challenging the foe.

Such behaviour made a great impression, so that in London, where speech is freer than elsewhere, many were openly saying that they had been nicely deceived by all the news from the Court, which had long been promising a speedy end of the dying rebellion. Either the Jacobite arms had never been so weakened that it was possible to predict such an event with certainty, or the Duke of Cumberland was not the brave and skilful soldier he was said to be. In fact the glory of the general in command was considerably dimmed in popular estimation, many failing to recognise his old courage and skill.

But, though he was well aware of what was being said about him, Cumberland still delayed, waiting for the season best suited to his purpose. He judged rightly that there was no need for haste with an enemy already reduced to extremities, who, if he won a battle, might recover his strength and become threatening. If he were prevented from leaving this narrow district and left without a hope of fighting, he would become demoralised from being thus cooped up and would gradually lose strength till, in a single day, he might be robbed of all he had hitherto won with so much pains. The wisdom of this plan appeared from the sequel. It proved disastrous to Edward, because, meanwhile, his army found itself in difficulties, and the numbers and the courage of his men decreased. All hope of the help from France which they had so eagerly awaited, and the need of which was extreme, was now abandoned. A number of vessels had, indeed, been sent from France by different routes, bringing the Jacobites no inconsiderable assistance, but they had all fallen a prey to the English,

either on the high seas or round the coast of Scotland. Among those captured were two large ships¹ which were awaited with the keenest anxiety, because they were said to have on board a considerable sum of money. Besides the money they contained sixteen large bronze cannon, a great number of saddles and bridles, and five hundred picked men from Fitzjames' Irish regiment. With them was General Fitzjames² himself with a number of officers of lesser rank belonging to the first families in Ireland, who were in the pay of France. The loss of these ships at a time when the need was so great was a severe blow to Edward and all his men, many of whom began to weary of a long and arduous service, with no immediate pay or prospects of victory to cheer them. Complaints began to be heard in camp and grumbles at being cheated of all reward of their hardships.³ Not a few, weary of their sufferings and misery or anxious about their fate, deserted to Cumberland's camp. Though much distressed, as was only natural, Edward kept up an appearance of hope and endeavoured to sustain the spirits of his men by promising them the reward, such as it was, of glory.

He was careful to keep them from all knowledge of his own troubles and difficulties, since confidence in one's own strength is of the utmost value in war. Meanwhile, in order to foster this feeling and at the same time not to let his men become demoralised from idleness, he was the first to leave his winter quarters at the beginning of April. Advancing with part of his troops he prepared to besiege

¹ One of these was the *Prince Charles*—formerly the *Hazard*—which was taken by an English ship in Tongue Bay on 25th March. She had arms and ammunition on board and £12,000 in specie.

Or perhaps the reference is to the two French transports forming part of the convoy which brought over Berwick's regiment and some of Fitzjames' Horse.

² Fitzjames was captured by a cruiser, along with two ships.

³ The supply arrangements now, and up to the date of Culloden, were grossly mismanaged by Hay of Restalrig. After the battle, in his letter to the Prince, Lord George Murray says that Hay had 'neglected his duty to such a degree that our ruin might probably have been prevented had he done his duty,' and that he and O'Sullivan had disgusted the army 'to such a degree that they had bred a mutiny in all ranks.' (Browne, iii. p. 261.)

Fort William. This was a very important castle, but difficult to capture, not so much on account of its position and the strength of its fortifications, as because it was defended by Scott, a man of the highest courage and spirit, who was strangely hostile to the Stuarts. Moreover, the fact that the King's army was close at hand and help certain animated the garrison to put up a stout defence. However, Edward¹ urged on his men to the task, helping to fill the trenches and pushing on his works and pressing the siege with all the means in his power. For thirteen whole days he continued to pound the walls with his guns and to attempt to assail the fort, but without success. At last, hearing that the King's army was moving to its assistance and had already reached the Spey, he was compelled to give up the attempt as hopeless.

Then came the 27th April, the fatal day which was to leave him with nothing of all his great achievements except the glory of having attempted them, and to extinguish the last spark of hope. This is the story of that most lamentable event.

Fifty days had gone by since the King's army had taken up winter quarters in Aberdeen, and the winter was giving place to early spring, the best season for campaigning. As soon as the snow began to melt, the weather to become finer, and the days longer, the Duke of Cumberland ordered his army to get under arms. When everything was ready and in good order, he marched from the county of Mar into that of Buchan, which is bounded on the north by the Spey, and, when he began to approach its mouth, he sent forward his cavalry to try to ford it. The passage of the river was impeded not so much by the depth of the water as by the resistance of the Jacobite troops, who, being concealed on the opposite bank and well protected by earthworks, kept up a continuous fire² on the advancing cavalry and held it at bay. However, a crossing was

¹ The Prince was not present himself. The siege lasted from 5th March until 4th April, when it was abandoned and the troops were recalled to Inverness.

² This is not accurate. The Duke of Perth, who had no guns, did not put up any resistance to the crossing of the Spey.

attempted in various places, and since, as a rule, it is not possible to find defenders sufficient to hold the whole length of a river, though they failed at one point they succeeded at another, and the first to ford made the passage safe and easy for those who came after. As soon as Elcho,¹ the commander of the Jacobites, was informed of the unexpected crossing of the enemy, who were already advancing against him, he withdrew, ordering his men to abandon the line of the river and fall back upon Inverness. Thus the whole of the King's army passed into Moray without further resistance. They were burning to pursue the retreating Jacobites, but Cumberland held them back. He was determined to take no chances, since the enemy, being desperate, would risk anything to gain the upper hand, and what he could not do by force he might attempt to do by cunning or by reckless daring. Orders were given to halt near the river and dig trenches. Scouts were then sent in all directions to obtain information about the enemy, and the rest of the day and the following night were spent quietly in camp.

On the morrow the scouts returned with the following information. The Jacobites were advancing against him in a single body with extraordinary rapidity, as though hastening not to fight but to conquer. They had left an adequate garrison in Inverness. Fort Augustus, either because they would not or could not hold it, had been burnt. Everything seemed to point to a decisive battle. This was confirmed by the many deserters who had made their way into the camp during the night.

At this news Cumberland advanced in two columns to Nairn, which he judged to be admirably suited for meeting the enemy's attack, and halted there. For two days he waited to see whether their thirst for battle was sufficient to make them attack even on unfavourable ground. Realising that they were not so reckless as to throw caution

¹ The Duke of Perth had by now returned from his pursuit of Loudoun's forces in the north, and, with his brother Lord John Drummond, was in command of the troops here. Cumberland was well supplied with artillery and could have covered a crossing anywhere.

to the winds, he once more advanced against them with his army in four columns. The infantry were divided into three bodies, each consisting of five companies. Between the first two corps was the artillery. The cavalry marched in a separate body. The fighting men numbered some ten thousand,¹ exclusive of the baggage-masters, sutlers, and others. Eight miles further on they learnt that the enemy was not far off, having halted in a wide plain near a little town, Culloden, and his army was drawn up as though he were determined to fight. At this news he called a short halt to give his men a breathing space and to hear the opinions of their leaders. Gathered in council, they all agreed that the march must immediately be continued to Culloden and battle joined. It was unseemly that an army of the King, commanded by the King's own son, should seek to avoid a combat, or, through undue slowness, allow the enemy to be before it in giving battle. The Duke agreed.

Battle having been decided upon by common consent, Cumberland proceeded to address his men in the English manner, which is concise and takes no pleasure in flowery periods. 'My men, present circumstances do not admit of long speeches. You see who and what are our foes. You are well aware why we must fight. To urge Englishmen to be brave is useless, to be loyal an insult. Need I remind you that you are about to fight for the safety of your King and your country, for liberty, religion, and your own possessions? Need I tell you that I am leading you myself, that I am here, that I am watching you? One thing I beg, that if there is any one present (and I do not believe there is) who is conscious either of fear or of remorse for his disloyalty, he may leave the ranks at once. Upon my honour, he may do so without fear of harm, nor will I complain should he hasten, if he so wishes, to my enemies. I want no laggards to fight perfunctorily with no heart in their work. If I have with me but a thousand soldiers who are good men and true, they are more than

¹ This is an over-estimate. There were not more than 9000.

enough to win the day. I put no faith in ten thousand (for there are not less of you) if there is cowardice or treachery among you.'

These words touched the consciences of those who were suspected of Jacobite sympathies. The courage displayed by the troops, eager to disprove any such suspicions, was astonishing. In order to fire them still further a rumour was spread, it is not known by whom, to the effect that the Jacobite troops had been ordered, if they gained the victory, to take no prisoners, but to put every one to the sword, and at the same time to kill every one in their power. Stung by this insult, they had but one idea, a fierce lust for slaughter. It was afterwards discovered that this lie had been circulated in order to increase the savagery of the men. When Edward heard of it, his gentle nature was deeply wounded at the idea that any one could imagine him capable of such barbarity. This calumny, which was thoughtlessly believed, was the cause of the death of a number of Jacobites, as we shall soon see.¹

As the King's army advanced towards Culloden the Jacobites appeared in front of them. They were drawn up in such a way that the left wing was exposed, extending under Culloden, while the right was concealed behind some old ruined buildings. The artillery was on slightly higher ground. The number of the troops was not more than eight thousand.² Edward, conspicuous on horseback, rode through the ranks, inspecting the army and speaking as circumstances suggested, talking of hope and despair, glory and disgrace, to fire his men. Finally, when the two armies were a short distance from one another, they halted till the signal for battle was given.

Never before, I am convinced, was an attack made with so much eager rivalry on both sides, with so much confidence by the troops, nor has the result ever hung so long

¹ Cordara omits mention of the night march to Nairn the night before Culloden.

² This is inaccurate. The numbers actually present in the field did not exceed 5000.

in the balance.¹ Great indeed were the generals in command of both armies: on the one hand the Duke of Cumberland, and on the other the Prince of Wales, two young princes alike in rank, age, birth, and courage, fighting, not in a private quarrel, but for their state and to uphold the dignity and the rights of their fathers. Great too was the object of the battle, great the prize of victory, the kingdom of England. The King's men had the advantage in numbers, the Jacobites in their confidence in their courage, having been previously victorious. Otherwise, there was little to choose between them. But all unequal was fortune, which, though she controls all other human things, sways more especially the fate of battles.

The battle began with a discharge of artillery. Amid the awful roar, you could see the black clouds of smoke cloven by continuous bright flashes. But owing to the poor skill of the Jacobite gunners only a few of their shots took effect, whereas the King's men aimed better and brought down a greater number of their enemies. Edward, riding hither and thither, observed the losses. He therefore halted behind his centre and bade his men draw their swords and charge. At once the Highlanders who were on the left charged the enemy's right vigorously,² as is their custom, throwing it into confusion. Had it not been rallied by the immediate advance of the cavalry, the resulting confusion might have decided the issue of the battle. But the repulse of the Highlanders in this quarter completely turned the tables. A large body of the King's men, making a wide sweep towards the enemy's right, had knocked down some of the buildings, which, as we have said, sheltered part of the army. As the flank was thus exposed, the squadrons swept like a torrent into the heart of the first and second corps of their enemy. Dismayed at this unexpected disaster, the Jacobites, seeing the enemy in their midst and being also fiercely assailed in

¹ The battle was over in half an hour.

² The details of the action are inaccurate. It was the Mackintoshes and the right which first advanced and charged Cumberland's left.

front, began to fall into confusion and think of flight. While they were wavering, the example of the French troops, two hundred of whom were in the centre, demoralised them still further. For, as soon as the French saw the enemy advancing upon them with muskets levelled and swords drawn, they at once threw down their arms, purchasing their lives by a shameful surrender when they might have covered themselves with glory by selling them dearly. In a moment their cowardice demoralised the whole army. The one thought everywhere was of flight and of safety. The King's troops, pressing round them in ever-growing numbers and becoming more savage as the victory became more complete, killed every one in their way. Edward succeeded in escaping from the horrible butchery with the utmost difficulty. Every one had already fled from the field, hurrying wherever terror and the hope of safety carried them, making for lonely spots and hiding-places. They were pursued by squadrons of cavalry till they found shelter. Many were caught and killed. In vain did the wretches beg for mercy on their knees, in vain did they implore help from heaven and from man. Neither prayers nor piteous appeals moved the cruel butchers to spare them. And, remembering how Edward would have treated them had he gained the day, the victors with unnatural cruelty dealt out the death they had not hoped to escape had they been beaten, so infuriated were they by the false report of which we have spoken, that no quarter was to be given.

More than two thousand Jacobites are said to have been killed on that day,¹ most of them in flight. Now that the remnant was disbanded and scattered, nothing remained of all that army, not even its name. Of the King's troops some three hundred were killed in battle and as many wounded. Cumberland made over the spoils, the provisions, and all that belonged to the enemy to his men.

¹ This number probably includes those subsequently murdered on the field and in Inverness by Cumberland's orders.

According to the official reports the Hanoverian army had only 50 men killed and about 260 wounded.—Browne, iii. p. 251.

The only exceptions were the banners found scattered here and there on the field, which he ordered to be torn in pieces and burnt by the hangman, as unworthy of being treated as trophies of victory. Thus a single day, or rather a single hour of such a day, could at last take everything from the Stuart prince, kingdom, arms, power, followers, even the hope of being able to rise again. Of his courage and high qualities alone it could not rob him. And these qualities, as will appear hereafter, shone out more brilliantly than ever in his misfortunes.

Before the end of this fatal day the French auxiliaries who had been left to garrison Inverness sent of their own accord to inform the Duke of Cumberland that the French troops with their officers placed themselves at the disposal of the victor. One favour only they asked and sincerely hoped would be granted them by English generosity, that they should be treated honourably and as soldiers. Cumberland ordered those who had surrendered to remain in Inverness on condition that they promised, and signed their promise, not to set foot outside the town without his orders. These conditions they strictly observed. It was remarked that among the fifty-one officers who signed was the Marquis de Guillesi,¹ who was said to have been sent by the King of France with the rank and privileges of ambassador. On the following day the Duke of Cumberland entered Inverness in triumph. Great was the number of fugitives who thenceforth begged for pardon and for the grace of being allowed to return to their allegiance. Some came of their own free will, others dragged in by the cavalry. The peers or governors of castles brought in whole bands, either to show their loyalty, or to allay the suspicion of having broken faith, or, under the impulse of remorse for their share in the rebellion, hoping to atone for it by these obsequious displays of devotion. The leaders of the rebellion, who in wealth and rank were among the most important people in Scotland, either owed their safety to the swiftness of their heels and to their

¹ d'Aiguilles.

hiding-places, or fell into the hands of the victor. These latter were loaded with chains and thrown into dark dungeons, to be kept for the punishment which, both in London and in Edinburgh, is prescribed by law for those guilty of high treason. Edward was sought for more eagerly than all the others and a large reward was placed upon his head. But, thanks to the noble devotion of his friends and, above all, to the protection of Divine Providence, who has in His special keeping the lives of Princes, he succeeded in eluding all his pursuers.

Meanwhile Cumberland, though the rebellion had been crushed by the battle, set himself to root out the last signs of it by the sternest measures. Two of these more particularly effected its complete overthrow and made it impossible for it to raise its head again. Firstly, the rebels themselves were ordered, wherever they might be, to inform the magistrates of the district immediately and hand over their arms to them, giving their names, native place, and home. Any one being in the possession of arms or of anything else that might serve as a weapon of rebellion was ordered to give information of the fact, and the death penalty was threatened to all those not obeying this decree within a stipulated time. Secondly, the magistrates themselves were ordered to make the most careful search and take the severest measures against rebels. Any one found guilty was to be thrown into prison, his property to be confiscated and handed over to the crown. Large rewards were promised to any one who denounced a rebel. Thanks to these proclamations and the severity with which the magistrates enforced them, large numbers—it is not for us to say how many—were dragged before the courts, had their property confiscated, were imprisoned in horrible dungeons or driven overseas. Numbers, too, were hung or beheaded. We need only say that so great was the terror among all classes that, although most Scots continued to be Jacobites at heart, none of them had the courage to go to law or to open their mouths in protest. For who could have helped trembling for his safety in the midst of the huge number of informers,

spies, and police officers, when no man was sure of his friend, no master of his household, nobody of his nearest relative ?

In spite of these severe measures, three months after the victory, Cumberland, who was still in Inverness, suddenly received news that a large body of rebels had gathered in Lochaber, plundering the whole province, laying waste the fields, sacking houses and castles. It was known that they were without a leader, and it was not clear whether they were Jacobites or a band of ne'er-do-weels who, masquerading as Jacobites, were really highwaymen. They numbered about two thousand, and, unless the movement were nipped in the bud, it was quite possible that, amid such inflammable material, another civil war might blaze out, once more bringing the kingdom into danger. Dismayed at this unexpected news, the Duke once again marshalled his men and with two corps of cavalry and ten companies of infantry marched into Lochaber. But, as often happens, the whole story was greatly exaggerated. The chiefs of some of the clans, hearing that after Culloden Edward had been a fugitive in the Western Islands, and, after long and hazardous wanderings, was seeking a shelter of some kind in Lochaber, had assembled a picked body of Highlanders, not more than a hundred in all, from their clans, as with such support the ill-starred Prince ran less risk. Except for these, who did no harm to any one on their way through the country, nobody was found in arms. They were not caught, for as soon as the troops entered the district, this harmless band, as we shall see, immediately disappeared and scattered. So now at last, the war being over, Scotland reduced to obedience, and everything restored to its normal state, Cumberland returned to London at the beginning of July, exactly a year after Edward had landed in Scotland.

The news of the victory of Culloden had awakened in London a joy almost incredible, and it was shared by almost the whole city. This joy was greatly increased by the presence of the conquering warrior Duke. For

Cumberland, with his great physical and mental gifts, was very popular. His courage and prudence alone were deemed responsible for the stamping out of a civil war more speedily than any one had expected, and more successfully than they had ventured to hope. There were renewed congratulations and demonstrations of public joy. The streets and the great houses were everywhere illuminated. The whole town revelled in balls, public entertainments, and theatrical displays. The populace, always ready to rush into extremes, went wild with delight, giving way, as usual, to mad joy without weighing the cause. At the instigation of the Gospel preachers (this, if we may so speak without irreverence, was the name of their sect) comedies were vamped up, full of scurrilous invectives against the Roman Church and the Pope, while curses and maledictions were heaped upon the Stuarts. Thus did the good nonconformists celebrate their triumph. In church they prayed for King George, his sons and his grandsons, preached incessantly, pronouncing every kind of anathema against the Catholics, ceaselessly thundering from their pulpits to remind the people how grateful England ought to be to Heaven, whose intercession had preserved their country, their liberty, and, most precious of all, the reformed religion.

The Parliament did something more to manifest its joy. Not only did it send a solemn deputation to congratulate the Duke, but by an extraordinary measure it decided to decree that, for restoring freedom to his country, for avenging the King and preserving the kingdom, he should in future receive from the Treasury an annual sum of £25,000 in addition to the £15,000 he already received, so that in all he was paid annually from the public funds some £40,000, amounting to about 160,000 scudi in Roman money. After this who could hope to do justice to the honour in which the Duke was held? The foremost peers of the land rivalled one another in paying him homage. Many considered themselves honoured to be allowed to kiss the hand that had so decisively defeated and routed the public enemy. The defender of his country, the

preserver of liberty and of the kingdom, the restorer of public peace, the thunderbolt of war—these and any others you like to imagine were the names by which he found himself addressed and described. Among many honours of the kind a medal was struck, on the obverse of which his head was elegantly moulded. The inscription round it ran, William, Duke of Cumberland, and he was called General Commanding the Armies of Great Britain. On the reverse he was shown on foot in the garb of an ancient Roman general. By his side stood Victory, crowning his head with a laurel wreath. At his feet two Jacobites, their arms on the ground, were kneeling and holding out their hands imploring mercy. Others were seen defeated and flying in swarms in the background. On one lying hurled on the ground he was haughtily tramping with his foot. Round it we read '*restitutori quietis,*' underneath '*Rebellibus ad Innernium devictis anno MDCCXLVI.*' Thus did the chief citizens of London seek to flatter the boy Duke, or rather, his father, George II.

But, truth to tell, the joy of a city as great as London was diminished by the disgust of many whose position lay between that of the nobility and the populace and who abhorred no less the flattery of the great than the unbridled licence of the lower orders. The less their prejudices, the freer their criticisms. Not a few belonging to this class declared that it was better to accept with resignation what had happened than to wish that what ought to have happened had come to pass. Apart from the fact that no victory can be welcome to good citizens when it is gained by the shedding of the blood of their own countrymen, what has been the result of this fierce fighting and this triumph of our arms? What have been the fruits of the victory? Merely that the Stuarts have been driven from the kingdom which is their rightful heritage. A noble and glorious action of our nation, impiously to draw the sword against the legitimate Prince, to grow deliberately callous in disloyalty and to refuse to right a wrong once it has been done, even when an honourable opportunity offers and necessity itself in some measure

urges us to it. Are we English so dead to our old feeling of honour and righteousness that we do not realise the unworthiness of such a victory? If it is our fate always to obey a king, would we rather obey a foreigner than one of our own? Why do we prefer one who is not the lawful heir, a foreigner, to one of our own nation? We are told that the rule of this one is mild and just and in accordance with the British constitution. Be it so. And what of it? Would James be so different, a man advanced in years, schooled to gentleness and moderation by long experience of adversity? Would not Edward, whom we have had among us, have ruled us as justly, a Prince of a character truly royal, whose courage, affability, and nobleness his very enemies have praised and almost loved? But the family is Catholic, has breathed the air of Rome. We have reason to fear that they will interfere with the Anglican Church and again bring us under the yoke of the Pope. This is exactly what the Preachers are clumsily bawling and trying to drive into the populace. Let them make an end of this nonsense once for all. What has the civil power to do with religion? And how is the one so dependent on the other that if you change one you must change the other? For a long time now the family of the Elector of Saxony, having abjured Luther, has returned to the Roman Church. Were the Saxons deprived of their religion on that account? Let us imagine for a moment the extreme case that they were forced to change their religion. What would be the consequence? We should once more take the admirable step of becoming again what we ceased to be to our dishonour. We should once more embrace the creed which, having been brought from Rome to these shores many centuries ago, was held by our ancestors with the utmost steadfastness. We should renounce one which in recent times King Henry, under the impulse of a passion for a common harlot, burning with lust and rage, introduced. For, if we go to the root of the matter, this was the origin of the religion which we call reformed—blind lust, passion, wickedness. As for Papal rule, are we never going to be ashamed of abominating

something to which Italians, Germans, Spaniards, and Frenchmen submit quite willingly? Are such nations less free than ourselves, are they less prosperous and rich than we are, because in some matters they are subject to the Pope? What is the use of keeping up the pretence of shamelessly deceiving ourselves? As if there were great religious enthusiasm among us, when our one concern is trade and shipping—we care for nothing else. But Rome would not interfere with our trade, and we have not become richer by shaking off the yoke of Rome. To be perfectly honest, we have never been so poor as we are now, nor have we ever been so overwhelmed and crushed by debt. One thing only might alienate us with some show of reason from the House of Stuart. It is more closely attached to France than it should be. This is galling and displeasing to our people, so different from the French in character, tastes, and manners. They are absolutely determined never to accept a king from the hands of France. But if we see things in their true light, we ought not to reject Edward on this account. France's debt to him is far greater than his to France in this war. So far from being supported by France, he was deceived by her worthless promises, wasting time waiting for the aid that never came.¹ It is highly probable that, but for the necessity of employing foreign help, he would have been as English in spirit and tastes as he is in blood. We could never say as much for a member of the House of Brunswick with equal certainty.

This is how the English were talking, not from any ill-will towards King George, but partly from an inborn sense of fairness that is natural to them, partly out of pity for the House of Stuart, which, from having been famous among the royal families of Europe through a goodly line of kings, had not only lost the kingdom it had held so long, but was obliged to live in exile in great straits, almost in

¹ 'The actual succour given by the French, whatever their intentions may have been, was confined to the landing of about 1000 or 1200 men and some artillery and military stores. The total pecuniary assistance, says *Aeneas Macdonald*, did not exceed £15,000.'—*Blaikie, Itinerary*, p. 84.

beggary. Such a state of affairs was not only pitiable in itself, but discreditable to the English people, for it was unknown even among the least civilised nations. One of the chief reasons of this attitude was that George, even without his English kingdom, had an ample patrimony in Germany, whereas James had nothing of his own whatever to live upon ; and they added that, if George had had a soul a little above his kingdom, he would have given up of his own accord what he was holding with no good title, thus winning immortal praise by his renunciation. Such a thing was, of course, not to be thought of, but it crossed their minds. Others, however, who were no friends of Brunswiek rule, frankly declared that it was useless and too late now to bemoan the unfortunate result of the war, since they had not taken up arms at the right time. From this we may gather that if, after his first successes, Edward had made straight for London, as he had meant to do, a goodly number of its citizens might well have rallied to his standard ; for in London there was a very high opinion of his good qualities, which his presence would have raised still higher. But, as we have seen, the opposition had been too strong.

Whatever the feelings of those who would have liked to see a change of government may have been, George continued quietly to enjoy the fruits of his victory, wisely treating with contempt the idle rumours he could not prevent. One thing only he desired—and it was a matter which gave him no little anxiety—and that was to get Edward into his hands. This thought tormented him day and night, as though he could not consider this dangerous war at an end so long as Edward was safe and sound. Every one was convinced that he would ultimately fall into his hands. The whole of Scotland was scoured with the utmost thoroughness. The vigilance of the Government made it impossible for him to remain in any inhabited place, nor could he any longer lie hidden in the fastnesses of the mountains owing to the watchfulness of the King's officers, who were continually on the move everywhere, penetrating into the thickest woods and searching even the

lairs of wild beasts. Lastly, it was quite impossible for him to escape by sea, since the coasts were patrolled by every kind of vessel, men-of-war, privateers, and merchantmen. There was much discussion among the people as to what Parliament would decide to do with him if he were taken. Opinions differed. Some said he would be beheaded, since he had been proscribed by name as guilty of high treason and a large reward had been offered to encourage murderers to make away with him. Others, remembering the character of the English nation, known everywhere to be generous and magnanimous, maintained that his life would have to be spared, partly out of respect for his royal blood, for it would be infamous to stain their hands with it, partly out of pity for his youth, and also because the unhappy Prince did not appear to have been guilty of any crime; rather he was trying to recover a right that was his in the eyes of God and man.

This is a point we must not pass over lightly. The English cannot deny that the kingdom belongs to the Stuarts by right of succession; but they claim that, with good reason, they transferred this right to the House of Brunswick, as if they possess the power to give and take the kingdom to and from whom they like. Why do they not maintain that they have a right to do what they actually did, when they did not hesitate to call their kings to account and to take from them not merely their kingdom, but even their life at the hands of the executioner? In such excesses could a noble nation indulge once it abandoned the religion of its ancestors and apostatised from the Roman Pontiff. To such a degree can heresy, once it has gained a footing, corrupt not merely the morals and the will, but the very way of thinking of man, extinguishing in him all feelings of honesty. Nevertheless the English realise that the Stuarts may still try to recover by any means in their power a right that was theirs by nature and had been strengthened by a possession so long; and that their efforts to recover their kingdom cannot be regarded as a crime, until they choose to cede their right. Thus many were of opinion that if Edward were ever

taken, he could be treated only like any other prince of equal rank captured in a just war. He would have to be kept as a hostage and treated like his peers, to be given up in due course. This seemed all the more likely as, with such a hostage in their hands, the English, when negotiations for peace were entered into sooner or later, as they would inevitably be, would be in a position to obtain far better terms. But there were still difficulties in the way. Many held that public safety was the first consideration. They therefore insisted that Edward, who alone could always stir up another civil war, ought not, under any circumstances, to be set at liberty, no matter what the terms. George would never allow him out of his hands, since, so long as he was alive, he would always appear to be reigning on sufferance, not by right. A middle course must be taken, which erred neither from undue severity nor from an ill-timed indulgence. Since it was infamous to dye their hands with the blood of a royal prince and very dangerous to set him at liberty, they ought rather to consign him to perpetual imprisonment, where the gloomy surroundings, the discomfort of the life, and the melancholy they would cause would soon undermine his health. These were the prophecies that were being made about his fate. But all these ideas and predictions turned out to be beside the point, thanks to Edward's extraordinary luck, if we may speak of luck in the midst of misfortune. For though the search was pressed with the utmost diligence for five whole months in the most remote places, it proved impossible to arrest him, or even to discover him. And when at last he succeeded in escaping, the news of his arrival in France was received before that of his escape from the island where he had taken refuge. This story we shall now proceed to relate.

BOOK IV

WHEN, after the battle of Culloden, Edward realised that his men had been utterly defeated, while the enemy were becoming brutalised by victory, he mingled with the crowd of fugitives, surrounded by a loyal body of officers of rank and of his own servants, and reached the river Nairn at the point where you cross it into the county of Badenoch.¹ The horse he was riding had been wounded by a bullet and fallen under him. He was on foot, and not only weary, but slightly wounded in one side.² The river, swollen by the melted snow, was not easy to ford. However, though the water was up to his chin, he struggled successfully against the swirling stream and landed on the opposite bank. Not far away was Aird,³ a small castle belonging to Simon Lovat, an old man over eighty, of the highest birth and of great influence owing to the number of clansmen of whom he was chief among the Highlanders. He was warmly attached to the House of Stuart. Thither Edward proceeded with his little band, reaching at nightfall the castle of the Lovat, who chanced to be at home. It is not for me to conjure up the mixed feelings of grief and affection with which the kindly old man welcomed the Prince, who appeared before him in such a condition. The first thing he did was to post sentries on the roads to keep a look-out and send word immediately if they suspected the enemy was approaching. A surgeon was summoned to examine and see to the wound, which was

¹ At the Ford of Falie, where he dismissed his cavalry escort. He was accompanied by Elcho, Sheridan, Alexander MacLeod (younger of Muiravonside), O'Sullivan, Peter Macdermit, O'Neill, and guided by Edward Burke.—Blaikie, p. 46.

² There is no evidence of this.

³ Gortleg.

pronounced slight. Lastly, observing that the Prince had lost strength and was a prey to deep emotion and melancholy, he did his best to comfort and encourage him. Things had not come to such a pass, said he, that, with Heaven's help, they might not once more take a turn for the better. A considerable number of Highlanders were under arms in Lochaber and they needed only a word from him to go down into the Lowlands. He himself would see that at least as many should assemble from the clans under him. A high proportion of the thousands who had taken part in the battle had certainly escaped. They must be rallied, a new army formed, and a battle must be hazarded with fresh forces. Above all they must hope to the last.

At these words the Prince heaved a deep sigh. 'Am I to bring ruin upon yet more honest men? Has not more than enough blood been shed in my cause? Yet, if there is still a way of restoring my fortunes, I am the last man to refuse to take it. Others must decide.' And, turning to his companions, he bade them discuss and decide what had best be done. They began at once to discuss the next move in rough and ready military fashion, giving due weight to circumstances and the importance of the question in hand. They were few in number, but they were picked men. There was Sheridan, who has been mentioned in the first book of this history. Though he had remained in Rome after the Prince's departure, he had shortly afterwards started for France and crossed from thence to Scotland on the same ship as the Prince. There was Sullivan, who was very intimate with the Prince and very dear to him, and of rare loyalty towards him, as we shall see later. Him also Edward had brought with him from France. Lastly there were Elcho, Lochiel, and Macdonel, the said Lovat, and other persons, all belonging to the highest nobility of Scotland, not less distinguished in birth than in courage. Elcho stood out above the rest in bravery and knowledge of the art of war, but his opinion would have carried more weight had he been less hot-tempered and less unduly obstinate in maintaining it.

When they were asked to give their views Elcho considered that there was still good ground for hope if they acted cautiously and wisely. He thought that the troops who had survived the battle and who were scattering like lost sheep should be rallied into a single body and formed into a suitable army. Lastly, reinforcements should be brought from the Highlands, and their supporters should meet at a given place with their clansmen. The war must be renewed and continued until chance or time gave them their opportunity. He maintained that this would be neither very difficult nor very dangerous; but swiftness and courage were indispensable. They must not expect that a rabble paralysed with fear would be ready to face fresh dangers unless it were led by officers of the first rank, and unless, above all, it had its own Prince before its eyes. He had but to show himself to the Highlanders, and not only would the fugitives return to his banner, but many others would appear in arms to join him. If the Prince were to remain hidden, or, worse still, were to abandon the island, every one would consult his own safety and hasten to go over to the enemy. He set forth his views at length, and, turning to the Prince, said: 'If you want my honest opinion, let no one to-day persuade you to fly, to hide yourself; nor must you ever allow all these brave men, who were and still are ready to lay down their lives for you, to look in vain for their beloved leader and Prince. Let the mountains of Lochaber and Badenoch see you again. If once again we pass rapidly through these provinces, we shall, I hope, be able to collect troops in no time and lead them to any place you may appoint.'

While Elcho was speaking thus, Sheridan, either from latent jealousy, or from natural impulsiveness, or, as seems to be most probable, because he could no longer endure the sight of a misfortune so great, rudely interrupted him. Charging him with having failed in his duty in not holding the bank of the river Spey, he said: 'It is hardly for you to boast of your courage, Elcho, at a time like this. You should have proved it on another occasion. Now that all is lost, largely through your fault, we must patiently

endure what cannot be cured and make a virtue of necessity. You do not give the enemy credit for much sense, if you think he will leave us time to rally our army. He is pursuing us everywhere with his victorious cavalry, holding the roads and following up his victory remorselessly. In all probability, while we are talking about remedies he is hard upon us, bringing us the worst of all evils. But let us even suppose—and I cannot believe it—that he is slackening his efforts and acting less energetically against us. Are we who, with eight thousand of the bravest troops thoroughly experienced in battle, have suffered so crushing a defeat, still in a position to resist a conqueror, with a reduced army consisting of panic-stricken men, most of them got together anyhow, without money, without food, without arms? Blind I may be, but I see no other way, except for the Prince to escape at once to the Continent, preserving his life for better times, should they come.'

This plain speaking hurt Elcho. He was deeply offended when he heard himself accused of being the cause of the defeat, and loudly demanded satisfaction for the outrageous charge thus insolently and haughtily made against him, threatening to press matters to extremes. But the Prince interposed, begging them not to let their private differences injure the common cause, and by his authority nipped the threatening quarrel in the bud. He bade the others also express their opinions freely.

Sullivan agreed with Sheridan, adding a few other reasons why the departure to the Continent should be hastened. Lovat seemed at first inclined to side with Elcho, but, after further consideration, he remained undecided. The rest, as usually happens when things have gone badly and there seems no certainty of safety, whatever steps are taken, were more inclined to look to others to decide what should be done than to express an opinion of their own which might lead to disaster. But they were ready to run any risk for the safety of their Prince. The one thing on which they were all agreed was that it was too dangerous to remain longer in Aird. They were of

one mind about the necessity of leaving immediately a place so near the enemy and so suspect. They remembered that the King's troops were everywhere and that spies and informers must be swarming. What most alarmed them and made them decide on haste was the number of the fugitives from different directions, two hundred of whom, following in the footsteps of the Prince, were already gathered in Aird. They could not believe that this had not been remarked by the enemy. Thus, though no decision was reached upon the main question owing to the differences of opinion, it was unanimously agreed that the Prince must leave Aird that very night.

Whither was he to fly and how was he to leave? Both questions bristled with difficulties. Edward decided on Fort Augustus, though the fort had been burnt by his orders the day before. He chose it because it was thought that most of his scattered troops had taken refuge there, and he would thus be better able to appreciate the true state of affairs. He could then, as prudence dictated, adapt his plans to circumstances and ultimately come to a sounder decision. Though he was then inclined to flight, he was still undecided; for he was ready to take up arms again at once, if he saw the slightest hope. As for the means of getting there, Elcho, who never wavered in maintaining that the war ought to be continued, held that he should march at the head of all the men assembled in Aird. His reasons were two. In the first place, they would serve as a protection to the Prince in case he fell in with the enemy; in the second place, when it was known, it would encourage the other scattered remnants of the Jacobite army to march where they knew their Prince to be. For he believed that this was the one question they were anxiously asking themselves. The others were of a very different opinion. It was quite likely, they said, that the Prince was being sought for by his men, but it was absolutely certain that he was being sought for by his foes. The soldiers, not more than two hundred and twenty in all, were numerous enough to attract the enemy when it was known that they had rallied, but they were

quite insufficient to oppose him. It was folly, things being as they were, to expose the Prince to a danger so grave and certain for a doubtful and slender hope. Edward agreed, saying that, as the enemy were so near, he would rather have no troops with him at all than a number so insignificant.

The Council was broken up without Elcho's advice having been taken on a single point. The troops were dispatched to Lochaber, being recommended to go in small bodies, to select a suitable place and always to be ready to gather there. Shortly afterwards Edward started a little before midnight with very few companions. Elcho and Lochiel led the way on horseback. A mile behind them, also on horseback, came Edward, between Sullivan and Sheridan. At the same distance behind them five servants, led by Macdonel, brought up the rear. All were well armed and all were resolute, whatever might come to pass. Many afterwards thought that Elcho's opinion was by no means to be despised. Had it been adopted, the war might have well been revived and continued, considering that although the men were really dispersed, they were not disaffected, since they had not gone over to the enemy. All they wanted was a leader. There was no lack of loyalty and courage. Chance might put an entirely different face on the state of affairs. Time often accomplished what no one had expected or foreseen. This is what many were saying; whether rightly or wrongly is not for me to decide. Things might have been much worse, and it was as well to be prepared.

Edward reached Fort Augustus three hours after sunrise, but it was strangely deserted. As he glanced round, he saw no one but Lochiel, who, as we have said, had been sent on with Elcho. Elcho had gone off on the way, not from disloyalty, but on account of the recriminations of the previous day, which had sunk deep into his mind, and because he could not endure that others' advice should be taken rather than his own. This he had told Lochiel before leaving, bidding him repeat it to Edward. He had sworn by all that was most sacred that he hated to desert

his beloved Prince in circumstances so hard, but that his honour compelled him to do so, and honour must come before all else with a man of birth. Edward was deeply distressed at the loss of so loyal a follower, of whose affection for him he had such abundant proof, more especially as he felt that he might have given him some excuse. 'Ah,' said he, 'a soldier who feels that his honour has been wounded has good cause for anger.' But to his distress at Elcho's loss a blow even more heavy was soon added.

From Fort Augustus Edward went to the neighbouring Loch Garry,¹ to see whether he could obtain trustworthy information about his troops from the fishermen living by it. After waiting a couple of hours, he was surprised at the non-appearance of the five servants who, we have said, were following at a distance of not more than a mile. While he was expressing surprise and his fear that something had happened to them, a man was seen approaching on horseback at full speed. Going to meet him, he recognised Macdonel, but so pale was he and such his appearance that he was hardly recognisable. When he was about a stone's throw away Macdonel recognised the Prince in front of him and tried to dismount from respect; but his strength failed him in the very act of dismounting and he fell heavily to the ground. Edward and those with him ran up, trying to revive him, but all in vain. Senseless, deadly pale, breathing with difficulty, he might have been dead, while blood was pouring freely from his side, which seemed to have been pierced by a musket ball. Urged to speak, he at last managed to tell them with great difficulty in a feeble voice, broken by sobs, that a large squadron of enemy cavalry had suddenly sprung upon him and his companions from an ambush. They had all been surrounded and taken. He alone, trusting to the speed of his horse, had preferred flight, and while flying he had been mortally wounded by a musket ball. His one wish had been to see his Prince once more. Since God had heard his prayer, he died happy and contented. He told them

¹ Invergarry Castle, 17th April.

also to fly at once, for the enemy were close upon them. Scarcely had he uttered these words when his voice failed him and he died.

Never had Edward experienced grief so great, so overwhelming, so natural. The necessity of immediate escape only made it more bitter. He could see no prospect or hope of safety in the present state of his affairs. Discouraged, unable to decide on what he had best do, yet faced with the necessity of escaping, he leapt upon his horse and made for the heart of Loehaber. After a long journey through the wilds, where he found none of his men, he learnt from a chance passer-by that most of those he had disbanded in Aird had been taken by the enemy. At this news he turned back, with the intention of going down into Glen Morven [Morar], whence, as it was on the sea, he could escape to France. The one comfort left to him, inestimable amid such endless trouble, was the company of Sullivan, Sheridan, and Loehiel. With rare loyalty they followed the Prince, taking upon themselves the worst fatigues and dangers and never leaving his side. Yet a few days later cruel fate robbed him of part even of this comfort, such as it was. Either because they chose the more remote places to avoid meeting their enemies, or because there were no better roads leading to Morven, they reached a mountainous district which could be crossed only on hands and feet. They were thus compelled to give up their horses and proceed on foot. On this they were all decided. But Loehiel, for all his pluck, was unable to walk, as he had been wounded in one of his feet at Culloden. Though Edward was loth to lose so loyal an adherent, to whom he was deeply attached, he would not hear of his staying with him thus heavily handicapped. So he begged him to desist, at least until his wound was healed. When he protested and appealed to him with prayers and tears, the Prince ordered him to stay behind. Loehiel was the last of his original adherents, except his companions Sheridan and Sullivan. These were now the only protectors of his life, sharing his misfortunes and comforting him in them, the directors

of all his affairs. We shall soon see how at last he was to lose even these.

Meanwhile they had reached Glen Morar,¹ where lies Castle Arisaig, rich and populous as the country goes. On the west it is washed by the sea. It faces Ricina, commonly called Skye, one of the Western Islands. Edward entered the place secretly and was welcomed at the house of a well-wisher² with far better cheer than he had ventured to hope for. But he was distressed at not finding any of his troops there. He could not make out what had become of so many thousands of men. Some said, or guessed, that most of them had retreated to Ross, the northernmost county of Scotland. As this was not only affirmed by many, but seemed probable in itself, preparations were made for starting immediately for Ross, in spite of the fact that it was swarming with the King's agents. The wisdom and sense of his host prevented him from taking this step. He suggested that it would be more prudent for him to stay and rest in Arisaig and send one of his companions to Ross, who might inform him either personally or through others of what he found there. The advice was followed. Sheridan, disguised as a peasant, started for the north. The Prince remained in Arisaig³ and, being done up by the hardships of his long wanderings, he did not refuse to enjoy a little rest.

Three days later⁴ there arrived in Arisaig Onelio, [O'Neill], a brave soldier of whom Edward was fond, and who commanded a regiment at Culloden. After the defeat he had hidden in a thick wood to escape the enemy, and then started to wander through remote districts. Finally, he had fallen in with Sheridan, and, hearing where the Prince was in hiding, he had gone thither to see him again and pay him his respects. Edward was highly delighted

¹ 19th April.

² Angus MacEachine or MacEachain, Borrodale's son-in-law. (Blaikie, p. 46.)

³ On 20th April he went to Borrodale and remained there and in the neighbourhood until 25th.

⁴ As O'Neill had been with him since Culloden this must be incorrect. (*The Lyon in Mourning*, i. p. 367.)

to see him once more. But, after listening to all he had to tell of the state of affairs and of all that happened after the battle, he became so despondent that he determined to think of nothing but flight, and to escape to France at the earliest possible opportunity.

This is what O'Neill had to say. It was useless to go in search of soldiers, since they no longer existed. Many had been killed in battle, many more butchered while trying to escape. The rest were in the hands of the enemy, having either been taken by force or surrendered. The Duke of Perth and his brother [Lord John] Drummond had sought safety among the highest mountains, after first urging their followers to surrender. Cromarty, Chilmarnoch [Kilmarnock], Balmerino, and other Jacobite chiefs had all been taken, together with their men. It was no longer possible to speak of an army. It had all disappeared and there was no hope of its rising again. The law was being enforced in all its rigour against the rebels. The whole island was trembling before the dread instruments of capital punishment. All this Edward heard with amazement. Finally he gave vent to a few mild complaints at the fickleness of many and the want of courage of not a few others, and said he was going to sail for France even before Sheridan's return. There was no vessel in Arisaig capable of undertaking so long a voyage over a stormy sea. He therefore ordered a small boat¹ to be hired, and on the same day started for Stumway [Stornoway], on the extreme end of the coast of Lewis, where he thought he could easily find a ship for France. Eight sturdy oarsmen rowed the boat. With him were Sullivan and O'Neill, and they had been joined by [Donald] Macleod, a devoted adherent of the Prince. As he was a native of Stornoway, it was thought he would be very useful in wrestling with the difficulties of the flight.

Fate, however, doomed him to go far in search of means of escape, which he could have found most opportunely

¹ His object in getting the boat, in the first place, was to go to the Hebrides in hopes of getting a ship, and failing that to Orkney. (Blaikie, p. 47.)

in Arisaig, had he waited only a single day longer. Edward left on May 28.¹ On the 29th two French warships arrived in Arisaig, having been sent especially for him. The officers in command were also bringing him a large sum of money. Six whole days they remained at anchor, the time being spent in diligent search for the Prince. But as they were unsuccessful, and an English fleet was said to be near by, they left the money in safe hands and finally set sail. Several Jacobite leaders took the opportunity of going on board, notably Sheridan, who reached France in safety. This is an occurrence we must emphasise ; it was one which Edward was to regret bitterly, as, had he been on the spot, there would have been an end of all his troubles. Still more unfortunate was it that, when he should and could have been so lucky, he had decided to go and land at Stornoway, obstinately flying in the face of Providence which was thus timely coming to his aid, as if some unkind fate or blind impulse had driven him whither he least desired to go.

Jumping on board, as we have said, Edward started for Stornoway. As night fell and they were beginning to enter the open sea, the wind suddenly sprang up and began to blow with such force that shipwreck seemed certain. The boat was driven backwards before the waves, and the boatmen, terrified, declared that it was impossible to make headway against them. They shouted that they must run from the rising storm and return at once to Arisaig. Edward would not give way. Unlike himself, he persisted obstinately in his purpose, resolved to hold on, no matter what the risk. The men at the oars, who did not know that he was Prince of Wales, but thought that he was a French fugitive, refused to obey, and, in order to show how desperate the case was, they abandoned the boat to the waves. But he seized an oar himself and, urging his companions to help, he rowed for a long time, breaking through the waves with the strength of his arm and merrily lightening the work by singing. Stirred by his example, the

¹ 26th April. (Blaikie, p. 47.)

sailors were at last, against their will, induced to return to their duty. Thus we may say that they continued their voyage in the teeth of Providence and yet they did not reach their destination, but, after being tossed hither and thither by the terrible storm, all they succeeded in doing, with Heaven's guidance, was to reach Benbecula about midday on the morrow.¹

Benbecula is a little island in the Deucealedonian Sea, where the few inhabitants are poor and rough. In such an island our travellers dared not go far from the shore. They were in want of all the necessities of life, shelter, food, and fire. They met some of the islanders and managed with difficulty to obtain the wherewithal to light a fire by paying them. They spent a day there in great discomfort; then, the sea growing somewhat calmer, they started again,² steering north, on their way to Stornoway. At first they had the wind with them, but they were overtaken by a fresh storm and forced to put into Scalp [Scalpa], another island in that sea, sparsely populated and very inhospitable. They gave themselves out to be merchants stranded on the island by a storm after being shipwrecked on their way to the Orkneys to trade. This they did, not only in order to conceal their condition, but to obtain shelter more easily, in the hope that one of the islanders, who were for the most part half savages, might be touched at the sight of all their misery. Their story proved more successful than they had ventured to hope. A peasant, somewhat more humane than the rest,³ received the strangers hospitably. Welcoming them to his home, he fed them and entertained them as luxuriously as the poverty of the island allowed. He refused all reward for his liberality, for he believed that they were really shipwrecked and had lost everything they possessed.

The storm did not subside for two days. Meanwhile

¹ 27th April. Rossinish in Benbecula.

² Evening of 29th and reached Scalpa or Glass Island 30th April. (Blaikie, p. 48.)

³ Donald Campbell, brother-in-law of Macdonald of Baleshare. (Blaikie, p. 48.)

Edward as usual plied the inhabitants with questions about the news, and heard that it was considered certain that the Stuart Prince was a fugitive after his defeat at Culloden and that the search for him was being ruthlessly carried out everywhere. He was last seen in Arisaig with Sullivan, Sheridan, the Duke of Perth, Drummond, and other leaders of his party. Two French ships had arrived there, and there was no doubt that the unhappy Prince had refused to avail himself of the means of escape. Yet it was believed that he had either left Scotland already or that he would leave shortly and cross to France with a number of Scots and Irish nobles. This news, which, in spite of the elements of falseness it contained, did not appear to be altogether an invention, caused Edward indescribable sorrow. Believing what was said about the French ships, he bitterly repented having let slip such a golden opportunity of escape. He blamed himself above all for having refused to return to Arisaig, even when the violence of the storm, the advice of his friends and the prayers of the sailors were all combined in urging him to do so. He admitted that he had paid dearly for the obstinacy with which he had, in a measure, stood out against God and man. Whither could he go at such a distance? What steps could he take? Return to a place from which he was now so far? Perhaps the ships had already sailed. Go further? Perhaps the ships were still waiting. What would happen, supposing there were no French ships in Stornoway harbour? While he was thus hesitating and worrying, Macleod encouraged him by telling him that it was absolutely certain that there would be many chances of escaping. He must listen to reason and keep up his courage. Even supposing he had to wait a little longer in Stornoway, he himself had a number of friends and relatives there of no small influence, who would not hesitate even to take up arms to ensure his leaving safely. Cheered and strengthened in his former purpose by these words, Edward thanked his host kindly and, rewarding him richly for his hospi-

tality (for he was not short of money), he put to sea once more.¹

Before leaving Scalp Macleod had sent to warn his brother at Stornoway of the coming of the Prince, bidding the messengers take the shorter land route by Harray [Harris], an island which is connected with Lewis by a strip of land. This, which was meant to be a precaution, ruined the plan. Our travellers landed at Lewis and late at night made their way silently to Stornoway. As they approached they were met by Macleod's terrified brother, who begged them to leave. If they did not do so quickly, they would be going straight to their ruin. Their coming was known in Stornoway. A number of inhabitants who were the Prince's enemies were already in arms and preparing to use violence against him. On their wondering how the news had become known so quickly, he owned frankly that the fault was entirely his, as he had revealed to a friend in the strictest confidence a secret which should have been loyally and scrupulously kept. The friend had betrayed it and the news had spread everywhere. As he spoke he fell on his knees before the Prince and implored his pardon. Macleod could hardly restrain himself from falling upon his brother with his drawn sword. Shaking with fury, and bitterly reproaching him for his chattering, he spurned him from him. Then he said he would go to the town alone and see how the land lay. If he could not find shelter, he would at least provide for the needs of the Prince and his companions, who had not eaten anything that day. Telling the Prince of a most retired spot where he might wait for him, as he would be back as soon as possible, he started for the town.

The Prince, with Sullivan and O'Neill, went to the bank of a neighbouring loch where he had been told to hide.²

¹ Donald Macleod was sent to Stornoway on 1st May to try to get a vessel for the Orkneys. The Prince stayed at Scalpa until 4th May, when he, Sullivan, and O'Neill landed in Harris and went towards Stornoway, arriving at Kildun House in Arnish (two miles from the town) on the morning of 5th May. (Blaikie, p. 49.)

² He was at Kildun House on 5th May, entertained by Mrs. Mackenzie. (Blaikie, p. 49.)

There he spent the whole night without sleep, in the open, exposed to a biting fresh wind, drenched with heavy rain, tortured by hunger and cold. But he awaited the return of Macleod in vain.¹ What it was that kept back an honest man, hitherto of proved loyalty, is not known. On this occasion, certainly, he broke his word and did not return, as he had promised. His absence began to arouse in Edward uncomfortable suspicions. For many reasons he thought it would be very dangerous to remain longer where he was. He decided that they must at once leave this treacherous shore and go elsewhere. But he neither knew whither to go, nor was he familiar with the roads. Wherever he went, he had treacherous enemies to fear. His companions were no less distressed and quite as irresolute. The Prince was inclined to sail for the Orkneys, on the chance of finding among those remote islands the longed-for vessel for France. But at the mere mention of the Orkneys the men behaved as though possessed, raging and storming and cursing, and saying that they would rather die than go so far from their homes. They were determined to get back at all costs to their wives and families at Arisaig, and they shouted 'Arisaig' over and over again. As neither prayers, nor arguments, nor even considerable sums of money moved them, the Prince was compelled at last to return to Arisaig without any definite plan.

The sailors were weakened both by hunger and fatigue and still trembling with rage. But, such was their eagerness to return to their homes, that they threw themselves into their work with extraordinary vigour. Their passengers, however, were depressed, almost desperate at the thought of having let slip the opportunity of escape at one point while they had been looking for one in vain at another. Meanwhile their friends were growing fewer and fewer; nor could they see what other fate Heaven could have in store for them except in all probability to fall into

¹ Macleod remained with him until 20th June. He was taken prisoner a fortnight later. (Blaikie, p. 52.)

the hands of their enemies. Edward alone still silently refused to give up hope, urging his companions from time to time not to despair, and saying that, slow though His ways might be, Providence would not fail them in the end. As he continually repeated this in spite of all appearances to the contrary, it looked as if he were inspired, if I may so put it, by an instinct more than human; and certainly it helped to keep up his comrades' spirits. Meanwhile, for some days past a number of English ships had been seen sailing these seas. The men were surprised, not knowing the reason. It never occurred to them that they had the Stuart Prince in their little boat, and that it was for him alone that the enemy privateers were searching. Their passengers understood the reason only too well, clearly realising the position. So they kept as close to the coasts of the islands they passed as they could, in order both to escape the observation of the ships and to be in a better position to run ashore in case of pressing danger. For, though there was no lack of danger on the islands, they felt that they could always find some hiding-place, and they preferred any risk to being caught defenceless on the open sea.

As they turned south with this idea, they suddenly caught sight of two English privateers giving chase to them under full sail. O'Neill shouted to the men to be careful if they wanted to escape the gallows. This would certainly be their end, if they were taken, for the help they were giving to the rebels they had on board. Frightened by the danger they had not suspected, they encouraged each other, but as they looked round they could see no way of escape, so they darted in among some high cliffs, getting as far away as possible, until the pursuing ships lost sight of them, when they ran their boat ashore on a small island about a day's journey from Benbecula.¹ The Prince, Onelio,² Sullivan, and the men themselves landed, searching eagerly for hiding-places. Here for the first time Edward

¹ They left Arnish in the morning of 6th May for Scalpa, but, sighting some ships of war, had to put in to the uninhabited island Evirn (or Iffort), where they remained until 10th May. (Blaikie, p. 49.)

² O'Neill.

was observed to become depressed and to lose some of his faith in Providence, so great were the troubles that overwhelmed him. The island in itself was very small, not more than nine miles in circumference, more like a rock than an island. It was quite uninhabited and there were no signs of agriculture. Wherever you looked there was nothing but bare rock or rough brambles. The only provisions they still had were a few crusts of mouldy biscuit and a little brandy, and, as this had been secretly carried off and appropriated by the rascally boatmen, there was no food left for Edward and his two comrades. However, Providence did not fail them. In the remotest corner of the little island they found a small hut made of fresh reeds that seemed to have been constructed for the use of fishermen. The Prince went inside to shelter from the rain. Wonderful to relate, there were in it a number of dried fish, left there by chance, as I believe, but not without the will of Providence, by the fishermen. Whatever this store of provisions may have been, eleven persons maintained themselves for several days on the fish soaked in water and cooked on brambles. As it rained heavily during these days, they collected the water in some holes they dug, and, muddy though it was, they used it to slake their thirst. Their existence could not have been more wretched. The night they spent in the hut, always awake. During the day, to avoid being discovered by the enemies who were watching for them, they hid themselves in the centre of the island among the sedge, where it grew thickest and was longest, sleeping on the damp bare ground. Their rule for rest was that one of them must always be awake and act as sentinel while the others slept, each in turn undertaking this disagreeable duty. Their troubles were further increased by difficulties with the sailors. Growing weak and thin and wasted from lack of food, they turned upon their passengers at every moment with oaths and abusive language as the cause of their dying of hunger. They did not refrain from hurling curses even against Heaven. When this bad food was at last finished, they were compelled to leave the island. Luckily at that

moment there was not an English sail to be seen anywhere, wherever they looked, so, seizing the opportunity, they once more manned their boat and started for Benbuccula, making slow progress owing to the weakness of the men.

They reached the island at sunset,¹ landing on its most lonely side. They did not see a human being except a solitary fisherman walking on the shore in front of his hut. He watched them carefully as they disembarked, and though they were all wasted and thin and terribly changed in their filthy clothes, he recognised the Prince. For he had served under him and had come hither after Culloden for safety, and was now a fisherman. He did not hesitate a moment. Running forward, he cast himself at his feet, addressing him by name and offering to do anything he could for him. The boatmen now for the first time realised who their passenger was. Dumbfounded and ashamed that they had insulted the majesty of an unhappy Prince not merely with abusive words, but by their disgraceful conduct, they also threw themselves at his feet, asking forgiveness for their behaviour. The Prince turned to them with a quiet smile, telling them to say no more about it and bidding them get up and have no fear. Then, turning to talk to the loyal fisherman, he told him with the utmost affability that, situated as he was, he could not refuse his kind offer, and he would gladly spend the night in his hut. The hut was neither very comfortable, nor very safe. Not only was it very small to pass a night in, but he might easily be captured by a sudden landing of the enemy, as a number of their ships were sailing these seas. So it seemed wiser to go further inland, where the danger would be less and better means for rest and shelter could be found. On this all were agreed. But Sullivan's health made this impossible. He had begun to feel ill the day before, and had got much worse, so that he could hardly stand, much less endure a long and tiring journey. Edward suggested that he should be carried by the men,

¹ They reached Scalpa on 10th May, but found Donald Campbell had left. They continued south, spent the night at sea, and reached an island in Loch Uskavagh on the 11th. There they remained until 13th May. (Blaikie, pp. 49-50.)

offering himself to take his turn, so great was his goodness of heart and his affection for his faithful friend. But the suggestion had its difficulties. After the matter had been thoroughly thrashed out, it was decided, as it generally is in a crisis, to follow the line of least resistance, to spend that night in the hut, to recoup their strength as well as they could with food and sleep, and to trust in Providence.

A fair supply of good fish was easily procured. The soldier who had turned fisherman had done so to good purpose, earning his living with his boat and his nets. A regular banquet for such a place was prepared, and a rich one it proved to such appetites, consisting as it did of every kind of fish. The boatmen saw to the fire; O'Neill busied himself with boiling and roasting the fish. But Edward, with no thought but for Sullivan, made as comfortable a bed for him as he could with the sailors' cloaks and had him laid on it. Then, sitting by him on the bare ground, he tried to cheer him up, talking to him as kindly as he could and remaining continually by him. Partly because he felt sleepy, partly because he had more concern for the Prince than for himself, Sullivan begged and prayed him to leave him a little and try to fortify his enfeebled system with the food that was now ready. He did so, and the boatmen, ravenously hungry, also sat down at the same table. Then they all lay down on the ground, the fisherman alone remaining awake. Next day Sullivan felt much better and declared that he was quite cured. Edward was delighted, but he was sorry that he could find nothing there more suited to the digestion of a convalescent, weakened already by long fasting. Then he chanced to catch sight of a large bird, not unlike a duck, resting on the edge of a pond. Going close up to it, he took one of the two pistols which he always carried from his pocket and aimed so well that he shot it dead. He went back to the hut overjoyed at his prize and had it boiled at once. He himself helped not merely with the utmost eagerness, but what is still more astonishing, with extraordinary skill. Nourishing soup was made from it, which he gave to

Sullivan. This, and portions of the bird, which was shared among them, did the sick man so much good that it looked as if he would be able to continue the journey on foot. So they left the coast for the south of the island.¹ The fisherman we have mentioned led the way, taking them by short cuts. Then came the boatmen, no longer mutinous and grasping, but quiet and shamefaced, carrying the baggage and helping Sullivan by turns.

But, while they were resting after a long march, they learnt in conversation with the people of the place that Colonel Campbell was expected that very day on the island with a good escort of troops—he proved merciless in tracking down the Prince—and was to lie in ambush there for him, as he was said to be in these parts with a few companions. Edward, O'Neill, and Sullivan gazed at each other in consternation at the news. Drawing a little apart, they tried to decide what they had best do in such a crisis. They knew it was dangerous to remain on the island at a time when their enemies were expected, but to leave it involved even greater risk; for it would not be so easy to elude their vigilance on the open sea as on an island full of caves and other hiding-places. So they decided to put off their start till the morrow and spend the night in some safe spot. A high mountain covered with thick wood was not far off. On its most inaccessible side they found a cave of considerable depth and size with a very small entrance, which was protected by a thick hedge of wood and thorns. Here the Prince and his two faithful comrades hid. The fisherman, promising to return the next day, left with the boatmen by the route by which they had come and returned to the hut.

I will not attempt to say how long that anxious night seemed to the Prince. The fisherman appeared punctually at daybreak with the news that Campbell had not been seen, and that if he had come, he must have landed on the other side of the island. On the northern side, which

¹ 14th May they walked to Caradale in South Uist and remained there until 5th June. (Blaikie, p. 50.)

they could see, all was quiet. Not a vessel of any kind was in sight, so far as the eye could reach. He was told to go back and interrogate every one he met, to climb the highest ranges and carefully scan the sea. He did so and reported that all was quiet. As he had nothing to add by evening, the travellers left the cave to return to the boat, having decided to cross to Moidart, a district that seemed less dangerous, stretching across the mainland from the province of Lochaber. They did not start till dawn on the following day, and then they witnessed to their admiration an act of loyalty in a man of the lowest birth, rare indeed, and far above the common. When they were all in the boat the fisherman we have mentioned began to beg and implore them to take him on board and let him go with them to Moidart. He wanted to follow his beloved Prince and share his fate. He wanted to serve him as long as he had breath and then to die either with him or for him. Not only would he know no joy, but his life would be turned to bitterness, were he robbed of the sight of a Prince so good, so gracious. As he spoke he burst into tears, filling the whole shore with his lamentations. Edward, touched by his tears, most unwillingly refused the company of a man who had done him such services and might also be of no little use to him in the future. Giving way to Sullivan, who held that they ought not to increase their company even by one, he comforted him with kind words and gave orders to push off. The boat drew away, and the fisherman, almost beside himself, and uplifting his eyes and his hands to Heaven, began to pray for the safety of the Prince, imploring all the saints to bless him and prosper him. Thus he continued till they were out of sight, moving Edward to tears.

As we have said, they were making for Moidart. Either because the winds were unfavourable or because they were afraid of meeting the enemy or for some other reason, they steered towards South Uist, which means in English South West. This is an island a little to the south of Benbecula, so called to distinguish it from another little island of the same name also near Benbecula, but to the north of it.

On South Uist they found some of the islanders round Currad [Caradale] Castle friendly to them, and could therefore begin to breathe again after all their anxieties and get everything they needed. So Edward, thinking that he would not have to leave soon, took pity on the boatmen who had been so long away from their families and dismissed them, giving them a hundred pounds, a sum they had never seen before, much less had they ever hoped to earn it. But, after barely three days of peace, they were threatened with even more serious dangers. The implacable Campbell, having searched the whole of Skye foot by foot in vain, was about to cross to Benbecula, but it was said that, having suddenly changed his mind, he was coming to South Uist and actually to Caradale, as though he had received exact information as to Edward's route and hiding-place. This was no rumour, but a trustworthy report from loyal spies; so they had to pack up and fly elsewhere.¹ Terrified, they hastened to hide themselves in the centre of the island in the wildest caves, which seemed quite inaccessible. Never did they endure such hardships anywhere else. Edward crouched like a lizard, flattened into a crevice. Sullivan and O'Neill found similar shelters. Their food was no better than their lodging, for it consisted of grass torn up by the roots. Their only drink was a sip of brandy, of which each of them fortunately had a little. The whole region was dry and barren, and such water as was to be found was brackish. Moreover, Edward, who had suffered so much on his wanderings and so often changed his resting-place, had contracted a severe form of itch very common in the island, due either to the bad air or the bad food. As it grew worse, the painful irritation became unendurable.

After three days spent in this way O'Neill quitted his cleft for a while and started out before daybreak to explore the country a little, more especially the coast. He chanced

¹ The account is inaccurate here. On 6th June they sailed to the island Oua and remained there until the 10th, when they went to Rossinish in Benbecula. Here they remained until 12th June, when Donald Macleod and O'Sullivan brought the boat and took them off. After changing daily from place to place they sailed on 15th for Loch Boisdale.

to fall in with one of the boatmen who, as we saw, had been dismissed. They were eager to return to Arisaig, but, when they saw all the English ships, they were afraid of being suspected of helping the Prince and of being examined and tortured. They preferred to return to South Uist and were keeping to the remotest parts of it. O'Neill took him to Edward. On being asked what news he had managed to find out in the present juncture, he said that everywhere was terror and danger. The coasts of Scotland, especially the nearest districts, were infested with soldiers. The King's officers were hurrying furiously hither and thither through all the neighbouring islands, following up the scent of the Prince like bloodhounds. Campbell and [Carolina] Scott, the most crafty and evil of men, were putting their troops on the scent, directing them and goading them to greater ferocity. This most unpalatable news only confirmed Edward in his former decision to go to Moidart. He saw that the longer he wandered about these islands, the worse it would be, since it was impossible either to approach them or leave them without the aid of a number of persons, and, worse still, with adequate secrecy. So he promised his old boatmen another hundred pounds if they would take him to Moidart. Though they pointed out the obvious risks, the size of the reward tempted them and they promised to try.

When all arrangements had been made, Edward got into the boat, which had eight oars, as we have described. O'Neill and Sullivan were, as usual, with him. Steering south, they were proceeding in silence, keeping a sharp look-out, when, suddenly, they caught sight of some English ships. They were thus forced to go about and land in Lochbudal [Loch Boisdale]. This is the wildest part of South Uist, barren and parched, rugged and rocky, owing to the mountains, and for the most part steep. Not a tree, not a dwelling-place of any sort, not even a shepherd's hut was to be seen. None of the necessities of life were forthcoming. For eight¹ whole days and

¹ From 15th to 20th June. (Blaikie, p. 51.)

eight nights they were forced to remain in Loch Boisdale, with no other shelter but that supplied by caves and the dark dens of wild animals. There they hid themselves by day to escape detection. They crept out for a little at night, silently exploring the country. Their food came from Kilbride, a small village, whither the boat was sent from time to time, but so far from satisfying them it was positively nauseating. The bread in these parts is not made of wheat, but of barley, and is very little cooked. It was, in fact, a kind of raw dough, smelling a good deal and tasting badly, disgusting to any one of refined upbringing.

After eight days of this, O'Neill made a trip to Kilbride to learn something of the movements of the enemy and to get a supply of brandy, which was Edward's only means of keeping up his strength. Hardly had he landed when a large body of rough soldiery appeared who had been brought by Scott, who was searching for Edward Stuart and his friends and companions. He should have been taken at once. Escaping by a miracle, he hurried back to the Prince and told him what had happened. Alarmed, not without reason, at the near approach of the enemy in such force, and judging that it was not the result of mere chance, but of trustworthy information they had received, he declared that they must go elsewhere, but how and whither it was not easy to decide. Meanwhile, in order not to sit idle at such a crisis, he started for the mountain hard by.

While he was hastening thither,¹ he saw an unknown man, poor, and, as far as could be judged by appearances, not ill-disposed. Asked whether there was any news, he said that Campbell had just reached Bernat with two hundred men; that all the houses and the most remote corners were being searched; that it was for the Stuart

¹ On 21st the Prince with O'Neill, and guided by Neil MacEachain, crossed the mountains and came to a hut near Ormaclett. Here they met Flora MacDonald. (Blaikie, p. 52.)

O'Sullivan, Macleod, and Burke remained with the boat and boatmen to look after themselves. (Browne, iii. 284.)

Prince they were looking, as it was known that he had taken shelter in these parts with a few adherents and that he would be found hidden somewhere. At this news Edward's courage failed him. He was just half-way between Bernat and Kilbride, the one to the right, the other to the left, both so near that they were almost in sight. The enemy were in both places, led by two distinguished captains. Feeling the net being drawn tighter round him he began to think of sending O'Neill to Campbell, offering to surrender. As the step was voluntary he had hopes of obtaining honourable terms. Drawing his companions aside, he told them his plan. There was no more hope, he said. They had better meet force half-way instead of waiting for it. However their enemies might treat them, it would be preferable to ending in this way and dying by inches. Death was always hard, but the hardest of all deaths was to die of simple privation, in complete want of everything. His companions heard him in gloomy silence, for was it not all true? However, Sullivan, to whom Edward was accustomed to look up, tried to cheer him in his misery and put fresh heart into him. He did not disapprove of the plan, but he thought it unduly hasty and not sufficiently thought out. There was still room for hope. They must trust in Providence and only take this desperate step as a last resource. Edward assented, and began wandering about the inhospitable paths on the chance of some way of escape appearing.

While he was thus wandering at random, stopping every few moments, avoiding meeting any one, as every one might be an enemy or a spy, it happened that a lady on horseback passed near him, accompanied by a single servant. Her sex, her age, the whole appearance of her allayed his fears. O'Neill went up to her and, after they had exchanged greetings, said: 'Whoever you are, for you certainly look generous and charitable, take pity on three noble strangers who, having supported the Jacobites in this unhappy war, are dogged by the strangest ill-fortune. Excellent lady, be gracious to us and give us, we implore you, all the help you can. We are hemmed in by the cruellest enemies,

Death is certain, unless by your help we find a way of escape and of saving ourselves.' The lady answered that she and all her family were Jacobites and that, if it were possible, she would gladly help men who had fought under the best of princes. 'But how you are to escape I simply do not know,' she added, 'seeing that all the roads round are beset by the Government troops.' While she was speaking and showing her interest by the kindness of her expression, Edward thought he recognised her by her voice and her looks as the widow of Macdonel, a rich woman highly respected in South Uist. In happier days she had several times visited him and been received by him in Inverness. Going closer to make sure, he found he was right. Feeling that she was sent by Providence, he greeted her courteously, and made himself known. So overcome was she by the unexpected pleasure, so touched at the Prince's cruel fate on seeing him thus in rags, a fugitive, in want and wasted, when a short time ago she had known him at the height of his glory, that she was amazed, dumbfounded. Dismounting, she wanted to kiss his hand, but he refused to allow her, as it was covered with pustules. Eager to save the Prince, the lady, after these acts of courtesy, showed them an unfrequented path, the only one which, so far as she knew, was not beset by the enemy. If he managed to escape by that road and reach Caradale, which would be quite easy, she promised to see that he was safely hidden and that he should succeed in outwitting his pursuers. She arranged the exact spot near Caradale where they were to meet with all the countersigns. When everything was settled she went on her way and they took the path she had shown them.

Edward reached Caradale, as arranged. But, if we are to believe the story, this was due rather to the compassion of his enemies than to his own courage. Whether he missed the way, or whether it was held by the enemy, he is said to have fallen in with a party of Campbell's men, who recognised him and called him by name, but not one of them had the heart to take him. They are also said to have treated him kindly, giving him a drink of beer to slake

his thirst and showing him the road he must follow if he wished to escape. Such is the power of natural human kindness in those who have not been spoiled by self-indulgence and the corruption of courts. I will not vouch for the story, but I give it none the less. However this may be, though his enemies spared him, he was not spared absolute want and hunger. [Flora] Macdonald did not appear at the spot agreed upon. Crouching in a small, dark cave near Caradale, Edward was in want of everything. His companions bought food from a wretched peasant; but besides being scanty it was so bad that it was impossible to eat it without disgust and nausea. After waiting in this way for three days,¹ seeing that things were going from bad to worse, and believing that the lady had been unable to keep her promise, he lost all hope and began once more as a last resource to think of giving himself up. And he would have done so if towards the end of the third day a letter had not come from [Flora] Macdonald. In this she begged the Prince to go immediately to Benbecula and stay in a certain castle near Runness [Rossinish]. She herself would go there and keep the promise she had hitherto been prevented from keeping for good reasons. Edward was much comforted by the kind lady's letter, but he did not see how he was to get to Benbecula as she asked him. It was a long journey overland to reach the end of the island, with a risk of falling in with the enemy, and he had no boat to cross the stretch of sea. After due reflection, he decided to go to the nearest bit of coast. Luckily he found the owner of a boat ready there who had no difficulty in taking anybody over who paid him. So he was taken over, and, for the third time, he landed in Benbecula with his companions.

He went straight to the place appointed by [Flora] Macdonel, but he did not find her, and he passed a very bad night among the ruins of the castle. Day had not yet

¹ He was in hiding near Caradale until the evening of 23rd June when MacEachain came and took him first to the island Wisay and thence to Benbecula, reaching Rossinish late on the 24th.

dawned when the implacable Campbell, who seemed to have a kind of instinct not merely for the roads the wandering Prince was taking, but even for divining his most secret resolutions and thoughts, brought a detachment of his men from South Uist and began his search with Rossinish. Edward's predicament was serious indeed. He could not leave the island, nor could he find a hiding-place. While he was hurrying nervously from place to place, he suddenly caught sight of a rough group of soldiers in the distance. He darted into a marsh, on the banks of which he was, and spent the whole day concealed among the reeds on the damp, muddy ground. Coming out in the evening he crossed to the opposite side of the island during the night, to get as far as possible from his enemies. But while he was walking along the shore at daybreak, he suddenly saw four armed English vessels rowing at full speed, as though making straight for him. What could he do? If he stayed where he was, he would certainly be taken; if he hurried away he would awaken suspicion, and the treacherous privateersmen would fire upon him. If they failed to take him they would certainly raise the hue and cry throughout the island. His only chance was to hide himself among some reeds that grew thick in the mud. Fortunately the English, though they passed close inshore, did not notice him and passed on. Then, judging that the enemy had left Rossinish, he decided to go to the spot appointed by [Flora] Macdonald, in order to look for her again more carefully. While on their way they were met by a crowd of flying peasants, who shouted that Campbell was close at hand—and they heaped curses on his name—preparing to bring ruin on the castle, the Macdonalds, and all their servants. So they had to look for a new hiding-place and go back again. Though Edward was young and very strong he was tired out from being continually on the move and utterly weary with loss of sleep and lack of food, being hardly able to stand. His companions were, if anything, more tired, and, what was worse, they were all desperate, unable to come to a

decision, and hopeless. Sullivan,¹ seeing how sorry was their plight, scarcely refrained from answering 'Yes' to the suggestion that they should surrender to Campbell, which O'Neill alone firmly opposed.

Meanwhile [Flora] Macdonald had left the aforesaid castle from fear of Campbell and retired to a little cottage near by, where she remained hidden from every one. In her anxiety for the Prince, she sent out a faithful servant from time to time, bidding him go to the roads and examine the passers-by. She had given him a full description of the Prince, and so skilfully did he carry out his task that he was at last able to find the man whom they had so long sought in vain. No one was more overjoyed at the meeting than he. The clever fellow was standing by the edge of a coppice as if intending to cut wood, when some one happened to go by (this was O'Neill) followed by two other men close together a little distance off. He asked whether he wanted anything. O'Neill, who was intelligent, guessing that he might be a messenger from Flora, immediately answered, 'I am going to look for my girl in these parts. If you can tell me where she is, I will reward you well.' Smiling knowingly, the man said: 'I am ready to act as go-between without any reward and will help you and your companions to find the little girl you are looking for.' Then, as having already discovered their secret, he told them they could all come with him safely, and they followed him. They were thus all taken to Flora Macdonald, and I should not like to say whose was the greater joy.

But their joy was marred by a difficulty that had not been foreseen. Resolved to hide the Prince, the lady meant to keep him with her in woman's clothes, ostensibly as her servant. This disguise was the more easy owing to his youth, the absence of hair on his cheeks and his charming, delicate features. But the whole plan would be worthless, she maintained, if there were strange men in the house, or even in the neighbourhood. She declared that Sullivan and O'Neill must go and make their way to

¹ Sullivan had already left the Prince.

some distant region. But, though Edward made no trouble about the change of sex, he would not hear of being parted from his two dear companions. If he could not escape except by sacrificing his friends, he was resolute in saying that he did not care to escape at all. 'Am I, after all we have been through together, to be deprived of people so dear to me? Am I to abandon men who have so long and so lovingly helped me in so many dangers? Madam, could you possibly imagine that I should be capable of such disloyalty?' For their part, O'Neill and Sullivan¹ said that, so long as their beloved Prince's life was safe, all their hopes and fears were at rest. It was with the utmost sorrow that they found themselves compelled to leave their master. To leave him like this, with no one to protect him in such a place and in such circumstances, was positive death to them. But if there was no other way of safety, they were resolved to leave him, and convinced that henceforth, deeply though they might feel his absence, they would be happy in his safety. So much stronger was their love than their feelings. But as Edward still persisted, the lady had the happy idea of ending all opposition by saying that on the island of Razza [Raasay] she had a most intimate friend of the Macleod clan, who was a devoted Jacobite. If Sullivan and O'Neill went there, not only would they be most warmly welcomed by the Macleod, but they would see the Prince again and join him once more when the time came for starting for France. Edward grudgingly consented to being separated from such friends even for a few days. But as it looked as if the safety of them all required it and there was hope of their all meeting soon, he made no further objections. So, after embracing each other and amid tears on both sides, they left, wishing the Prince all luck. Here, without his friends, relying solely on the loyalty and the wits of a single woman, he put on the woman's clothes that were ready and took the name of Eliza.² Such was the cruelty,

¹ Sullivan had already gone; O'Neill left the Prince 29th June.

² 'Betty Burke.'

or rather the whim of that arbiter of human fate, Fortune, that a man, who a little while previously was marching with his sword at his side and his brow crowned with laurels, was forced to put on a vile coif, and that a leader of armies, who had won such glory, had to disguise himself as an unwarlike serving wench.

When all was ready [Flora] Macdonald sent for a pair-oar boat and started for Skye with her new maid.¹ For on that island was a relation of hers of considerable influence, who was secretly a Jacobite and not suspected by the Government. She had decided to stay with him until a chance offered of sending the Prince to France. During the voyage the lady, who was well informed upon the state of public affairs, turned the talk on the unhappy results of the war and was able to tell the Prince many things that had happened to his adherents and supporters, and of the wretched state of Scotland, all of which were unknown to him. She told him how the Duke of Perth and his brother Drummond, with Elcho, Buchanan, Sheridan, and other leaders of his party, had successfully escaped to France. But far more of them had fallen into the hands of the enemy. Simon Lovat, a venerable old man of eighty years, to whom he had fled after the battle of Culloden, had been beheaded.² That brave old man had mounted the scaffold and gone to his death with the utmost courage, loudly proclaiming King James, and with these words had laid his head on the block. The same fate would soon befall George, Earl of Cromarty, and William, Lord Kilmarnock, as well as Arthur Balmerino, and the Duke of Althothen [Atholl], and other distinguished peers. Having been found implicated in the rebellion, they were already under arrest and being prosecuted. The whole of Scotland was trembling under the rigorous examination of the Treasury, and was being oppressed by it. Gallows were being set up everywhere, while the prisons could not contain all those arrested. Many of the lower classes were daily dragged to punish-

¹ 28th June.

² This is, of course, incorrect. Lord Lovat was executed 9th April 1747.

ment, while others had their goods confiscated, and, with their wives and children, were condemned to transportation to the American colonies. Lastly, any one who was thought to have played any part in the rebellion, or had expressed sympathy with it, was shamefully and cruelly treated. Edward interrupted the long story with many sobs; feeling himself responsible for the horrible butchery of so many distinguished and innocent victims, he would weep bitterly. He then remembered to ask what had happened to Murray, formerly his secretary, and learnt that he had saved his own life and bought his freedom shamefully, by revealing a number of secrets and betraying not a few supporters of the rebellion upon whom no suspicion had rested. It is impossible to describe the Prince's feelings at the man's treachery or the bitterness it added to his sorrow.

Meanwhile Edward had reached Skye in the dress and position of a maid and had been received in a villa of the lord of the island.¹ Here he enjoyed some quiet and, almost imperceptibly, recovered somewhat from his recent hardships. Beardless though he was, his appearance was anything but feminine. His walk, his assurance, his movements, his limbs were ill-suited to his clothes, as also was his manner of wearing them, and his want of cleanness and neatness. He played the part of Eliza ill, for his whole appearance betrayed the soldier, the soldier trained in the Highland school. The one exception was that he never left the side of his mistress, though he could not remain quiet for long. Two days later the Government agents broke suddenly into the house and, bursting through the door, came right in. Edward happened to be in the innermost room, talking to [Flora] Macdonald and another woman. There was no way of escape, no hiding-place, and men, the very worst of their kind, were already knocking at the door, shouting 'In the King's Name.' At this noise Edward got up at once, as a maid should, and, going

¹ This presumably means Kingsburgh's house. He was there the night of 29th, and left next day for Portree. (Blaikie, p. 54.) From this point the narrative is very inaccurate.

forward with his distaff at his side, opened the door. His boldness saved him. The soldiers looked into the room, and seeing only three women, left it. But nevertheless they went through the whole of the rest of the house, searching every corner, until, grumbling that they had been deceived by their spy, they gave up the search and went off without doing any damage.

The servants were overjoyed at the danger passed. But [Flora] Macdonald, realising that this could not have happened without the treachery of some informer, considered that the place was no longer suitable for hiding the Prince. There was the risk of the soldiers returning with fuller information. What would happen if they knew of the female disguise? In order to prevent the threatened disaster she went to find Macdonel of Kinsburgh, a relative of her father's, to whom she told everything in strict confidence. She then begged him by their friendship and by his love for both their families to take the excellent Prince into his care. Could not he receive him into his house and conduct him at once to Kinsburgh, where there was no likelihood of danger? He might rest assured that all good people would thank him for what he had done.

Macdonel, being large-hearted and of Jacobite sympathies, did not hesitate. Edward was taken to his house and soon afterwards went with him to Kinsburgh, ten miles distant. They went on foot. Though Edward was hampered by the woman's clothes that reached to his feet, he walked so quickly that Macdonel, strong as he was, could not keep up with him. He had already recovered his strength. But it was a good thing that they did not meet any of the enemy, for a mere glance would have betrayed him, so careless and awkward was he in playing his part. This will serve as an instance. A broad, deep, unbridged stream crossed the road. Macdonel was standing on the bank, wondering how they could cross it, as there was neither a bridge, nor a boat, nor horses. Without a word Edward waded into the water as he was accustomed to do without taking off his shoes or even

holding up his skirt. So ridiculous was his appearance that his companion could not help laughing in spite of his surprise.

A few days later the rumour spread through the whole of Skye that the Prince was in hiding on the island dressed as a woman and that it would be possible to recognise him by certain signs. As this rumour grew steadily [Flora] Macdonald, becoming alarmed for the Prince, hastened to Kinsburgh, and urged him to change his dress and go elsewhere. The disguise was known everywhere, the Government officers were everywhere, and in his present clothes he would most likely be discovered and arrested. He once again donned man's clothes and, hiring a small boat, went to the island of Raasay. This he did the more readily because he hoped to find his dear friends, Sullivan and O'Neill, with Macdonald of Raasay. But he was disappointed. He was warmly welcomed by the Macdonald, but—what would have meant far more to him—he did not find his friends there, nor could he obtain any trustworthy news of them. He took a gloomy view of the case, holding that there was no doubt that they had fallen into the hands of the enemy. So perturbed was he that nothing could comfort him.

And indeed he was never more to be pitied than at this moment. Besides the absence of his dearest comrades, which gave him no peace, since he must leave Raza at all costs, he was now for the first time compelled to travel altogether without a friend to whom he could turn for advice and the mere sight of whom could cheer him. He had heard that on Skye there was a castle called Kinnon, the chief of which was not less venerable for his hoary locks than for his wisdom in counsel, influential and altogether devoted to the House of Stuart. Not doubting that such a man both would and could help him in the present crisis, he determined to go to him as to the only guardian of his orphan state. So he left the island of Raasay and went to Skye.¹ He crossed the channel

¹ 2nd July.

successfully, but he still had more than thirty miles to go on foot to Kinnon. He started on the journey alone, without guide or companion, his bundle on his back. While he was hastening along a short cut, asking the way as strangers usually do, he met a man who seemed to look at him with considerable curiosity. When the man had answered his question about the road, he asked him in his turn whether he was the Stuart Prince. 'Yes, I am,' answered the Prince, rushing upon him immediately with a great oak cudgel he had in his hand. He would have stretched him dead if he had not seized his arm and, with earnest entreaties, made himself known to him. It was [Malcolm] Macleod, who was warmly attached to the Prince and had till recently been an officer in his army. As soon as he had recognised him, Edward began to curse the arm that had been uplifted against an innocent man and a friend, and to beg his pardon for his mistake. But Macleod insisted that he had acted quite properly, saying that a suspected man, once he had owned his identity, deserved death in order to make treachery impossible. Then he began to express his surprise at the Prince going thus alone through places infested with the enemy and full of danger, and to beg him to deign to allow him to go with him as his servant. Edward looked upon the want of a good friend as the worst of his misfortunes, and believing that this one had been sent him by Providence, welcomed him, thanking him for thus kindly offering his help. They walked on together to Kinnon, where he went to the house of the laird of the place.

When this man, hale and hearty in spite of his years, saw Edward's wretched condition, he almost began to blaspheme against Providence for allowing such a Prince to be thus persecuted. Touched at the pitiful sight, he threw himself at his feet and, weeping copiously, asked to be allowed to kiss his hand. The Prince then embraced him tenderly. For a time each tried to outdo the other in courteous deference. Then the old man came straight to the point, declaring that there was not a safe spot in the whole of Ricina [Skye]. He must not flatter himself that he

was out of danger under his roof, which was more suspect than any other to the enemy. He had better think of Lochaber, where he had more friends and fewer enemies. He need not worry about ways of getting there, for he would guarantee his safe arrival. Feeble though he was, he would be his companion on the voyage and share his dangers. This was no mere boasting, but the truth, and that very day he gave orders that a good boat should be prepared at once on the beach.

They put out to sea immediately.¹ Macleod, who knew that all that part of the island was swarming with the enemy, was much troubled as to how they were to reach the sea and was turning over several plans in his mind. Then suddenly he requested permission for leave of absence. When he was asked whither he wanted to go, he replied, 'I am going to meet the enemy and get myself arrested.' His idea was to put himself in the way of the patrol and allow himself to be captured. He would then decoy them to the other side of the island with false information and thus get them away from him. Edward gallantly opposed a plan that was as self-sacrificing as it was bold and dangerous, but to no purpose. Though Macleod was well aware that his trick might cost him his life, he did exactly as he had said. He was seized, and when questioned about the Prince, he said that he had seen him sail for the Orkneys from the very end of Ricina. When this became known among the troops, the guards at once left their posts; the ships on the coast there received orders to sail for the north of Scotland. Meanwhile, finding the roads and the coast free from all obstacles, Edward, with the loyal old man from Kinnon, crossed over to the mainland of Scotland, landing in Glen Morar at the exact spot from whence he had set sail two months previously.²

For two months more the unhappy Prince was compelled to lurk in the remotest districts of Scotland, with no settled home and always in danger of his life. Truth to tell, from that time fate was not quite so unkind to him. For the

¹ 4th July.

² They landed at Mallaig 5th July.

Government troops scattered over the mainland, either because they were sick of the long useless labour of the search or because they had given up hope of ever laying hands upon one whom they had never found, were thenceforward much less energetic. There was the additional reason that many believed that he had perished of hunger or of a broken heart, or that he had escaped through the treachery of one of their number. This view was widely rumoured and had received credence, with the result that the anxiety to find him gradually slackened and almost died away.

The first week Edward spent peacefully with his friends in Morar. At the end of the seventh day letters were brought him by a courier from Macdonald of Lokgar [Loehgarry], advising him not to hesitate to start at once for Lochaber. Over a hundred brave lads of the Macdonald clan were under arms, ready to lay down their lives in his defence. Edward was pleased and elated by the news and prepared to go to the friendly country. In order to outwit the enemy, several bodies of whom were quartered in different parts of these mountains, he disguised himself as an aged Highlander with a wig of white hair, in the national costume, stooping as he walked, and in this disguise, after crossing the high Morar range, he reached Lochaber in safety.¹

There he found the armed band we have mentioned, led by gallant Macdonald of Lochgarry. The Prince joined them, and, with a vanguard and a rearguard and a goodly bodyguard round him, he began his wanderings through the district. For, in order to keep the enemy off his tracks, he felt compelled to be continually on the move, never remaining more than two days in any place. The men of his vanguard often came into collision with a stray patrol of Government troops, engaging in skirmishes of some importance. These were dangerous, as they might suggest an incipient rebellion. Fearing, after due reflection, that if this state of affairs continued, worse might

¹ 14th August.

follow, he decided to split up his men. The idea was excellent. For when Cumberland, who was still in Inverness, heard of those disorders in Lochaber, he hastened thither with a large force of foot and horse to nip the danger in the bud. But, as he found the district quiet, he returned without doing harm to a soul. Edward's companions now went about in groups of only two or three, but they kept in touch with one another by sending reports backwards and forwards. They generally sheltered in caves or in the hearts of the thickest woods, never letting themselves be seen by day. Issuing forth late at night from their hiding-places, they made their way to the appointed spot. Some of their number were told off to scour the country round for provisions, which they brought secretly to their companions.

After going right through Lochaber in this way they entered Badenoch,¹ where also they kept continually on the move. Then they returned once again to Lochaber. This district, which had witnessed his arrival, was also to witness his departure and had the chief glory of saving him. This fact impressed many people, since the earliest information we have of the Stuarts comes chiefly from Lochaber. The fatigue, the wretchedness of the accommodation, and the other hardships of a life so rough were in some measure compensated by the wonderful loyalty of his friends, united in the single desire of helping him. Great was the delight of the wandering Prince when he happened to meet some of his old followers and companions whom he had thought dead. One of these was Lochiel, mentioned at the beginning of this book. There were Cameron, Lochiel's brother, Macdonald of Boisdale, Cluny Macpherson, and many other important people, who, having scattered after Culloden, had remained hidden till then in wild spots. All these Edward met, overjoyed to find them safe and still faithful to him. He would have been even more delighted to satisfy his longing to see Sullivan. But, in spite of all inquiries, he could get no

¹ 29th August.

trustworthy information. Some said that he had been captured, others that he had crossed to France. While Edward was grieving at not having his company, Sullivan was doing all he could, as we shall see, to rescue the Prince. As for O'Neill, who stood next to Sullivan in his affections, it was only too well known that he had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Edward continued to lead this wretched existence till 19th September, a date which saw the end of all his perils and adventures. He had a presentiment that the happy day would at last dawn, and he was in the habit of comforting his companions with this assurance, thus giving them courage and patience. He told them that he was convinced from many unmistakable signs that he was under the special protection of Providence, since God had so often saved him unscathed from apparently inevitable death. This conviction, a signal proof of religious piety, was confirmed by events. We need only refer to our narrative, through the whole of which is manifest the protection of Divine Providence. What greater proof can we have than the fact that, in spite of the numbers of spies and informers who were looking for him so long, he was able to elude the vigilance of them all? How otherwise was it possible that they never succeeded in capturing him in any of the places where he hid? Many people deny that he was once actually taken and released. I find it at least as wonderful that he was never caught at all as that he was set at liberty by his captors of their own free will. Indeed, I am inclined to doubt whether this adventure was the more extraordinary of the two. We must not forget that a large fortune was promised to any one who betrayed him, while he was often compelled to trust unknown people, and that as a rule he was not so effectively hidden that no one knew where he was. Yet not a single person was tempted by the greatness of the reward to betray him. And it appears truly wonderful when we bear in mind that those who rated loyalty and honour above this reward were boatmen, fishermen, servants, and other people of low degree who will usually do anything for money. Who does

not admire the loyalty, daring and courage above her sex that were none the less found in a woman? And yet this is but a minor detail. The variety and the severity of the hardships endured by a young man naturally delicate and unaccustomed to such a life were such that the strongest constitution might have succumbed to them. He himself, when he recalled them, was amazed at having escaped with life and health from such deprivations and sufferings, ascribing it to the power of divine assistance alone. For two or three days at a time he was often compelled to lie buried rather than hidden in a shallow hole in a rock, with nothing but a few crusts of hard, mouldy bread to eat, washed down with muddy, stinking water. Sometimes he had nothing but roots torn up from the earth. More often he spent whole nights in the open air on the wet, muddy ground, exposed to rain and wind and fog, to all the inclemencies of the weather. He was frequently in want of everything, his clothes torn and dirty, often drenched with rain, while he could not change them as he had no others. Nor must I fail to record a pathetic detail told me by persons well informed. When he was back in Paris, he chanced to bare his legs in the presence of his brother, the Duke of York, who noticed that they were discoloured with the bruises of wounds freshly healed, and asked him how this was. The Prince answered, smiling: 'My dear brother, for a long time I could manage to get only one pair of shoes. When these were worn out, I had nothing else to protect my feet, so I used them only at night. By day, no matter how thorny and stony the road, I went barefoot, to save my shoes.' This was his answer, and as it drew tears from his loving brother, so we cannot relate it without feelings of the deepest compassion.

In addition to physical hardships his mental sufferings must have been even more severe, and it is almost incredible that the Prince could endure them. From 27th April to 19th September his existence was one long agony, as his life was in constant danger and death had him by the throat. He knew that his life was being sought, he felt the misery

of his wretched condition, falling from one misfortune into another still more serious. Nor could he see a way out of these moving accidents, unless some means of escape chanced to offer itself. Everywhere lurked danger, everywhere suspicion of disloyalty. Every one he met might prove to be laying a trap for him. He was as afraid to meet his friends as his enemies. More than once he was face to face with the men who were looking for him. Crouching behind a bush, frozen to the marrow and shivering from head to foot, he would see them pass from between the leaves. Besides these terrors, which left him neither day nor night, he suffered acutely because, for his sake, so many of his friends and followers were being ill-treated, some cruelly persecuted, others having all their property confiscated, others laying down their lives on the scaffold. He himself could not help seeing with his own eyes on more than one occasion the homes of some of his adherents razed to the ground, their houses and castles completely in ruins, a mark of official punishment which is generally left as a memorial of the crime to be an example to posterity. To crown all, he could not help remembering now and then the grief and anxiety he must be causing his father, King James, and his brother, the Duke of York. He could imagine their suffering, nor was it possible to soften its bitterness by letters or couriers, since he had none. Hard indeed would have been the heart that was not affected by a sorrow so enduring and so poignant. Who would not have been worn out and overwhelmed by a lot so desperate? Edward, however, kept up the strength of his body with his spirit and fed his spirit with hope and his own virtues, steeling himself so effectually against the slings and arrows of fortune, that throughout all this time, with the exception of the itch already mentioned, which, however troublesome, was harmless and soon cured, he enjoyed the best of health—health such as goes with a constitution of iron. He did at last escape from all his troubles, but, in order that he might recognise the finger of a higher Power, he escaped at the very moment when things looked most desperate; he even owed his

safety to what he regarded as a heavy blow. These events will form the subject of my last section.

Edward had long missed Sullivan. Indeed, there was nothing he felt so much as the loss of the man who controlled his actions and by whose advice he set such store. As we have seen, he parted with him most unwillingly, considering the absence of news of him as the greatest of his calamities. Sullivan had, meanwhile, managed to get on board a ship and escaped to the Netherlands, from whence he had made his way to France and the court at Versailles. Being received in audience by the King, he told Louis of Edward's misfortunes, begging him to help a Prince who was his friend and was, moreover, in the gravest danger. He did not plead in vain. Louis had for some time been anxious about Edward, and, after hearing Sullivan's story, he was most eager to rescue him. He at once ordered two men-of-war to prepare to sail to Scotland to look for and bring back the Prince. To make things easier he ordered several Scotsmen to go on board, as they were more familiar with the language and the conditions of the country. Admiral Warren, a conscientious and brave sailor, was put in charge of the expedition. He was specially instructed to do his utmost to bring it to a successful conclusion. With these orders he put out from the port of Maelow [Malo] about the middle of June with two well-equipped ships. He sailed right round England and Ireland to the Hebrides, and from thence he entered the Velau gulf, generally called Lockbrun [Loch Broom], on the west coast of Scotland. Here he put on shore the twelve Scotsmen he had brought with him.¹ While the ships lay at anchor the Scotsmen, scattering in all directions, began to make inquiries everywhere and to explore the remotest districts, but for some time their efforts were fruitless. Indeed, by what trick could they hope to discover one who was hiding from all who were looking for him and was suspicious of every one he met? After sixteen days of useless efforts, acting on

¹ The French ships reached Lochnanuagh 6th September. (Blaikie, p. 69.)

a clue they received, they penetrated to the southernmost mountains of Lochaber, where they found him in hiding and told him why they had come.¹ It would be useless to try to describe the surprise and the emotion on both sides. Edward returned thanks to the Almighty for His mercy, nor could he say enough in praise of Sullivan's loyalty towards him. When the Scotsmen saw their master in such a wretched condition, so thin and pinched, yet alive and well, it would be hard to say whether their grief or their joy was the greater. Their voices were choked and broken with emotion.

The Prince, thus found again by the mercy of Heaven, had now to be safely brought to the ships, which were some ninety miles away. This was no easy matter. Apart from the distance to be covered, they would have to run the gauntlet of a number of military posts, and precautions had to be taken against awakening their suspicions. In order to throw dust in the eyes of the troops the Scotsmen had women's clothes with them, in which they dressed the Prince as a girl. They then took him by the most out-of-the-way routes, being careful to travel in silence and only at night, to spend the day in hiding and to send before them some member of their body to examine the road. In this way they reached Glen Morven in three days. Not only did they succeed in eluding the vigilance of the Government troops, but they made prisoners of three of them who had ventured to use force against them, securing them and taking them on board ship. When he was on the point of sailing, the Prince gave orders that they should be set at liberty, thus showing noteworthy clemency towards his enemies. But he gave a much more distinguished proof of his devotion to his friends.

As soon as he heard of the arrival of the ships, he managed to inform all his adherents that, if they wished to escape, they might accompany him. They would be welcomed on board and conveyed to France. As soon as they heard the news, they all began to move at once, but,

¹ 13th September.

as they were in places more or less remote, few were able to arrive by the day appointed. It was absolutely necessary to start at once. Longer delay would be fraught with danger. The wind, which was favourable, might change at any moment. Lastly, the enemy might easily get to hear of the escape, the excitement among the people and the unusual numbers awakening suspicion. Yet the Prince was vowing that he would not set foot on board till all his friends had arrived, declaring that he would wait for them; in fact, he intended to wait some days in the neighbourhood of Arisagh in all the discomfort and danger from which he had so eagerly desired to escape. And when at last they were all assembled, he insisted that every one should go on board before himself, being thus the last to leave. Indeed, he seemed to be more pleased at the escape of his friends than at his own. They numbered one hundred and thirty-two, some belonging to the lower orders, others to the flower of the nobility of Scotland and Ireland, the hapless remnant of a fatal war, whom the most unhappy of princes was taking with him.

All being ready, they set sail,¹ and with the wind behind them steered south. *Il Felice*² was the name of the ship on which Edward was. There were three hundred troops on board and thirty big guns. The other ship³ carried almost as many men and guns. As the ships slowly drew away from the shore, it is said that Edward remained for a long time motionless, gazing intently upon his ungrateful country, and that he did not utter a single word either of sorrow or of anger. We know not what were his thoughts. The voyage lasted several days, the wind being always favourable, nor did they fall in with an enemy sail. Already Warren, who was in command, steering east, said they were making for the port of Brest, which is the nearest French port to the south coast of England. But, as he began to draw close, he observed an English fleet blockad-

¹ At midnight on 19th September.

² *L'Heureux*.

³ *Prince of Conti*.

ing the port, almost at the very entrance. So he turned towards Roven and made Roscow [Roscoff], a town in Brittany. Here at last he landed his distinguished passenger, safe and sound, on the 28th September. Edward first of all returned heartfelt thanks to the Most High, and then to his friends and companions, and started at once for Paris.

He found Paris ringing with his name and talking of nothing but his adventures, so that, wherever he went, the squares were crowded and the people poured into the streets to see him. He heard them saying: 'There is the hero, a truly Roman hero, who has not merely done, but suffered great things.' And as the people of Paris delight in ceremonious courtesy, they vied with one another in showing him respect and in doing him honour. Many persons said openly that France owed him a great debt, as, by containing the whole strength of England, he had enabled the French armies to get possession of the Low Countries. He was well able to play the part of Prince both by the charm and dignity of his bearing and the splendid and sumptuous state he kept, since he lacked nothing for making a magnificent display. On his arrival in Paris he was given eight hundred thousand lire in ready money to replace what he had lost in the war. Of all his pleasures, the one he enjoyed most was the meeting with his brother, the Duke of York. Till that time he had remained on the coast of Brittany, but as soon as he received certain news of his brother's return, he hastened to Paris. Who can describe the joy of these excellent brothers on their first meeting, their embraces, the tears of delight they shed? After a long and painful separation they were together again, united as they had long been united in heart. Heaven thus granted them what they had long desired, though they had almost despaired of seeing their prayers fulfilled. They could scarcely believe their eyes. Now they would think no more of their past sufferings; nay, they might even take pleasure in recalling them.

After a few days in Paris Edward went to Fontainebleau,

a place famed for its good air and its regal pleasures, as the King was there then with the Court. His fame had already preceded him, and every one was on tiptoe with excitement. It is not easy to describe the satisfaction, the affection, the joy, and open display of delight with which he was welcomed by the King and all the Royal Family. King Louis received him with every honour due to a Prince of the blood. He was assigned apartments in the royal palace, loaded with splendid gifts, officially addressed as Prince of Wales. Foreign ambassadors were ordered to call frequently on him. Daily he went to pay his respects to the King, being always readily admitted to his presence and engaging in much familiar discourse with him. The Queen, either from womanly tenderness or in memory of his mother Clementine, who was her countrywoman, treated him and loved him as though he were her own son. When she heard him describe his adventures—and she often introduced the subject herself—she could not keep back her tears. In a word, though Edward had failed in the object of his expedition, and the recovery of his kingdom had, in existing circumstances, almost passed out of the realm of the possible, he was enjoying the peace of his present position, was gradually forgetting the past, and, relying on the friendship of King Louis, was flattering himself with the hope of better luck in the future.

But all mortal affairs are subject to ups and downs, nothing more so than the favour of princes; a brief calm was followed by an unexpected storm that exposed the Prince, not less unlucky in peace than in war, to fresh perils and drove him from the harbour where he was quietly resting. Peace was made between the Kings, weary of the long war, and weakened by the slaughter that accompanied it. At the instance of George, King of England, who insisted that the first preliminary article of peace must be that no member of the House of Stuart should be allowed a refuge in France, Louis was obliged in the interests of the common weal to exile a Prince who ill merited such treatment. Taught perhaps by this

instance of the caprice of the fortunes of man how fickle and unstable are the things of this world, his brother Henry, Duke of York, resolved to fight for God alone under the banner of the Church. And now that he is enrolled as one of the College of Cardinals and has embraced the priesthood, though he is in the very flower of his youth, his whole heart is in the offices of religion and the duties proper to the institution of which he is a member.

End of the Fourth and Last Book.

THE MANUSCRIPT HISTORY
OF CRAIGNISH

BY

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, ADVOCATE

Edited by

HERBERT CAMPBELL

INTRODUCTION

THE Manuscript set forth in the following pages has been thrice publicly attacked as untrustworthy, once (anonymously) in the *Scotsman* of 17th March 1871, in the course of a review of Tweed's *House of Argyll*, and twice by the late Principal Peter Colin Campbell, in his *Account of the Clan-Iver*, and in some MS. criticisms now bound up with the transcript of this History in the Lyon Office Library ; and it therefore seems useless to present it to the public without making some attempt at its rehabilitation, especially as two centuries have elapsed between composition and publication. To some extent I have endeavoured to do this by means of footnotes, wherein I show proof of the general truth of nearly every genealogical detail given by the author, from which the reader may satisfy himself as to the author's trustworthiness, making allowance, of course, for the fact that, *more temporis sui*, he read his evidence as he thought it ought to be read, and not always as it was. Further evidence of trustworthiness will be brought forward when I deal with the authenticity of the document ; but meanwhile I must say a word as to its history.

I am informed by a member of the Craignish family that a transcript of the MS. was first made by a Major Eddington, a connection by marriage, rather more than a century ago, but that the transcriber, finding the narrative so involved as to be somewhat unclear, threw the whole thing into modern parlance. This transcript I have not seen, and I merely mention the fact to account for the probable existance of a different version ; for I

understand that Major Eddington or his descendants made and distributed a few copies of his transcript.

About the year 1830, Major Robert Campbell, of the 46th Regiment (second son of Capt. James Campbell, younger of Craignish, by his wife, Jean Vize Campbell), occupied a period of furlough in making a faithful copy of the MS. This has been lent to me by his grandson, Mr. R. R. Campbell, of the Board of Education, who vouches his grandfather's handwriting in the transcript and in the prefatory signed declaration to the effect that no attempt had been made at amendment; and I may add that, where comparison is still possible with the original, Major Campbell's work is shown to be excellent.

There the matter rested for some sixty years; but about the year 1890, the Major's son, Mr. James Duncan Campbell, C.M.G., of H.M. Treasury, and Mr. James Campbell, son of the Major's elder brother, Dugall, proposed to publish the work. With this object a typescript was prepared from the Major's transcript, and this was then carefully compared with the original and amended where necessary.

Subsequently the scheme fell through, although it had got as far as the issue of a prospectus. But to satisfy friends and relations, several typed copies of the typescript (as amended) were made and distributed; but in many of them the more improper passages were 'toned down.' On the whole, I think it was well that the scheme came to nothing, as the cousins were not in a position to present the MS. to the public otherwise than as it stood—in fact, solely as a family history, which could have had no interest for outsiders; and moreover, since such publications are notoriously untrustworthy, the serious student could have had no confidence in accepting the details of historical interest. As a family history, indeed, the MS. has little value, as it is inaccurate in parts, and the true

descent of the family can be proved by independent evidence from the point where the author ceases to depend on the Clan Seannachies.

The above typescript, showing the amendments, was lent to me in 1922 by Mr. R. R. Campbell; and as the amendments run right through it, it is clear that, at the date of comparison, the original must have existed as Major Robert had seen it—possibly with a few minor losses. This is important, because the end of the original is now missing, and so I am compelled to depend for that part on this typescript. From this I myself made a fresh transcript, following the amendments very carefully. At the same time, Lt.-Col. Ronald Campbell, of the Tank Corps (son of the above Mr. James Campbell), sent me two folio-sized photographs of an unsigned letter, which I have compared with several authentic specimens of the handwriting of Alexander Campbell, Advocate, brother of George Campbell of Craignish, and find to be, beyond all question, identical with them. As the writer of this letter states that he has a larger work 'on the anvil,' and as I think it enables us to date the larger work with considerable closeness, I include it as Appendix A.

In 1923 the original MS. itself (or what remains of it) was placed in my hands by Lt.-Col. Campbell, as well as any of the Craignish Writs in his possession that I asked for; and Mr. R. R. Campbell also lent me a large number of contracts, discharges, hornings, etc., which I arranged in bundles as they came to hand, and abstracts of some of which I give in Appendix F. In addition, Mr. J. A. Campbell of Achanduin and Barbreck lent me his Writs of the land of Barrichbeyan (Appendix C), and the Duke of Argyll furnished me with abstracts of the Craignish Writs made by himself, a full Inventory of them made by Mr. Andrew Ross, *Ross Herald*, and some abstracts of such of his own Writs and documents in other Collections as throw

a light on the history of the Craignish family (Appendices B, D, and E). I was thus well armed for the task before me. My first care was to compare my fair copy of the amended typescript of 1890 with the original, making still further corrections. These, however, were very insignificant, consisting almost wholly of minor variations of spelling and punctuation. The reader, therefore, can have every confidence that he has before him the actual narrative as written by Alexander Campbell, except in so far as I have myself slightly varied the punctuation here and there in order to make it less involved for the reader.

The original is written on loose sheets of paper, $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$, without watermark, and all but the last few pages are in almost copperplate hand—clearly so done for the benefit of the printer. As a rule, the name of each succeeding laird is written very large, as are also many of the place-names, etc. These I indicate in heavy type.

As might be expected in so long a document, the author frequently fails to maintain the copperplate style, and on these occasions the writing is clearly that of the Advocate. Further, he adds numerous marginal notes, either additions to be brought in, or brief reminders to himself when transcribing. Probably these were not made till towards the end, as he maintains the copperplate till the last few pages, after which he must have seen that transcription would be necessary, and so finishes in his ordinary hand.

I have said that the MS. is in the Advocate's handwriting; but this I must qualify. There are twenty pages by a strange hand, some of which are duplicates of the Advocate's narrative, though paginated differently. I have shown in the footnotes exactly where the stranger comes in and leaves off; and it will, of course, be understood that I follow the Advocate in the duplicated parts, and the stranger where the Advocate fails me. I would

state, however, that where we have the narrative in duplicate, there is practically no difference between the two, except that the stranger is free with abbreviations which I have ignored. It has been suggested to me that the strange hand may be that of some clerk, making a fair copy at the Advocate's behest. But this seems highly improbable, and for three reasons. First, the 'copy' is exceedingly slovenly—corrections are made by writing over, abbreviations are freely used (though the Advocate hardly ever uses them except in notes and in the latter part of his MS.), and no pains whatever are taken to make it easily legible. One cannot believe that the Advocate, who insisted on copperplate from himself, would have been content with much less from an employee. Secondly, although, where we have duplicates, the two narratives are essentially the same, the copy contains innumerable careless differences and small mistakes. And thirdly, the copyist does not follow the Advocate's own marginal notes for transcription—for instance, he has brought in the long digression beginning on page 224 (which the Advocate wrote separately from the rest) at a point where the Advocate's own notes show that he never intended it—in fact, the copyist makes the story apply to Christian's grandfather instead of her first cousin.

To me it seems clear that some one made a transcript of the MS. for his own use, and, from the general appearance (and especially since he uses the same paper), not very long after the original was written. Is it possible to discover who this earliest transcriber was?

In footnote No. 3, p. 208, I have drawn attention to an interpolation in the middle of a passage written by the Advocate; and there is no doubt it is by this same strange hand. That it is a forgery there can be no question; for it is not in the Advocate's hand, and it would be absurd to suppose that he would direct a clerk to make this unique

addition, seeing that he would first have to point out to him where to write it. Again (see note 2, p. 234), a passage written by the Advocate has been severely obliterated, and by a method never elsewhere used by him in cancellations. Indeed, it is obvious that the intention was that it should never be legible. Now, the net result of these two forgeries seems to be to provide a certain Charles Campbell with a better pedigree than that to which he was entitled; and when I found that a man of the same race had, in the middle of the eighteenth century, done a good deal of legal work for the Craignish family, and that there is a tradition that, as a youth, he was employed at Craignish Castle in a subordinate position, the reader will hardly be surprised to learn that I compared specimens of his handwriting with the interpolation and the duplicated MS. The result was inconclusive. The writing is *not* the same—and yet there are curious resemblances; for instance, the capital T, which is somewhat peculiar, is the same in all three; and there are numerous other likenesses—a sprawling and angular hand, and so forth. As it happens, the earliest specimen I have of this lawyer's hand was written when he was forty-two years old; and I suggest as a possibility that the other writing was done by him as a young man of about twenty, which would be a year or so after the Advocate's death. His name was James Campbell, a writer in Inverary, and later Commissary of the Isles; and it is certainly suggestive that his son is known to have been aware of the details of the Craignish descent, not as they actually are, but as the Advocate erroneously gives them in his history. I need say no more, except to mention that there was another writer at Inverary of the same name and period—James Campbell of Rudill, whose handwriting is rounded and exceedingly neat.

Both the above forgeries had been perpetrated before

Major Robert Campbell made his transcript ; but there is one other (if we can call it by so harsh a term) that was made later. The word 'notorious' (see note 1, p. 216) has been severely cancelled, but not by means of spirals, as in the other obliteration, nor as the Advocate did his cancelling, but by two horizontal and five or six perpendicular lines ; and the ink in this case is still quite black. I do not know whether Principal Campbell ever had access to the original MS. (he had to a copy) ; but, in his attacks on it, these opprobrious epithets, as applied to his ancestress, were specially obnoxious to him ; and my belief is that he struck this word out in a fit of anger. I can think of no one else likely to have done it.

As regards the authenticity of the MS., setting aside the proof by handwriting, which is always unsatisfactory, I would draw attention to the ramifications of the author's immediate family as given in the document, and to my proofs of their truth in the footnotes. Seeing that he gives the father (and even the grandfather) of the husband of his father's first cousin correctly, it is obvious that the narrative must have been written by a contemporary member of the family. But I should like to draw attention to another detail. He says that his stepmother was a daughter of Colin Campbell of Blairintibert. This is perfectly true ; but the fact can only be established by a somewhat complicated comparison of several pieces of evidence ; for she was already a widow before she married his father. I myself happen to know it, because I have made a close study of her first husband's family.

That George Campbell of Craignish had such a brother as the Advocate is proved by a precept of *clare constat* that formed the basis of a sasine recorded in the Argyll Register of Sasines (vol. x. fol. 131). I have shown in footnotes that George was the only son in 1669, and that the mother died in 1673, leaving two sons younger than

Alexander. We may therefore place the author's birth in 1670. Now, he mentions the marriage of his sister's daughter, which I have shown to have taken place in March 1717; and we see, from note 4, p. 231, that he was writing his history before November 1722. We thus know that he was between forty-seven and fifty-two when he composed the MS. This is somewhat surprising, for he narrates such tales as the murder of the MacMartin child with all the gusto of a boy.

I do not think it possible to arrive at a more exact date for the MS. with absolute certainty; but I would offer a suggestion. At the beginning of the MS. he states that his brother, George, had asked him to go through his archives, which he did. But in the letter to George's son (Appendix A) we gather that these documents had again been placed in his hands by his nephew. Why? I can only suppose it was in order that the legal member of the family might prepare the nephew's application to the Duke for a precept of *clare constat*. This precept was dated 10th December 1719 (Argyll Sasines, iv. 488). It seems probable, then, that the MS. was 'on the anvil' in that year. The author died on 26th February 1725 (see note 3, p. 251), probably in Edinburgh Castle, since his widow dated a receipt from there three months later (Appendix F, 11). We may thus infer that his military position carried with it a residence there, which has doubtless given rise to the myth that he was Governor (or Lieutenant-Governor) of the Castle. As to his character, apart from his partially veiled superstition to which I have referred elsewhere, I think one can hardly doubt that he was something of a misogynist; and in this connection it is curious to note that the only woman of whom he has a good word to say is a stepmother—a relationship that, contrary to the generally received idea, is, according to him, a happy one.

As this is avowedly a Family History, and as I happen to bear the same surname as the author, I should, perhaps, add that I am not, and could not possibly pretend to be, a member of the Craignish family, and so I trust it will be accepted that I have no axe to grind in editing this MS. And I would also say that I entirely dissociate myself from the author's view of the origin of the Clan to which I belong.

I should like to add a word of thanks to the Rev. Hector Cameron, of Oban, who has kindly supplied the correct Gaelic of the apparent gibberish written by the author, thereby enabling the reader to decide whether Principal Campbell was justified in saying that the author was ignorant of that tongue.

HERBERT CAMPBELL.

BREWOODS CLOSE,
COOKHAM DEAN, *2nd October 1924.*

The Genealogical and Historical Account of the Family of Craiginsh from it's first founder Dugall Campbell commonly calld Dugall or Duil Craignishich Third son to Gillespick Knight of Lochow being the **Third** from Gillespick who first assumed the Sirname of Campbell, and Fifth from Sir Paul **O'duine** Knight of Lochow Treasurer to K: Duncan the 1st who was crowned Anno 1024.¹

THE INTRODUCTION

As it is Natural for all men to have a byass or propensity chiefly to that which most nearly concerns themselves, & must own the same if they confess the truth, So I frankly acknowledge that my first Desire to look into the abstruse Secrets of antiquity, was principally founded on the Desire I had of setting the Storie of this Branch of which I myself am a Son in a true light, being a debt I think I indispensibly owe to posterity, Which without arrogance or vanity I presume to say, there is not any of the present Generation so well instructed to pay.

When but a boy I listened with a greedy ear to all the Traditions, and poems of my Countrymen, of which they have a vast many, and very ornate, full of the Flowers and Elegancies of the Ancient Greeks and Romans, and had they but as . . . of Fame and . . . ² with many of them who are to this day celebrated amongst Us.

From the Knowledge I acquired of our Country Language,

¹ A marginal note here, apparently in a modern hand, states: 'There is a curious box in Craignishes Charter Chest sd. to be the strong box of the said Sir Paul.' I understand this still exists, but is pronounced to be fifteenth-century work.

² A line is here illegible at the foot of a page, and a small portion at the top of the next page.

viz. the Irish as it is spoke in Argyleshyre, and the performances in it, and afterwards in the other living Languages of Europe I did once design, nor am I yet quite over with it, to vent my studies in a higher Strain by givinge the publick an Essay to prove the great, tho' unknown affinity 'twixt this, and the Greek and Roman Languages, being that spoke by the Celtæ, the ancient Inhabitants of Gaul, when they were a Nation, at, and long before the Constitution of the Roman Monarchie, Nay before their Republick had a being, And that the Roman Language, which arose on the ruins of this, as their Republick did on that of theirs, (notwithstanding of these vast acquisitions) owes more to the one, than that did to the other, as also to prove that the Language spoke by the Ancient Britons, now the present Welsh, the Irish spoke in Ireland, and that spoke by the ancient Scots now the Highlanders was, before the Saxons enter'd England, one & the same Language, and same people, which that Invasion, with the following one by William the Norman, nor the oldest of all the Danish, though they have much Defaced, were not able to confound or extirpate, notwithstanding of the Course of many hundred years, and the assiduous application of the Scots and English Kings to the contrary.

It was also designed as a part of my Essay, of which what is above is an undoubted voucher that Brittain was first peopled from the Coast of Gaul and then Ireland from Brittain . . . ¹ Spain, as the false and common tradition goes where you can Spy one land from the other, though you cannot Ireland from Spain. This whim might have past if these Setlements had been made after the use of the Loadstone was Discovered, when people venturd by the help of the Compass to the Ocean. It would much clear the sight & help the Judgement of those Fabulous Inventers, had they considered that the Language spoke to this Day by the Old Natives upon the coast of Galicia in Spain, and the Coasts of the Bay of Biscay, and so furth all along the Coasts of Britanie and Normandy in France

¹ A line illegible at foot of page.

also a part of *Gallia Armorica* which word in our Language is *ar . . moire*, or, upon the Sea-coast, and is no other than the Gauls inhabiting the Sea Coast. You will find in the Roman History that the Caspian Sea was call'd *moire marusia*, and then had, and to this day in the Latin Language is called *Mare mortuum* which cannot be translated otherways in our Language than *moire marue*,¹ which signifies the dead Sea: I say, had they considered these and five hundred other proofs of the oneness of these Languages in ancient Days, and that the Gauls & their Language filld Spain it self, and all the western coast of Europe, as far north as the old Scandinavia, they might find a much more natural, and easie way to account for the affinity of the Language and Customs of the Spaniards and Irish than advance so romantick a reason to reconcile the Differences which nothing but gross Ignorance of the Languages, and extent of the Gallick, or Celtick Nations, hindred them from answering by owning that Brittain must have certainly been peopled from Calais as the nearest Land, and next Ireland from Wales, the mule of Galloway, & Kintyre, either of which being but a passage of Four or five hours with ane ordinary Gale. These Settlements . . .² when navigation was but in its infancy and no other than coasting.

I beg the Readers pardon for this long Digression, yet allow me to add, that the misfortune of our Historians and Criticks lay chiefly in their Ignorance of the Irish Language, or of it's mother the Celtick, or Gallick; For were they masters of all the others in Europe, without this it was impossible to satisfy in these accounts, and haveing this alone, without the Greek, Latine, & a competent skill in the other liveing Languages, it was impossible to succeed, so that I may boldly³ say that he that hes some knowledge of the Irish, and the rest has more than a probable lay to please.

¹ *Muir marbh.*

² The last part of this paragraph is now mostly illegible, but Major R. Campbell's transcript gives the final part, as shown.

³ This word is struck out.

The ever famous George Buchannan came to the Field best appointed of any man for such an undertaking, his natural endowments and acquisitions considered, and gives a short specimen of such a Design in the introduction to his History, but being eager in the pursuit of his Country's Glory breaks it off unfinished, an irreparable loss to posterity.

I must also sett my design aside untill greater leisure offer designing only at present what is advanced in my Title page.

It's well known to any that have but the least smatterings of the old Scottish affairs that every considerable Family in the Highlands had their Bards & Shenachies.¹ The Bard was the Family poet, & the Shenachie their prose wryter, but very oft the Bard supply'd the place of both. These Offices were heretable, & had a pension, commonly a piece of land annexed to that Office. Their work was to hand down to posterity the valorous actions, Conquests, battles, skirmishes, marriages & relations of the predcessors by repeating & singing the same at births, baptisms, marriages, feasts and funeralls, so that no people since the Curse of the Almighty dissipated the Jews took such care to keep their Tribes, Cadets and branches, so well & so distinctly separate. Aarne, or Saturn McEune, who lived in Earl Archibald Gruamach's time, & had for pension the Lands of Kilchoan in Netherlorne, and his son Niel mach Aarne vic Eune were the heretable Genealogists of the Family of Argyll. This Niell dyed about the year 1650,² and was the last of them. Printing of Hystorie becomeing then more frequent, the necessity of maintaining these Annalists began to wear off.

Mr Alex^r Colvin, I doe believe Laird of Blair in Fife,

¹ Gaelic : *Seanachaidh*.

² He was alive on 9th April 1652 (Argyll Sasines, 1st ser., vol. ii. fol. 218, which shows that his family were also bards to Glenorchy). I gave some details of the family in the *Oban Times* (2nd December 1922, and 10th and 24th February and 26th May 1923), showing that they were probably Macdougalls by descent. Archibald Gruamach was the seventh Earl, who died in 1638.

who was much with the late Marquis of Argyle,¹ revised these Genealogies as the McEunes left them betwixt the years 1650 & 1660 and his Second Edition of them is it that goes by the name of Colvin's Genealogy of the Campbells. The late Archibald,² who suffered for the pure Religion and Liberties of his Countrey in the year 1685, sett about this work by the help of M^r Robert Duncansone, who dy'd minister of Campbelltown, assisted by several other good Shenachies betwixt the years 1670 & 1676, and is it, that goes by the name of Duncansones Genealogie. All of them are lame in the matter of Chronologie which is the Life of History, and want much to be mended in that, and other points.

All these I have seen, and have by me a Coppie of the last being taken off of the one given by the said late Earl Archibald to his Daughter Lady Anne the present Countess of Murray. The other helps I have got for the present undertakeing are, that after my return to Scotland from studying the Laws abroad in the year 1706, the illustrious Hero John present Duke of Argyll ordered me to sett in order & review his Archives, and Charters, & the year following 1707, George Campbell of Craiginsh my brother now deceased put the same task in my hand as to his papers. But the greatest helps I have had next to that of seeing Original Charters, Seasines, Dispensations of marriages, Dispositions, & other publick and private deeds, **was** my overtakeing several sensible old men of the last Generation whereby I am enabled to doe justice to this, the oldest of all the Legittimat cadets now extant of that ancient Stock the Knights of Lochow, now Dukes of Argyll: Such as old Iver Campbell of Ardlarich, Grandson by the mother to Ronald Campbell of Barichibean³ & was long Familiar with him. This Iver dyed in Anno 1689,⁴ above the age of 82 years so that he was born about the year 1607. The

¹ Mr. Alexander Colvill of Blair, Justiciar depute, witnessed the signature of the Marquess (then Lord Lorne) on 15th October 1632 (Genl. Reg. of Sasines, 1st ser., vol. xxxv. fol. 225). Colvin is, of course, a variant of Colville.

² The ninth Earl of Argyll.

³ See Appendix B, No. 13.

⁴ *Recte*, September 1684.

said Ronald dyeing 1st Sep^{tr} 1639 aged 84¹ so that he was born Anno 1555. I also overtook Young Iver, or Iver Oig of Ardlarich, eldest son to the former,² who dyed Anno 1712 about the age of 76, born in the year 1646, a very communicative & sensible good man; with whom I had many instructive confernces about these matters, who by his near relation to that Family was fond of making these Discoveries & of imprinting them in me, & often prest me to committ them to writcing.

I also overtook Thomas Campbell natural Son to Farquhar Campbell of Lagganlochan formerly of Killian near Inverarey second son to the said Ronald Roy of Barichibean³ commonly called the Baron Roy of Craiginsh from his being red hair'd. This Thomas was a very sagacious countreyman, & more of a Scholar⁴ than many of his Cotemporaries, his son Donald yett alive gave me several Items he had from his Father.

I also overtook another very sensible Countreyman John Campbell alias M^cDouil vic Ean uire,⁵ the son of Din [Dun] John, who was Grandson by a bastard race of the last Dugald Oige, of Craiginsh, who died Anno 1546. But above all the helps I had of Oral Tradition was what I had of my own father, whose testimony I am sure such as knew him of the Present Generation will not dispute, yet I will not rely on any . . .⁶ it interfier with wryteing, for parchments are the best Genealogists; yet I must say I have been often surprised to find how exactly, what these men abovementioned delivered agreed to a Trifle with the

¹ The latest date at which I have found him alive is 26th July 1639.

² He is called son and apparent heir of Iver Campbell of Ardlarich in his marriage contract, 1660 (Arg. Sas., 1st ser., ii. 381).

³ Ferquhard Campbell is explicitly called second son of Ronald of Barrichibean and father of Ronald of Lagganlochan in a contract dated 23rd June 1669 and registered in the Argyll Sheriff Court Books on 24th November 1722.

⁴ There was a Thomas Campbell in Lergachonie in 1682 that wrote a well-educated signature. It was not then at all common as a Christian name among Campbells in those parts; and I have no doubt this was the man.

⁵ The author has written *uire or* and without the comma. I imagine he was uncertain as to the spelling of the Gaelic word and intended to strike one out.

⁶ Illegible at top of page. The words 'yet I will not rely on any' are also now practically illegible, but are given in Major R. Campbell's transcript.

records herein cited, and proves what I so justly asserted in the beginning of this Introduction that no people have their History so exactly kept by Tradition as the Highlanders. So that from what is above, it's plain that Ronald Roy, or the Baron Roy of Barichibean my great Grandfather was born within nyne years of the Death of the last M^cDouil Chreignish, and his Father John M^cDonill of Barichibean, who lived to a great age, even untill the said Ronald was fourty years old, did overtake alive, and having lived within a mile of them after he came to mans age and Estate might have conversed as certainly he did with the three last M^cDugalls of Craiginsh, viz. Dugall whose bastard son got the Lands of Danna &c.^a in Patrimonie, which Dugall died anno 1537, & his eldest Son Ronald who succeeded him, & dyed anno 1540, and with the second Son Dugal Oig (so called in Distinction, his Father being also calld Dugall) who dyed anno 1546. So that these three dyed within the Compass of eleven years, and the above John M^cDonill was seventeen years old, when the first of them dyed,¹ from which it can be no Surprize that as certain an account of their Transactions & proceedings might be transmitted by Tradition as by wryteing. But I have both the last to fortify and support the first, which may make this Account next to a Demonstration.

I shall at this time pass by the surprizeing accounts given of the old and honourable Family of Lochow now Dukes of Argyll, by the famous Doctor Ketting being a Summary or abridgement of all the old Records of Ireland which he saw and compendiz'd, when he makes the Dalrheudan conquests from Ireland, and after him Peter Welsch and several others, to have given beginning to the Family of MacAllen, or rather M^cCallen in Scotland, which is the way the old Irish did always, and to this Day doe denominate this Family of Argyll; what gave rise to this way of writeing was that some of the Knights of Lochow & many of the Earles of Argyll were call'd Colines, and the

¹ The age of John must be from oral tradition. But it is probably about right, as his father may be supposed to have been born about 1486 (see Appendix B, No. 101).

harshness in pronounceing two C. C. so close as in Mac and Callen oblidgd some of the gentle mouthd Transcribers in after ages, but very erroneously, to drop one of the C's and call them Mac Allen; notwithstanding that what Ketting, Welsh & others advance in this matter has more to support it, than many Histories of that Date have, I pass it by, as also what the Genealogy of the Family itself produces on this head, & shall content my self to begin their storie from the Famous Diarmuid¹ Oduine, from whom this Family lineally descended, & are thence called even to this Day and heretofore always have been, not alone in the common language or modern way of speaking, but even in the poems of those abovementioned Bards, Shiol Diarmuid or Sliocht² Dhiarmuid O'Duine; thence also to this Day called Clan Oduine, or Clan oGuine, which makes me be way of parenthesis firmly believe that the Guines of Wales are of the self same Sirname & people, and though this Sirname has been these 650 years or above called Campbells yet the ancient Sirname of Oduine so far prevaills, that the other is scarce ever mentioned in the paternal Tongue of the ancient Highlanders, but always as above Clan OGuine.³

This Diarmuid was a Famous man for Valour, beauty & courage, much celebrated in the poems of the Ancient Irish & Scots; he is supposed to have flourishd in the nynth Century and was Lieutenant General to the Irish militia under the Command of Fian M^cCoull,⁴ from whom the standing Militia of Ireland under his command was called Fhian Erin as Militia is from Miles, who had the Command of that Militia given him by the provincial Kings of Ireland consisting of 7000 men in time of peace with a power to him to exact and cause levie treble this

¹ In all previous transcripts this name appears as 'Diarmind'; but in three places in the MS. it is quite clearly 'Diarmuid,' which I have therefore accepted in the other places.

² Gaelic: *siol* and *sliocht*.

³ For the information of those unacquainted with Gaelic, I may state that 'O'Duine' is pronounced, as a three-syllabled word, something like 'O-döi-ne,' with the second 'o' modified, as in German.

⁴ Fionn — the Fingal of James Macpherson.

number in time of war, viz. 21,000, one [on] purpose to repell the frequent Incursions, bloody and numerous Invasions of the Danes and Norwegians, with which they infested that Kingdom for many years, which at length was effectuat by the prowes & valour of those mighty men at arms Fian and Dhiarmuid. There are many fabulous accounts built in the old Irish and highland Tales upon the atchievments of these great men, their inferiour Officers & Souldiers, nor are we for those Romantick Superstructures at all oblidged to destroy the foundation when true, and if we calmly consider what advantages in Strength and valour along ¹ settlement fulness of necessars, absolute Command & Liberty continual fightings Imunitie from all other Employments which depress the spirits of men, and litle or no knowledge in true Religion, the only hedge that secures man's natural propensity from an exuberant Thirst after Glory; I say if we consider all these priviledges of which the standing Army stood possessed, a whole Nation bestowing all their riches by way of Tax to make them easie in all their Demands, and these Kings whom they saved from Forraign Oppressors studying rather to obey than command them, I say considering all these advantages where a Sett of men may live as they list & doe what they have a mind to, it will not be thought unreasonable that they & their Children born and brought up in this unbounded freedom, may have many grains of allowance given to their actions far surpassing the common rate of mankind. I am not by this, to train the Reader in to a belief that all the incredible Stuff that is handed about of them, but I am well persuaded that they exceeded any thing we have seen.

This Dhiarmuid marrying Graine nine Choirmaig vic Airt, vic Chuin chetvich or Ceatchaich ² for having fought one hundred battels, who was the Son of Nial Nuive Ghailich ³ King of Ireland. This Graine is said to be the

¹ Sic.

² *Nighean Chormaic mhic Airt mhic Chuinn cheud-chathaich*: 'daughter of Cormac, son of Art, son of Conn of the Hundred Battles.'

* ³ *Niall naomh gaidhealach*: literally 'Highland Holy Niall.' !!

* *Niall Naoi Giallach* i.e. *Niall of the Nine Hostages.*

Captain General Fian his affidat Spouse, but falling in Love with Dhiarmuid as the most beautiful man of the two, run away with him and married him. The Storie goes that after many many¹ years the resentment of this Disappointment still boyling in Fian's breast, but wanting an Opportunity to put his revenge in Execution, untill at length, when their wars in Ireland abated, and they wanting work at home came to relieve their Friends and Brethren in Scotland who were also opprest with colonies of the same Danes & Norwegians who being beat out of Ireland, thought to possess themselves of the western coasts & western Isles of Scotland, Orkney & Shetland being theirs already, and having always lookt with a wishful Eye on these Islands in their Voyages to & from Ireland thought likeways to make them an appenage of their Dominions. This seems to have been the ground that brought Fian and Dhiarmuid with their men to Scotland & after a memorable hunting of the wild boar at Glenshie in Perthshyre Diarmuid happen'd to kill a boar of Monstrous Size, attempting the Life of which Boar severalls dyed before. They alleadgd that it was envenom'd which Distemper I believe may be as natural to boars as to Dogs in their madness. This Fian knew off, but the other did not, & after Dhiarmuid had kilt the Boar, Fian desires him to cutt off the head of it, which he did, but unwarrily catches hold of the Tusk, its mouth being then full of envenomed Froth, cutts off the head but dies in the Execution or soon after, which is the rise that Argyle the chief of this name & many of his Cadets carrie as their Crest the Boars head erasit. If it can be a voucher of this Storie I shall add that near the Spittal or hospital at Glenshie there are two places to be seen call'd Leabe Inturck and wie Dhiarmuid,² *i.e.* The Boars bed, or Den, and Dhiarmuids Grave, hard by it.

Of this Marriage with Graine nine Choirmaig Diarmuid

¹ All previous transcripts show this word 'many' only once; but it stands twice in the MS., and I think it likely the author so intended. He shows throughout a predilection for what he would call 'flowers and elegancies!'

² *Leaba an Tuirc and Uaigh.*

had two Sons viz. **Arthur armdhearg**¹ from the bloodiness of his weapons the Eldest, and **Duine deadghell**² or whitetooth'd.

The Eldest **Arthur** married and lived at home, and begot three sons viz. Sir Paul Oduine Knight of Lochow, of whom in my Introduction commonly call'd Paul in Sporrán for being Treasurer as I said before to Duncan the first, & to his son Malcom the 2^d both before & after M^cBeth's usurpation; I have seen his monument in which he is buried at Icolumkill in the North west corner of that Chappel call'd **Relig Oran**. This Sir Paul married Marian Daughter to Godfrey or Gorrie King of Man by whom he had Evah. His [Arthur's] other two Sons were both call'd Arthurs, and both denominate from their possessions which was very usual in those days & long after, the one call'd **Arthur Cruachan**, which is Cruachan Bian,³ and the Skirts round about it now the possession of M^cConachie or Campbells of Inneraw, and the third son **Arthur Urchanich** from Glenurchie which was his possessions. But **Duine deadghell** the second Son of Dhiarmuid went abroad to France to push a better fortune than what he expected at home, being much encouraged by that memorable League not long before enterd into by Charles the Great Emperour & King of France, and Achaius King of Scots, & having (which of it self was no ill patrimonie) a competent share of his Fathers valour beauty & good luck so behaved him self in the wars that France was then engagd in that he soon cut himself out a fortune & by the favour of the prince who then did Govern as a reward of his atchievements gott the Heiress of Beau Champs in Normandy, & Niece to William the Conqueror to wife. The Latin language being then better known in Scotland than the French they translated this Title to *Campus bellus*, which signifies the same thing or a pleasant field. At this time also they got the paternal coat of arms which this Sirname bear to this Day viz. the **Gyronee** of Eight, or a Shield cut in eight peices as an Emblem of his Shield being hackt

¹ *Art arm-dearg.*

² *deud-geal.*

³ *Beann.*

& slashed at Engagements. Off this marriage he begot three sons **Dionisius** or **Duncan** the eldest, **Gillespicus** the second and **Duine** or **Guine** the third, all warriors of the first Class. It is commonly said that **Dionisius** the Elder remain'd in France, & gave rise & beginning to that Family now represented by the Count De **Tallard** which in our language signifies a lofty Tower or palace **Tall-ard**.¹ The present **Tallard** was General of the French army at that famous Battle of **Hockstat** ² fought in anno 1704, where he was taken prisoner & carried to England, where the late Duke, & this, had frequent Occasion to see him. It's said he asserts his being a descendant of the elder brother; he bears the Gyronne, and they say our common tinctures **Orr** & **sable**; yet though he were descended of that elder Son it will not carry him to the right of primogeniture for **Gillespick** the second brother came home to Scotland & married **Eva** the only child of ³ his uncle **Sir Paul**, who dyed **Lord of Midle & Nether Lochow**; and by the Death of his other uncle **Arthur Cruachan** also without Children he got some part of the Lands of **Upper Lochow**. The rest was got by the marriage of **McFiachers** daughter as you shall hear afterwards.

Off **Arthur Urchanich** descended the **Mac Arthurs** of **Instrynich**, and the Family of **Darleith** in the **Lennox**, a Family lately extinct. He also purchased from them the lands of **Glenurchy** by way of **Excambion** and money which made him the master of a considerable Estate in that Country.

I am now to account for **Duine** deadghells third son who came to England along with **William** the Norman his cousin. His name as I said before was **Guine** or **Dhuine**, but the first was more probably the French way of pronouncing it as being the softer of the two. Whether by acquisitions as his Rewards in the wars and conquest of England or by marriage I shall not say, but it's well known that he founded the old Family of the Earles of

¹ *Talla-ard.*

² *Höchstädt: i.e. Blenheim.*

³ The author here adds a marginal note: 'Nota, Beavais Beaucair and the Province of Guienne.'

Warwick who were called Beau champs, and its more than probable that the famous Guy Earl of Warwick, so famed in English Storie nay of whom they tell things incredible, has been this very man, & his name of Guine contracted to that of Guy. And its known to many liveing witnesses who saw them that there are many letters yet extant from the Beau champs Earles of Warwick to the Earles of Argyll & Lairds of Glenurchie cultivateing a Friendship upon the same old foundation, in which they design one another brothers reciprocally. This good Family is now Extinct, & but lately ; but if it was, (as we still affirm) the Elder Son of Duine deadghell who came home & married his Cousine German Eva I am sure his two younger Brothers had at that time the far better Estates ; all the Apology can be made for his choice (next to the Direction of Providence) is that unaccountable Love men in all ages have had to settle in their native soil as Antonius sings

Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine musas
Captat & immemores non sinit esse sui.

But I may say viros.

But I proceed to Duncan the eldest son of this Gillespick, procreat betwixt him and his Cousine German Eva above-mentioned, who married Durvail Daughter to Dugald mac Fiachir Thane of Upper Lochow & heiress thereof, by which marriage & the Death of his uncle Arthur Cruachan abovementioned he got the property & superiority of all he wanted to make Lochow a compleat Lordship. The son of this marriage was

Callen moal math or the good bald Coline who married a niece of King Alexander's the first of Scotland surnamed the fierce or Acer, by whom he had one Son calld also Gillespick ; he had also two bastard sons very famous in their time for strength¹ & valour viz. Iver nicknamed Crom of whom descended the Mac Ivers once numerous in Glasrie & Craignish, and Tavis corr of whom descended

¹ From these words, 'for strength,' the MS. is duplicated by four pages in another hand. I adhere only to the original MS.

the **Clan Tavish** of **Dunardarie** & others. But to his legitimate Son

Gillespick who likeways had three sons viz. **Duncan** the Eldest, who succeeded to the Inheritance of **Lochow**, **Donald Doin** the second who dyed without Issue of whom there is no other mention made in history ; his third Son call'd

Dugald Craignishich who by all the accounts I can get from the **Duke of Argyles Genealogie** & our own was born much about the year 1130 and is the Fifth Descendant in a Direct male Line from the above mentioned **Sir Paul** in **Sporran**, and the Eighth from the yet more famous **Dhiarmuid Oduine**. He was sent by his Father to be nursed & Educated to the **Tossach Bain mac Eachairn** of **Nether Craignish** or the **Fair hair'd Thane**, and when he came to be of age fitt for marriage, married **Una** Daughter to **Donald of Ilay** of whom the **MacDonalds of Ilay & Kintyre** afterwards descended as did the house of **Antrim** in **Ireland**. This **Donalds** residence was at **Dunivaig** in those days. The marriage was mostly owing to the conduct & good management of the afore mentioned **Tossach bain** and the storie is thus.

The **MacEachairns** being at this time a numerous and strong clan about the wester Coasts of **Argyle** and **Knapdail** and havcing their force augmented by this new relation of **Coaltship** ¹ with the **Knights of Lochows Family**, a relation be the by, more binding in these countries, even in my own time, than that of blood, had I say, by his own personal merit & these other additions of honour and greatness above rehearsed, got himself very much in the favour of the said **Donald Lord or Chieftain of Ilay**, so far that by his frequent visits he was lookt upon as no stranger in the Family. By this long & well founded Intimacy he contracted an acquaintance with this young lady, & under this Notion of visiting made frequent addresses to her in name & behalf of his **Dalt** ² or Foster Son, whom she had likeways frequently seen and liked. The wise **Tossach**

¹ *Comhalta* : foster-son.

² *Dalta* : foster-son. The word, of course, forms the root of *comhalta*.

considering the Disparity as to Riches betwixt the Condition of his Foster Son, being but a younger Brother, and that of his designed Father in Law, younger Brothers tho' even of great Families having in those days no other patrimonie assigned them than their Sword and a Band of Kearne who commonly ravaged out a patrimony for them wherever they could compass it, this I say made the Tossach bethink him of a Stratagem, whereby to make the Marriage first effectual rather than hazard a Disappointment by proposalls to the Father. And that was: After having obtained her own full Consent, and by the assistance of a Step mother who seldom fail to help at a pinch in such Cases, carries her away in his own Galley in the beginning of a long winter night from Dunivaig & sets on for Craiginsh.¹ The artfull stepmother delayed getting supper ready untill the night was far spent, imagining that the Husband might come to miss his Daughter from Table; at length when she judged that MacEachairn & his prize were pretty well advanced on their voyage & out of reach, Supper was got & accordingly the Young Lady was misst, as was also Doli Fabricator MacEachairn, which made the Father persuaded² that he must have been the Contriver of his Daughters Escape. Immediately orders were given that a strong band of men should be got in readiness by next morning to pursue the Actors, revenge the Affront & rescue his Daughter. But not darcing to trust themselves to the uncertainty of a Sea voyage in winter weather he leads his men by land through Jura & in the Evening of the second day after, pitched his Camp in the North end of Jura, at a place calld Kianuachtrich³ opposite to Craiginsh; which the Tossach discovered by their Fires or Tourlochs,⁴ causd likeways, to show the Grandeur of his retinue & followers, sett up as many fires as he could get fewal for, on the tops of all the litle hills on that Coast, of which there are a great many, and kept them so burning all night, which undoubtedly would make

¹ The author writes 'Craignish' or 'Craiginsh' quite indifferently.

² With these words ('Father persuaded') the duplication of the MS. ends.

³ Kinuachdrach.

⁴ *Turlach.*

a very great Show, being the usual mark in those days by which they guess'd the number or Force of an Enemy.

Donald's ¹ Lady, of whose conduct in this affair I have already made honourable mention, after having by Rewards & promises got some of the Chiefs & leaders in to her party, was the first that discovered these innumerable, & bright burning fires on the opposite Coast, and as if dampt with an unusual Surprize mixt with a womans Cunning comes rushing in, & alaurms her Lord in his Tent by telling him the mighty numbers, as might be seen by those fires, that awaited him on the other side, adding it was vain for him with so small an handfull to attempt acting in the Offensive against such a numerous Body as that seem'd to be, & that whoever was Leader of those numbers seem'd worthy of a very good mans Daughter ²; upon the whole matter, that it was her advice he should much rather send two or three men of ³ authority and integrity be way of Ambassadors to see who were the Authors of this bold and lawless action, and next if the party pleased them to give in commission a power to treat with him or them about preliminaries towards an accomodation. This Proposal was immediatly seconded very zealously, by such of the Leaders as she got in to her Interest and so far took with the good old man that immediatly they were dispatch'd and upon their Landing in Craignish were Received by Dugall and by McEachairn with all marks of Civility and friendship and no body more forward in heaping favors upon them then the young bride. After they delivered their message it was answerd

¹ With this paragraph the MS. again begins to be duplicated as before. I adhere to the original handwriting as far as it goes.

² There is here a somewhat illegible marginal note in Alexander's hand as follows: 'bring in after this y¹ . . . M^r Alex^r now of Sunderland wrote . . . 30 . . .' This does not occur in the duplicate, nor is anything there 'brought in.' Alexander Campbell of Sunderland was dead in 1683: so the author must have written the name in error for Archibald, Alexander's son.

³ After the word 'of' the original handwriting fails us at the end of the second page of a sheet; but the narrative goes straight on in the duplicate for twelve continuous pages, as shown. It should be understood that, wherever comparison of the two is possible, the wording in both is, to all intents, identical, except that the duplicate is more free with abbreviations.

that the Knight of Lochows brother was to be their masters Son in Law, and if their master pleas'd to come to an amicable Agreement or wish'd to see the marriage solemniz'd in a peaceable way, they might in order thereunto have an Interview half or midway at an Island call'd Risantru ¹ where Donald and his lady with a Dozen of their principall friends should be waited on by the young Bridegroom, McEachairn and a Dozen of theirs ; which accordingly was gone into, and having adjusted all Differences both parties came to Craignish where all things were concluded, MacEachairn obligeing himself failling children of his own, who at that time had none, to bequeath & Legat his Estate to his Foster Son after his death. So Donald and his people return'd peaceably, and fully satisfied with the Event of the adventure where I leave him and returns to the brave and generous Toshach ² Bain who after having intertain'd his fosterson now his apparent heir, his Lady, Children, servants, and followers for seaverall years in his own Family, and likeways haveing laid the foundation of the old Tower or Castle of Craignish, finish'd the vaults and advanced the building as far as the windows of the Second Story ; he one day heard that young lady upbraid her husband with the Smallness of that Estate to maintain two families, eagerly longing to be sole Mistress of it, gave him, as the story goes, very Reproachfull words, unto which the Toshach full of Love and Zeal for his fosterson made answer, when she least expected he was by, and swore the common oath of the ancient Scots, by our Father and Grand Fathers hands, that she should never have that to upbraid his son with any longer : accordingly leaveing the house a Stump unfinished he gathers together as many of his friends and followers as he judgd proper to take alongst with him, and mounts his necessary provisions and furniture for himself and followers, setts forward for Ireland, by way of Kintyre, Resolveing to establish a new Collonie, and swore he should rest and take up his residence

¹ Reis ant-Sruith.

² The duplicate has certain quite regular differences of spelling from the original, this being one.

Argyle about the year 1560 who got those lands of Nether Craignish in Patrimonie from his brother they haveing fallen to that Family by the maner of holding and tenor of their Charters upon the death of that M^cDuill Craignish calld Dugald Oige who Dyed anno 1546, but of this more fully in its proper place.

There is still a small tribe of these M^cEachairns in Craignish and some in the Strath of Craignish under the name of M^cGillellan viz. the sons or Progenie of Gillellan M^cEachairn. Probably the Toshachs own name was Gillellan and thence gave the name of Killellan to his new conquests in Kintyre. Seaveralls of them were churchmen both at Killkeran and in Ilay. Gillellan was an ordinary christen'd name among them for seaverall ages. There are other tribes of them yet in Morvine and in Ilay commonly calld Clan Gowan they being hæreditary Smiths in these countries for seaverall Generations.

After haveing given you this long Degression about the honourable Toshach, a storie I think worthie the remembering by all those for whose benefit chiefly I write this, I think it now full time to return to our first founder **Dugall**. He in his own lif time (haveing lived to a good age) acquired the Lands of Upper Craignish also was made one of the Chief gaurdians ¹ of the western Coast against the Incur-sions of the Ilanders (who were then very troublesome) by King William the 1st called the Lyon. The Reddendo of his Charters being (as of all his successors after him) a Galley with twelve oars which induces me to believe his being made one of the Gaurdians. I have also strong Presumptions to believe, that this seall now in my hands appended to a charter granted by one of his Posterity in the year 1158 ² was cutt for him where he carries the Gyronne of eight hanging upon the mast of a twelve oard

1130

¹ *Sic.*

² The real date is 1528, as is clearly shown on p. 234, *infra*. See Appendix E, No. 2. It must be remembered that we are here following the duplicate, not the original. In the latter the date was probably given correctly; but the author frequently writes numbers in a somewhat slovenly manner, especially '1,' '2,' and '5.'

Galley; the Legend round it is **S. Dugall de Creagginsh** rudely cutt and in very old characters most part Irish or what we now misseall the old Saxon. I have compared it with Speeds history of England and with the characters therin cutt in the coins and Meddalls for his Kings, but finds no such near resemblance with any as with these [those] upon the coins and meddalls struck in the nyinth and tenth centuries, which characters by the ordinary course of progression of Fashions might be new to us in the west of Scotland a hundred fifty years after. Another Argument which confirms me in this oppinion that this scall was cutt by him (or by his son who was also calld Dugall who succeeded him about the year 1190) is this, That all the race, of whom there were seven successively inclusive of Dugall the Father of Christian, calld themselves in all deeds of Craignish. But their successors all those McDuil Chregnishes who succeeded to and were the Descendants of the second founder of that Family after the Interruption made by the Disgracefull Christian anno 1361 ever since Ronald More Agnominatus *na hordaig*,¹ or thumb, for haveing a thumb of an uncommon size on his left hand, who acquires the Repossession of the best part of that Estate by Charters from Duncan *in-nai*,² Knight of Lochow the first of which is in the year 1412.³ But of all these in their proper places.⁴

. . . Ornaments as were the Improvements of the more modern heraldry since the date 1640. A Print of the old seal & of the arms as they are presently carry'd I here insert.⁵ The reader may expect I might prove some-thing of this, and support it by documents out of the Lyon Office :

¹ *Na òrdaig.*

² *An àigh.* Duncan, Lord Campbell, was known as 'The Fortunate.'

³ Appendix D, No. 4.

⁴ We here leave the duplicate MS., which continues, for rather more than four pages, with the long digression on p. 224 beginning 'This Ronald was nursd.' This digression was composed separately by the author (Alexander Campbell), who shows, by its heading, where it is intended to come in.

⁵ The author gives no illustration; but the seal is undoubtedly that illustrated in Nisbet's *Heraldry*. I understand the seal itself was lost in a fire early in the nineteenth century.

but be not surprised when I tell you we have none in that office older than the Restaurane of Ch: the 2^d anno 1661, the curious collection that was found in that office being dissipate and destroyed in time of the preceding Civil wars and could never be gathered since. This Dugal was thought to have dyed about the year 1190, and was succeeded by his Son and heir.

Dugal who married Brihid or Bridget, Daughter to Dugal MacCaurre, Tossach of Lochavich by whom he got the Lands commonly call'd the pennies of Lochavich being four in number, or Four merk land, as also the Old Tower and Fortalice in the Island of that Loch called Castle Lochavich, but of old Castle *nahine ruai*,¹ or the red maids Castle, some say so call'd from an Apparition or familiar Brounie that was said to frequent it in that Shape in those Days of Dark Ignorance, but rather as I imagine from the heiress who might have been a red hair'd or a Ruddle complexion'd lass. Of this Dugal I find no more, but that he died about the Year 1220, and was succeeded by his Son also

1190

Dugall of whom I have nothing memorable save that he married the Daughter of Dugal MacSwine of Skipnish whose predicesors were proprietors of Knapdail and Kelislate, and built that large house Castle Swine. He himself was in possession of a great part of this Estate. I read in the Genealogie of the Family of Argyll now before me that a Predicesor of this mans, one called Swine Ruae² or red-hair'd Swine had a Daughter who was concubine to Colin Maol Math formerly mentioned on whom he begot Tavis Cor and Iver Crom.³ The same Genealogie adds that upon Colines refusing to marry her, or rather

1220

¹ *Caisteal na h-Ighinne ruaidh.*

² *Suinn ruadh.*

³ I suggest that 'Cor' may be intended for *càr* (a relation). In seventeenth-century documents I have frequently found men nicknamed 'keir,' some of whom I have had more or less reason to suspect of illegitimacy; and I know of no case where it is used of a man whose legitimacy was undoubted. 'Crom,' of course, means 'crooked'; and I have sometimes suspected that that was also used to denote bastardy. It will be remembered that the author has already spoken of Iver as strong and valorous, which hardly accords with a bent figure.

having turn'd her off, MacLachlan married her, upon which Swine Rue gave him what lands the Mac Lachlans did possess in Glasry.

His second son **Charles** conquered one ten pound land of Arдонаig in Braedalbane, and settled there, of whom descended the Clan Tiarlich of Arдонаig commonly call'd **Shliocht**¹ **Hiarlich Dui** or the offspring of Black Charles. These Lands they possess for several ages. A Black and bloody head strong race they were, I have seen some of them, and are yet to be seen in that countrey. They lost possession of that Inheritance about an hundred years agoe, and shelter'd themselves in all their misdemeanours under the patrocinie of the Knights of Glenurchie unto some of whom they were very serviceable, as to the Services then in use and wont viz. the managment of a good sharp sword, and keen arrow, especially to **Colin Liah**² of Glenurchie, and to Duncan Dow his son in extirpating the MacGrigors being then a lawful action authoriz'd by Acts of parliatt and Royal Commissions.³

The last Famous Chiftain of this **Clan Hiarlich Dui** was one **Padrig** or **Patrick mac Donil mhea**,⁴ or soft Donald by way of Ironie for being too stiff & hardy. This Patrick was very active against the said Clan Grigor in the latter end of King James the Sixth's reign, but was at length overpowered with numbers, and slain by them near the Kirk of Killin in Strathphillan, haveing only one single servant by him after he had slain with his own single hand Eighteen of them was at length mortally wounded with an arrow. Before he dyed he had time to send this Servant away with his beloved Gun, as his last Legacie to the house of Craiginsh to my great Grandfather Ronald, which Gun I saw, & had often in my hands, & was, to be so short a one, one of the most valueable I ever

¹ *Sliocht Thearlaich Dhuibh.*

² *Cailein Liath* (hoary).

³ There are several mentions of these Commissions to Campbell of Glenorchy in the Public Records. Another hand has here added the words 'of whom Charles Campbell of Tuerechan in Glenloch & his sons Peter, John, Dun & Charles.' The first four words continue on the same line as the text, the rest being marginal. See Introduction.

⁴ *Clann Thearlaich Dhuibh* was one *Padruig Mac Dhomhnuill Mhaoith.*

saw being about Thirty Inch long in the barrell. My Brother George made a present of it to his Brother in Law Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell¹ much against my will, not for the value, but for the Antiquity, being I believe among the first of it's kind in that Countrey.

This Dugald dyed much about the year 1250 & was succeeded by his eldest Son procreate betwixt him and MacSwine his Daughter as above, call'd

Dugal who succeeded to his Father much about that year 1250, was nursed as his Father & Grandfather were ever since the MacEachairns left Craiginsh by a principal Family of the MacArthurs on Lochow, & so the whole race continued to be nursed by them untill the unhallowed Christian gave that fatal blow to the Estate anno 1361, by which she strove to deprive her uncle Malcolm and his posterity the heirs male, of their right of succession; but more of her in her proper place. This Dugal was married to one Janet a Daughter of Lamonts of whom he begot his eldest son Malcolm, 1270.²

1250

Malcolm MacDuil Chreagnish son to the abovementioned Dugal succeeded to his Father's Inheritance³ in and about the year 1270, who married a Lady from Ireland a near relation to the Oneil who then liv'd, Lord of that Clan, and of large possessions in that Countrey, and tho' some of my Vouchers affirm she was a Daughter of his, yet they are not all agreed in the Relation, but however she was of that family and from Ireland. By her he had two Sons⁴ Dugall the Eldest, who succeeded, and Malcom the second, call'd by his own name of whom afterwards in his own place.⁵

1270

¹ Appendix B, No. 116.

² The words 'who succeeded in the year' precede this date, but are scored through. See next note.

³ The pen has been passed through the words 'succeeded . . . Inheritance'; but one must suppose that this was done in error.

⁴ The words 'and one daughter Finguala' have been added to all the transcript for the sake of clarity. They are not in the original, but we shall see presently that the author would certainly have added them on revision. He at first thought Finguala belonged to the next generation.

⁵ The author here adds a marginal note: 'It was this Malcolm's daughter

Let me observe once for all, the better to satisfy the reader, of the Reasons that mov'd the Family of Lochow, this, & many others, of the principal old Families in Scotland, to be called by these names, now almost out of Date, Such as, Dugal, Donald, Duncan, and Malcolm. The plain Reason is, a certain vanity by which they thought (& perhaps it was so thought in those days) of doing an honour to, or putting a complement on our Kings, perhaps, as a Distinguishing mark the better to imprint Loyaltie in their posterity, for you shall find that there are four Kings calld Malcoms crown'd betwixt the [years] 943 & 1153 and two Duncans crown'd 'twixt the Years 1024 & 1094, and no less than seven of the name of Donald the last of which was crown'd in the year 1093. I find but one Dongallus, who I presume had it not been for the fault of some ignorant Amanuensis after whom, (without examining the fault), the whole herd of our after Historians have copyed, but certainly ought to have been Dugallus, which mistake has arisen by the mistaking the Letter N: for an U, for there is no such name in all the Irish Language as Dungallus, nor never was. This only Dongallus, or rather Dugallus is the 67th of our Kings counting from Fergus the 1st and was crown'd in the year 824. This Malcolm haveing dyed as I am informed in or about the year 1290 was succeeded by his Eldest son, then very young,¹

1290 Dugal who must be the same Dugal Craignish whom I find in Prins History page 657 with his two kindlymen Mac rath and Macwhesheap² subscribeing Ragman Roll, or rather setting his Seal to it, in the year 1294, being then

that was married to M^cMartin of upper Glasserie. M^cRath went away in the end of his son Sir Dugall days haveing committed that atrocious act on his Nephew.' This shows what the author's intention was on revision. And see later.

¹ Marginal note by the author: 'Mind to help this account about Malcolm the father of Ronnald more.'

² I have little doubt that this name is a corruption of MacKesaig (MacIsaac), who, as one of the Argyllshire barons, would naturally be expected to sign. The author seems to think the name may be MacWheaskie, which is a name found among the Craignish tenants.

scarce Twenty years old, else it's more than probable he had been along with his Chief Sir Niel of Lochow shareing of the honourable tho uncertain fortunes of the valiant Robert Bruce.

Being now upon the story of this Roll extorted by that powerful Army, as a Testimony of the long sought for subjection of Scotland to England, which be the by an extorted deed could never prove, especially when so soon thereafter they testified the Contrary in Letters of blood at Bannockburn, I say I think it not amiss to give you the names of such of the Sirname of Campbell as I find recorded by Prin in his History coppied off that Roll, in which I mark the page and place of the page in which they are to be found in the Folio Edition, first

Duncan Cambel Del Isles is to be found near the foot of page 655.

Thomas Cambel about the midle of page 656.

Dugal Cragginsh at the foot of page 657.

Arthur Cambell Ibidem.

Another Duncan Cambell Ibid.

Master Neel Cambel near the foot of page 658.

Nicol Cambel, midle page 653.

Sire Dovenal Cambel del Conte de Dunbreton beginning of page 662.

I also find at the bottom of page 658, one Arthur de Donon, whom I take to be the principle man of the MacArthur Campbells formerly spoke of. It's observable that in this Roll, or vast Inventory of Scottish names all writ in an old Dogrel French the Letter P. is never written in the name Cambel, & Duncan innai¹ has it written in the same way on his monument at Killmun, tho as the old by word goes, Solamen est miseris, multos habere pares. Yet it is not on that account I take notice of these our friends but to show that this was a very considerable Clann ten,² when many of the great families now in Scotland can scarce produce a testimony of older existing nay not long after.

This Dugal gave testimony among many others of this

1294

¹ See Note 2, p. 206.

² Partly illegible.

extorted Fealty in the Parliament held by that King Edward at Berwick the above year. He married a Daughter of M^cNaughtans by whom he had no sons but one ¹ Daughter called **Christian** so often formerly, and yet to be mentioned very soon. But before I begin her Dismal Story, contrary to the common Rules of proceeding I 'le beg pardon to speak a Litle to the fate of her aunt Finguala because it fetches me in to the relation of an odd adventure in which our old kindly men the M^cCras are mainly concerned, and as her Concerns and the Family she married in to (which be the by was finished in her own time) is a litle forraign to my present Design, I shall first finish her part, and then goe through with her Niece's Christian.² This Finguala was married to MacMartine of Upper Glasry,³ a powerful man in those days, but an upstart of short continuance. His Brother in law the abovementioned **Dugal**, on a time comeing from Inishchomil,⁴ where he had been visiteing the then Knight of Lochow, took the Church of Killineur in his way, being of a Sunday to hear Mass, where he mett with his Brother in Law Mae Martine. Whether it had been the Effects of an old grudge, or some new provocation, is uncertain : but Mae Martine & he quarrelled comeing out of Church ; **Dugal**,⁵ being much cooler in the matter seemed to wave it at that time, took Leave and went his way homewards. But the

¹ See Appendix D, No. 3. From this point, for the sake of clarity, I depart slightly from the exact wording of the MS., giving the story as the author clearly intended to re-write it. For he has here passed his pen across four pages, inserting the following marginal note at the beginning: 'Nota all that storie of M^cRath is to be inserted in Malcolms historie for M^cMartin was married to Finguala Malcolm's daughter sister to Sir Dugall: and not to his Daughter for Sir Dugall had no child but one viz. Christian.' He has also made the beginning of an attempt to amend the text, but evidently saw it was hopeless. The line I have adopted is to adhere to the MS., merely altering 'younger sister' to 'aunt,' 'son-in-law' to 'brother-in-law,' and so forth. Other transcribers (except Major Robert Campbell) have followed this principle.

² *sc.* 'Story.' The MS., of course, reads, 'her Eldest Sister's Christian.'

³ Appendix D, No. 1, shows another Craignish-MacMartin marriage; so perhaps Finguala is a myth. There is little doubt that the family were by no means upstarts.

⁴ *Sic*, in several places.

⁵ The MS. reads 'The Father in Law.'

Develish Resentment boyling in the young fellow's breast, with a party of men he would needs pursue his Brother in Law, who was accompanied only with about Sixteen of his own menial servants, and overtakes them, midway betwixt the Foord of **Anacra**,¹ and **Kentra** in Craignish, at the Foord of a litle water, in the top of that mountain, where in an obstinate Engadgment, Mac Martine himself was killed in the very Foord, which is to this day ever since calld **Aa vic Vartine**; upon which the said **Finguala** being then in Childbed, of her only Child, a boy, hearing that her husband was kill'd by her much provoked Brother, dyed of grief in a litle time. Her Brother much moved at the sad Catastrophe of their Family, passing by all former Injuries, carries home the young Infant his nephew, and sett's him (as the usual Custom then was and yet is) to be nursed by one of his richest Tennants, and his Favourite, **Macrath** in **Barvrackan**, a rich and trusty tennant, was the man pitched upon.

One day as the Foster Father and the Boy then about Six years old, were walking on the hills to the East of the houses of **Barvrackan** they sett them down on the bank of a Fresh water Lake to rest them, and as the old man had the Child lying across his knees, looking [at] his head to see if it was kept clean the Boy was playing with the handle of his Dagger. The old man asks the Boy if he was grown up to be a man, what use he would make of that Weapon. The Child answered that he would stob the man who had kilt his Father. Upon which the old Heathen replying, perhaps you would, but I shall prevent your so doeing, without further Ceremony, with the same Dagger cuts the Child's throat & threw body and head into the Loch which also is ever since & to this day called **Loch vic Vairtin**.² **MacCraths** master, hearing of this un-

¹ Now called simply Ford. I suggested, in a letter to the *Oban Times*, that the word might be *Ath'na'craidh*; but I accept Mr. A. MacCallum's more probable suggestion that it is *Ath'na'cnàmh* (Ford of the Boundary-posts).

² The story may be apocryphal; but the place-names, *Ath mhic Mhairtein* and *Loch mhic Mhairtein*, are still so called; and it is curious that, whereas the loch empties into Craignish Loch, the stream is in the watershed of the Add, and so they are quite unconnected geographically.

parallel'd Tragedy a few hours after, being acted within a mile of his house, sends a party to catch the Actor, but M^crath conscious of his atrocious Guilt, and fearing a Just punishment immediately makes his Escape, over to the Island of Mull where he liv'd a considerable time and begot several Children. Several of his name likeways followed him in this Retreat; he lived at a place called the **Shainbail**¹ or Old Town in these lands now belonging to Lochbuy. But **Mac Duil Chreagnishe's** revenge pursuing him even thither, he found it too near a neighbourhood and leaving some of his Children, and others of his name there, where their posterity are to this Day, he removes his own Camp to Kintail in Inverness Shire, where they are now a rich & numerous Clan, under the Earles of Seaforth, and for their riches, Strength & number being at this time about 200 able men, are called **Lena Chreash vic Kennich**,² that is Mackenzies Shirt, as having always the chief trust of his person in a manner his Life Guard. They have the preference of takeing the first lift of the Earles Corps when any of them is to be buried, and several other marks of Esteem are put upon them, which are reckoned no small honours in those parts.

They have all along corresponded with us upon the bottom of the old Dependance, & gave to my Great Grandfather Ronald some written testimony of the same and last of all renewed the same anno 1702 to my brother George Campbell, both which Documents I saw.³ The last is signed by a good many of them. But now grown vain of their numbers & riches, & long absence, they are shy to own this Dependancy but would have themselves reckon'd as Sons of the family who for some misdemeanour was obliged to change his name to **Mac rae**, or **Mac rath**, but I reckon that these being on record, under that very Denomination and syllabication else far backwards as the

¹ Seanbhail on Loch Spelve.

² *Léine-chrios* (an attendant). As *léine* means a 'shirt,' this is clear proof that the author knew colloquial Gaelic well, despite Principal Peter Colin Campbell's assertion to the contrary.

³ Appendix B, No. 97. Gregory gives a transcript.

year 1294 abovementioned puts the matter of their being but followers beyond all manner of Dispute, or if a Son he must certainly have been a Bastard. **Mac rath** in our Language signifies a luckie or fortunate Son. The oldest followers we had were Four tribes now worn to a small Compass, yet there are some gleanings of them still extant in the parish of Craiginch¹ viz. M^cWheasheap M^cOshems **Mac rath**, **Mackellie**, & **Mackcagliary**,² commonly pronounced MacCalliarie. Severalls of these last are & have been of³ a long time Smiths in the parish of Muckairn under the Laird of Caddel and in other parts of Lorne ; one of them is just now at Clachanseil, calld Donald. I reckon if I should account for this last Surname I 'll find them to be from a native of **Sardinia**, and from the Metropolis thereof Cagliary, brought home as a servant with some of our people, when they were pursuing their fortunes in France, following the French Conquests & Wars in the mediterranean Islands dureing the time that the old League stood firm betwixt France and Scotland, it being a very usual thing then, when any young Gentleman here wanted a Patrimonie, or work at home, if he had so much resolution, went thither to find out work for himself.

In this Dugall's younger days, Barichibean was given for military services to Duncan M^cGeill, who was calld the **Baron MacGeill** of Barichibean which Duncan was the first and last Baron of that name,⁴ but of his Succession we shall speak in their proper place. And next I come to

¹ The author adds a marginal note: 'These came in to us with Una M^cDonald.'

² Some previous transcripts have substituted 'M^cWheaskey' for 'M^cWheasheap,' probably because the transcribers knew that M^cWheaskey (*i.e.* M^cUisgidh) was a name in the district ; and I think it likely the author believed the latter to be the name represented in the Roll—whereas I suggest that 'M^cWheasheap' is a corruption of M^cKisaig. M^cCalliarie is probably the same as M^cChlery.

³ Here ends the fourth page cancelled by the author. No variation of the MS. has been needed from the commencement of the story of the murder.

⁴ The author has drawn his pen across this paragraph down to this point ; but I include it, as it is not easy to see what he proposed to substitute. He later shows that there was more than one Baron,

1350 the Threed of my Storie to account for that Notorious ¹ Christian the eldest and unhappy Daughter (as indeed both of them were) ² of this good old man. He dyed in the year 1350 in a good old age; his eldest Daughter Christian being very young married in his own Lifetime to mac Dougal of Lorne in contradistinction to which Family we was always called M^cDugalls of Craiginsh: with whom she lived about twenty years, & by whom she had one only son. After M^cDugalds death, she married Alex^r M^cNaughtan of that ilk, her own Cousine German, with whom she lived little more as one year. Her son by M^cDougal lived to be a man, & pretending to evict the Lands of Craignish in right of his mother (who indeed had none) he frequently attempted to take up the Rents with a strong band of men, but was as often repulsed by her uncle Malcolm, and his valiant Son Ronald More Na hordaig formerly mentioned.³ This son of m^cDugal of Lornes & hers, in one of his attempts, to take up the catle or hairship of Craignish for the Rents was slain in one of their usual skirmishes. There is one adventure told of this Lady and her sd Son which must not be forgot, and indeed it proves the old byword *mali corvi, malum ovum*, when her Son (his Father being then lately dead) who be the by seldom lived in good Friendship with his Mother, perceived that she was upon some Contrivance prejudicial to their pretensions, with Archibald then Knight of Lochow, or rather with Coline Ingadich ⁴ his Son. They kept her in a sort of loose Confinement in the Castle of Dunolich in Lorne but one night she makes her Escape a Foot cross the mountains straight to Inischomil. When she came to the Bank of Lochow, which was early next

¹ 'Notorious' is severely cancelled in black ink; but it stands in Major R. Campbell's transcript.

² I include the indications that Finguala was Christian's sister, since it is not here scored through.

³ The author has drawn his pen through the words 'and his valiant . . . mentioned.' He had written the long digression (*infra*) before he wrote this part; so this cancellation must have been made after he had decided to bring in the digression later.

⁴ *Iongantach*.

morning, knowing her son to be at the head of a party pursuing her, she cried strenuously for the Boat, which immediatly came, and had just no more time left her, than to get aboard, and a very little way from the Shore, when her son came to the shore, and being enraged at the Disappointment, & at some provoking Language his Mother had given him, he way of mock when she got out of his Grips, he as I said thus enraged bends his bow & at a venture lets fly a Dart at the Boat, & the story goes that with it he nailld his mothers hip to the Boat side, upon which the mother, who had among other qualifications of a slight¹ woman, a pretty good Talent at extemporary Rhymeing, a thing much in use among the Highlanders. The Couplet she made on this Occasion is said to be

Ir ad hal i voe vain er i Trai, i ruddanich

Dhia gin clunnim goire nin ein eir do veil i biggersi,²

which in English is much to this purpose, You with the white bow that frisk upon yonder shore pray God I may hear the noise of the Fowlls of the Air feeding, or picking on your face ; and indeed she got her wishes, for in a litle time after he was slain as is above related.

Her Son & husband being thus dead, she instantly claps up a marriage as I hinted before with her Cousine German Alexander McNaughten of that Ilk, who lived with her but a short time, By which marriage she got a third part of his Estate settled upon her in Joynture, as I find by a Disposition, now among the Duke of Argyles papers, granted by her in favours of her Cousine as she calls him Coline Son to Archibald Knight of Lochow of her third part of the Barony of the deceast Alex^r McNaughtan her husband Dated the 16th day of August 1361.³

¹ Presumably the author means 'bad' (German, *schlecht*). I am unable to trace this use of the English word in Argyll. The author may, however, have picked it up while 'studying the Law abroad,' probably at Leyden.

² *Fhir ud thall a bhoga bhàin air an tràigh air udanaich,
Dhia gun cluinninn goire nan eun air do bheul a bigearsaich.*

The author has undoubtedly written *clunnim*; and in view of his frequent writing of 'Inischomil,' I suspect that he sometimes used 'm' for 'nn.'

³ Appendix D, 2. The document is still at Inveraray.

Being thus a Third time put to her Shifts by the death of McNachtan she found it not convenient to ly alone & though her age advanced yet her youthful Inclinations did not abate, much about this time she fell deeply enamoured with one Iver Campbell some suppose to have been Aisknish, he was then chief servant to the said Coline Ingadich, and the better to get an Opportunity to disclose her suit to him, she undertakes a Journey from Inishchonil to visite the Countrey of Craignish & her uncles Family refusing to accept of any other attendants save this Young Gentleman alone, accordingly they sett off & on the road in a litle wood in Glendoin near the Strath of Craignish she alights, and Desires him to alight also, which haveing done, the shameful story is : That she invited him to ly with her. It would appear by the Consequences that the Strumpet was obeyed, For from this action, that very wood is to this day called *Coille na Bantheorna* ¹ or the Lady's wood. The vile Creature hapned to be with Child, & fond to palliat the Crime, presently bethinks her of a marriage with this her Gallant, which could not be brought about without the consent of her Cousine the Knight of Lochow, being also her Paramour's master, from whom I really believe she also received reciprocal favours. He knowing her weak side and the present strait she was in kept his price pretty high, & never consented untill Mertimas day being the Eleventh of November the sd year 1361, at Kilmartine she Disponed to him any right or Title, she had or might have to the Lands of Craiginsh, as the only surviving Child of her father (as she calls him in the said paper) Sir Dugall Campbell of Craignish,² which deed I find Ratified and confirmed by King David Bruce dated 1 March 39 year of his Reign being 1370 ³ to be holden as freely as Duncan McDhune progenitor of the sd Collin held the Barrony of Lochow. There would seem that there was a tacite provision also at this bargain makeing viz. That the sd Coline whom in the paper she calls *Con-sanguineo meo* should stand by her, and her said husband

¹ *Baintighearna.*

² Appendix D, 3.

³ *Recte*, 1369.

to secure the possession of the lands of Barvoulne, the two Lergachonichs (for Garrarune was not then separate from them) the lands of Kilbryde, Greenock,¹ and Lagganlochane being as I remember an Eighteen Merk land all which she made over to this Mac Iver calld from that time and till of late Barronie vic Iver or Mac Ivers Baronie.

This Disposition abovementioned granted to Coline of Lochow has two irritant Clauses in it by which she thought to gaurd² against the pretensions of her uncle Malcolm. The one is That if any of her nearest relations came in the Contrar of that Deed it should be by paying a penalty of Five hundred merks, which I believe was a considerable sum in these Days, and this was to be laid down at the Red Altar at Inishchonil. The other was That if they came in contrar of that Deed & did not pay the above penalty they should incur her Curse & be ipso facto excommunicated.

The original paper is among the Duke of Argyles and there is an authentick Coppie of it in the house of Craignish. This Deed slender as it was, and done to Defraud of her uncle & his Succession being the righteous heir male was a pretty good Title in the hands of so powerful a man as this Colin was, by which he kept a good part of the Estate from them viz. the whole Strath of Barbreck, & the lands of Glendoin, which was afterwards the Choice that his Eldest Son **John Annan**³ or weak John made for the whole Lordship of Lochow, Resigneing the same voluntarily to his second brother **Duncan in Ai** or the fortunate Duncan, who was indeed a great & fortunate man afterwards. It is told of this John when he declared his choice in presence of a great Convention of friends, who were dividing⁴ the lands and disputing about the Interest of

¹ Usually spelt 'Grenog' or 'Greinog.' The author himself seems to have had a wadset of it at one time, as I have once found him described as Alexander Campbell of Greenock, brother german of George Campbell of Craignish, as a witness on 14th June 1697 (Craignish Charter Chest, i. 45).

² *Sic* in original.

³ *Anfhann.*

⁴ 'Dividing' is a doubtful reading. From the word 'choice' to the end of the paragraph the writing is cramped into the margin and not easy to decipher.

the 2 Brothers said Togive dur Skiggarick . . . dar Skaggarik bii an Laggan beg sho agy fen,¹ *i.e.* end your jangling & wrangling I'll content myself with this little valley.

I must observe, that this **John Annan** was the only Simpletoun I ever heard or read off to be the heir male of that Family reckoning from **Dhiarmuid Oduine** downwards to this present Day, a Course of twixt Eight and nyne hundred years nor would I (tho' I love to tell truth) make mention of it if it was not so roundly asserted in the Genealogie of that very Family.

Jon Annan had ane Sone called Duncan which Duncan had 2 sones Anegos & Alex^r. Anegos or Angus gave the patronimick to his posterity of M^cInish in traha² but Alexander the 2d son was the first Inverliver from whence they are called M^cAlestar vic Dhonochie or contracted M^cAlester.³ Ther is a mutuall Taylie failling of each other twixt these 2 house[s] of loving Brothers.

John Annan's race lived in possession of the Strath of Barbreck beginning from the year 1380, for Five Generations, whose son⁴ Angus gave rise to that progenies being call'd **Clan Innish in tra** to difference them from the Family of Dunstafnadge, who were calld **mac Innish in Duin**, and were the Descendants of Dugald More, Natural son to the sd Coline Indagich,⁵ as was also another Natural son,

¹ *Togaibh d'ur Sgeigearachd 's d'ur Sgagaireachd; bidh an Laggan beag so agam fein.*

² *an tràighe.*

³ The descent of the Inverlevir family, back to a John Campbell, Bailie of Melfort, who was probably son of an Alexander Campbell, was proved by me in *The Genealogist* (N.S.), vol. xxxviii., this John's date being about 1450. Contemporaneous with him (1448), we find Gillespie M^cAngus Campbell of Barbreck as one of the bailies appointed for the infestment of John, son of Ronald M^cMalcolm of Craignish, in the lands of Corvarran (*Genealogist*, xxvii. p. 126); and in 1576 we meet Colin Campbell of Barbreck with two daughters and no known male heir to succeed him (Books of Council and Session, vol. xv., 31st January 1577). We thus have considerable documentary confirmation of the author's statement, and (since he is avowedly quoting from the Seannachies) of the reliability of the Seannachies themselves, so far as concerns facts belonging to the fifteenth century.

⁴ Error for 'grandson,' on the author's own showing.

⁵ *Sic*: clearly a clerical error.

called Duncan More first of Glenshiray but afterwards of Duntroon, from whence that race of Duntroon were called *Sliocht Donnóchi voir*,¹ his third natural Son begot on the Abbot Mac Alisters Daughter was Niel afterwards Dean of Argyle, who founded that Family now extinct² called Kilmartine, of whom we had a Bishop or two & several Eminent Church Men: Campbell of Auchinnellan only exists of it. The Lands & Title of Kilmartine is now the Estate of Alexander Campbell Second son³ to Dugald Campbell of Inveraw, commonly called MacDonochie of Inveraw. Campbell of Melfort is the Eldest Natural branch of this Family⁴ there being but four in all of them now extant⁵ for whom I have accounted, and copied them off the Genealogy of the Family of Argyll, but Melfort is much older than the three above mentioned being a

¹ Duncan mor, as founder of Duntroon, is quite historical (see *Genealogist*, N.S., vol. xxxi. p. 239, and vol. xxxvi. pp. 40 and 41). An interesting question arises in this connection. In the charter of Duntroon to him we know positively (though the original is lost) that he was not styled *naturali* or *carnali* by Lord Campbell, but merely *dilecto fratri meo*. This is so unusual in the case of a bastard, that the natural inference is that he was legitimate. Further, the late Campbell of Dunstaffnage had a note to the effect that the Breadalbane inventory gives the witnesses (20th October 1432) to the charter of Glenorchy by Lord Campbell to his son, Colin, as 'Dugald Campbell, brother of the Lord of Lochow,' John Campbell, his nephew, Ronald, son of Malcolm of Craignish, and his son, Ronald. Here again *carnalis* is not used; but this is not unusual in the case of a witness, and, in any case, we are merely dealing with an inventory. Thus the only known pieces of evidence show both these brothers as legitimate—and one such piece is weighty. On the other hand, I have shown that the Seannachies are reliable round about the dates in question, and for this reason I am inclined to accept their authority against the evidence. It must not be forgotten, however, that Lord Campbell's father is known to have married twice, and that he had to get a papal dispensation for the second marriage. Possibly these sons were born prior to the dispensation, which might conceivably have originated a tradition of bastardy.

² He means no longer holding Kilmartin estate, as he shows immediately after.

³ He was eldest son of the second marriage. The second son of the first marriage was named Duncan, and his son succeeded to Inverawe (Argyll Sasines, 2nd ser., i. 93, and iv. 239).

⁴ *i.e.* Lochow, not Inverawe. The author seems to have forgotten Iver Crom and Tavis Cor.

⁵ He shows us yet another two paragraphs further on, and there is no doubt that Kilmun was another.

natural son to Sir Coline Oge Grandfather to the above Coline Ingadich.

Ardkinglass is also a son to this Coline Ingadich being the third Legittimat son called Colin Oge whose Son John Reoch gave rise to that Families being nicknamed Mac ian riach.¹

Since I have already spoke of the Old house of Barbreck the reader will expect some Account of the present Race, which is that they are descended of Coline a Natural son to Earle Archibald Roy the Younger² begot on a common Countrywoman of the name of M^cEoun at the Otter, which Coline married the last Daughter of John Annan's race being heiress of Barbreck, from whom this present Archibald is the fifth or sixth person.³

But to return to the threed of my story & having left the Good Christian liveing with M^cIver of Aisknish⁴ in her new erected Baronie, I proceed to her uncle Malcolm the second son of Malcolm of Craignish who married, which

¹ A compact, dated 6th March 1612, relating to the family of Donald Campbell of Dronghie (a cadet of Ardkinglass), was witnessed by the said Donald's brothers, who are described merely as John and Robert V'Eanriah- haich (Books of Council and Session, vol. 254; 24th September 1616).

² The fourth Earl of Argyll.

³ There is an inventory of Barbreck Writs (dated 2nd March 1593) in the Argyll Charter Chest, which shows, under No. 20, 'the Contract of Marriage betuix Colene Campbell sone naturall to the erle of argyll and Katheren Campbell dochter to the Laird of barbrek registre in the buiks of counsall.' No date is given; but we find Katharine Campbell, clearly a daughter and co-heir of Colin Campbell of Barbreck, about to marry Colin Campbell of Craignish on 3rd August 1576, her husband being destined to succeed to Barbreck (Books of Council and Session, vol. 15; 31st January 1576-7). Archibald of Barbreck, a contemporary of the author, can be proved to be great-great-grandson of this marriage. Some confusion has been caused because we have another Colin Campbell of Craignish, who was also a natural son of an Earl Archibald (probably the fifth Earl), in 1592 (see Appendix B, 39); but, as I show (*loc. cit.*), this later Colin left no issue. As we are handling a history of Craignish, it is important to recognise that the fief was held by these two Colins, who have nothing to do with the Craignish family, and to differentiate between them. It is obvious that the first of these resigned the fief on succeeding to Barbreck about 1580. The second was dead early in 1606. Thus we fill the gap in the tenure of the property later indicated by the author.

⁴ There is a faint marginal and interlined note here: ' . . . has been . . . after having told you on other animadversion on Christian which testifies how savory her . . . ages.' It whets one's curiosity!

was his second Marriage having no children alive of the first, Halvis Daughter to McLachlan. Thus her name is written in the Dispensation now in my hands being among Craignishes papers. But her name in the modern way of writeing was Alice after whom severall of our daughters have been called, on married to Duncane on to M^cIver and a sister of my owne.¹ The original Dispensation for that marriage is in Latine and runs thus,

Venerabili in Christo Patri Divina Gratia Episcopo Ergadiensi aut ejus vicario in Specialibus Johannes Com-miseratione Divina Episcopus prenesti ² In a. p. h. a. s. c. d. i. o missas ad Regem, et Regnum Franciæ Quia nobis apperuit Quod Malcolmus Filius Malcolmi de Craignish et Halvis Filia Maclachman,³ and so it goes on, the Date Datum parisiis Junii quarto pont: Dⁿi Clementis pp 6^{te} ⁴ anno primo, which is the 1343 year of God.⁵ It would seem that neither the penaltie imposed by Christian of Five hundred merks, nor her curse, nor yet her more dreadful Thunder of Excommunication was sufficient to frighten Malcolm nor his Son Ronald from recovering a part of the same For I find that

Ronald the said Malcolm's son procreat 'twixt him and the said Alice MacLauchlan did in the year 1412 get a Charter from the said Colin Ingadich being then about the 76th year of the said Collin his Age, & but the year before he dyed to the said Ronnald & his heirs male of the five pennie land of Corranmore, the five penny land of Gartcharran, the three pennie land of Ard Craignish, with the Isle of Risa macphadian, the five pennie land of Barvrachan the five pennie land of Soroba, with the Isle of McNiven the four pennie land of Lochavich, Dated the 18th Day of June, 1412.⁶ In this Charter he is calld

1412

¹ From 'on married' these words are in the margin. The author's sister, Alice, married Archibald Campbell of Sunderland (Argyll Sasines, vi. 13); but I cannot place the others.

² *Sic.*

³ The name was obviously Maclagman (Lamont). The author has made a distinct pause before writing '-man.' Never having heard the name 'Maclachman,' he naturally ascribed it to a clerical error in the original.

⁴ *Sic.*

⁵ *Recte, 1342.*

⁶ Appendix D, 4.

Ronaldus Malcolmi De Craignish, and indeed it agrees with the Patronimick he goes by in the Irish tongue viz. Ronil mac maol Callum.

The next vestige I find of this Ronald's making his put good (as we say) is another charter granted by Sir Duncan Innai, son to the said Colinc, in favours of Ronald Campbell of Craignish, and his heirs male, for homage, and services, [of] the Superiority of the Five penny land of Barichibean (the property being formerly lodged in the Barons Mac Iyell's person) and the property of the following Lands viz. the five pennie land of Corranmoir, the five penny Land of Gartcharran, with the Isle of Risa mac phadian, the five pennie land of Soroba with the Isle of McNiven, the Three pennie land of Ard Creagnish, the four pennie land of Lochavich, and others lying within the Lordship of Lochow and Shierrifdom of Argyll, To be holden of the said Sir Duncan and his heirs ward for military services Together with a Galley of Twelve Oars for their service when needful, and in Case the said Ronald shall build up & roof the Castles of Craignish and Lochavich he is to be Constable of them for the behoof and utility of the said Sir Duncan and his heirs as faithful Constables and Keepers of the saids Castles Dated 4th June 1414.¹

This Ronald² was nurs'd in Mackisage Baron of Largie near Kilmartine his house, which Mackisages were then very numerous. This same Baron is said to have six sons all come to men's Estate, of whom & of their Father I must tell a piece of Hystory that for so much seems to attest how saeredly the old Highlanders esteem'd the Relation of Coaltship,³ which I my self have seen in great vogue & experienc'd the good fruits thereof. The word

¹ Appendix D, 5.

² This long digression (extending to the end of the lament on p. 228) occupies four complete pages in the author's handwriting, headed 'Some things to be added before we close the Story of **Ronald more na hordaig** to be taken in at transcribing.' Hitherto it has been treated as a footnote, so as not to interrupt the narrative; but there is a note at the end of the last paragraph above: 'her take in the other . . . (half?) wrot upon Ronnald,' which indicates the author's intention.

³ Fostership.

Coalt is the Designation given to the Fosterbrothers, or Child Fostered reciprocally, and as I still affirm that the **Celtick** is older than the Latin, the Latin word, or Compound **Coalo**, or nursed together is Derived, or **Co:altus**, or **alitus**; but be that as it will this Ronald with a party of men was one Day inevitably obliged to engage a famous Robber who then infested that Countrey and was nicknamed from his prodigious height the **Keanachifade**,¹ or the long merchant, calld merchant be way of Irony because he took all that came in his way without paying a prise² for it; as he never wanted so at this time he had with him a Band of Robbers. **Mackisage's** six sons were alongs with Craignish at this Engadgment which prov'd a bloody Bout, where four of **MacKisage's** Sons were kill'd, as was the Long merchant and most of his party. I have been often show'd his Grave near a very conspicuous Stone 'twixt Ormaig & Kilmartine, & is calld his Bed to this Day.

But to my Storie: Craignish himself was wounded, & one of **MacKisage's** two sons who surviv'd remained with him upon the spot in his wounds, but the Youngest run home to his Father being then a very old man, blind for Age, with the Dismal news, but bad as it was he made it worse in the telling, and said that his coalt, his five bretheren, & all the party were kill'd & he only escaped. At which the old Father had almost fainted, but lamented the Death of his **Dalt**, more than that of his Sons as you shall hear, for after he had heard his Son tell the Storie out, he desired him to draw near, adding that since now he was his only Son he would make much of him, which was but a bite to cover the Designed resentment for his Cowardice; and as the Young man was approaching near his bed, expecting a paternal welcome, the mother being near the Old man gave a hideous Cry forbidding her son to come near her for that his father had his Dagger drawn in his hand. Upon which the Young man retired, & the Old father, with all the force that impotent rage could give it, threw the Dagger about the place he thought him to be,

¹ *Ceannaiche fada.*

² *Sic.* But probably a mere slip of the pen.

& said with a loud voice weeping, **You Coward**, who are the Good wife's Son, and none of mine, when my Dalt was killd why did not you rather dare to dye bravely with him, than dare to come home to me, and what you deserv'd to have gotten there, I had a good mind to have given to you here. Sometime after, when the Old man dyed, this Craignish took along with him one of these same two sons leaving the other to represent at Largie, & made him his Chief Officer, or as they calld it then **Martay**, who was Ingatherer of all the Rents, and General provisor for the Family, for which Office, he and his posterity, even untill my time enjoyed the Lands of Coranbeg in Craignish, & I have perused their Charters ¹ of it from that time untill the last Charter, which was granted by ² Dugald Oge to one of them in which he is also called MacKesage of Coranbeg ³ in the year 1546, being the very year that Dugald Oge dyed. But the next Generation and their Successors held these lands of the Earles of Argyll and Largie being then extinct, and that name of MacKisage having dwindled to nothing they calld themselves **Mac Callums** from the sons of one of them calld Moal-Callum. The last of them was called Gillicallum whom I remember when a Child to have seen a very old man. It was in his house by virtue of the old Coaltship that my Father's elder Brother Alex^r was nursed, who had he surviv'd him, or had had heirs male of his own body, had got that litle Inheritance be the bargain, Gillicallum himself haveing never had any childreen; but my uncle dying long before him, and my Father comeing to the Estate, he did not think there lay such Obligations upon him, so he disponed it to one Zachariah Mac Callum Commissar deput of Argyll & son to M^r Archibald MacCallum parson of Glasry, from which Zachariah my Father bought it about the year 1688 ⁴ for

¹ Appendix B, 36 *et seq.* Corvarran beg seems to have been granted by the Earl of Argyll. I do not think it ever belonged to Craignish till 1677.

² The duplicate of the MS. ends here. See note 4, p. 206.

³ See the Corvarran beg Writs, Appendix B.

⁴ *Ibid.* The true date is 1677. There is no doubt whatever that the first MacCallums of Corvarran beg were truly MacIsaacs, and that Gillicallum believed that Zachariah was of the same race. It is equally certain that

the sum of 2500 merks. I beg pardon for this Digression which I did not judge altogether immaterial & must add a litle more about this Ronald McGillichallum. You may remember how I said above that Duncan MacIgeill got the five pound land of Barichibeau for military services from Dougal the Father of Christian and his¹ uncle. There was a servitude . . . estable² & upon these Lands, viz. a very heavie one that these Lands of Barichibeau had upon Craignish his other Lands next adjacent, an obligation to shear all their Corns in time of harvest. I doe believe the old Baron Duncan used this Servitude very tenderly, but his Son after his death, made a bad use of it extending it to all the rigour it could bear³ so that it proved very troublesome to all his neighbours, and unsupportable to his Superiour, till upon a time, the Days of Harvest approaching, Ronald privately advyses his Tennants, the first fresh blowing Day that came, when the Corns were for shearing, to gather as many as could cut down all the ripe Corns in Barichibeau in one Day, but upon pain of death to bind none of it, alleading for a Salvo to elide the servitude, that tho' they were bound to cut down, they were not oblided to bind. Accordingly, when the Corns came to be ripe, a Day offers to their very wishes, so that before Noon, all Macigeill's corns were cut down, and blown, where he could not gather them, which gave rise to a byword well known among all the highlanders to this day which they commonly upbraid the reapers with, when they doe not bind as they cut down,

Buan Ronill vic voal-Callum din Varon Macigeil
Buan un Diu, agus ceangil a marich.⁴

Zachariah's heir male in 1731 (to say nothing of his neighbours) entertained the same belief (see *Genealogist*, N.S., vol. xxxviii. p. 193); but whether the belief was justified I do not know,

¹ *i.e.* Ronald's.

² Partly illegible. Previous transcripts have read 'heretable'; but the 's' and '&' are quite clear.

³ The next ten words (except the last syllable of 'neighbours') are now illegible at top of a page; but I take them from Major R. Campbell's transcript.

⁴ *Buain Raonail Mhic Mhaoil-Caluim do bharran Mac'ic Geil:
Buain an diugh, agus ceangal an maireach.*

That is to say, You give me such shearing as Ronald the son of Malcom gave the Baron Mac Igeill, to witt shearing to day, and binding to morrow. Upon this Mac Igeill, & he came to Law, but how the matter was determined I have no account of; but in the goeing home this Ronald was drowned at Loch-long much lamented having lived 54 years in possession of his estate. I heard ane Elegant Epitaph made upon him in the Irish language, they say compozd by his own harper, the last Stanza of which being all I remember and is in English much to this purpose,

Many a mournful, or sorrowful, white keirchieft Matron is to be seen this Day at Killmolrie, tearing their hair, bewailing the fall of the great Ronald in the bottom of deep water.¹

1414

It's to be observed that the alteration of the former holding being from the King to be now held of the Knight of Lochow,² and to return to them failzieing of heirs male in a direct line, by which it seems collateralls were passed by, which was the reason the Barons of Barrichybayan³ got so litle by right of representation tho' next heir male, were two Concessions that have been granted purely to get possession of the Estate, which it seems was the best they could then make of it.⁴ I have also had in my hands and is still among the Dukes papers a Gift granted be the sd S^r Duncan Campbell of Lochow to the said Ronal mac moal Callum of Craignish & his heirs male of all and hail the Office of Steuartry, Tossich Derrach,⁵ and Maireship of all & hail the Lands held of the said S^r Duncan in Craignish with the hail profites, Escheats & amerciaments belonging to the sds Offices⁶ Dated the

¹ The long digression ends here.

² This, of course, in the original, followed straight on from immediately before the digression (p. 224).

³ See Appendix A for what was probably the local pronunciation of this name.

⁴ Author's marginal note: '1414 There is likewise a precept of seaisine to the same effect granted be S^r Duncan of said Date 1414.'

⁵ *Toiseach-deorach* (Crownier).

⁶ Author's marginal note: 'Mind before the sd Ronnald to insert the Rest of his story as above.'

20th day of February 1446.¹ Another observance is, his being called in all these papers Ronaldus Malcolmi or Ronnal M^cMoal=calume: which gives me to beleave ther was a full design to break them off of the old patronimick Mac=Dœuill Chreaginsh on purpose to extinguish the memory of that old family the better to support Christians disposition, but his son and successers affirmed it allways afterwards as the Earls of Argyle in all subsequent charters and grants since.

1446

I also find a precept of Clare constat granted be the said Sir Duncan of Lochow for giving infeftment and seasine to John the son of the said Ronald Mac Ichallum of Craignish, as heir to the sd Ronald his Father in the foresds Lands of Corvoranmore, & others abovementioned Dated the seventh day of December 1448.²

1448

You are to remark that this John commonly called John Goirm mac Duil chreagnish was Father to Donald mac Ian Goirm being his 2^d son, who married Effreta mac Geil³ Granddaughter to the abovementioned Duncan

¹ Appendix-D, 6.

² Appendix D, 7. The date should be 1st December. It will be observed that Ronald died between February 1447 and December 1448; yet the author makes him a son of the 'Maclachman' marriage of 1342. I am inclined to insert another Malcolm between these dates.

³ I have no proof that John gorm was identical with this John M^cRonald of Corvarran; but it seems probable, since John gorm's grandson was, as will be seen, in possession of that property. It was this grandson, who is always called John M^cDuil Craignish, that married Effreta, his father being the above Donald — see Appendix B, No. 101, and Appendix C, Nos. 6 *et seq.*, which make the line perfectly clear, as follows:—John gorm, father of Donald, father of John M^cDuil Craignish (husband of Effreta), father of Donald, father of John, father of Ronald (1591).

The author, getting confused among these Johns and Donalds, evidently made up his mind in advance that the line ran otherwise and probably drew up a chart pedigree as a guide. To this pedigree he would naturally refer in all his quotations; for obviously he could not go to the trouble of a meticulous comparison of the originals at every point of his story. And, of course, after the fashion of his time, he would assume that a document contained an error if it did not quite accord with his preconceptions.

John gorm is *never* called 'M^cDuil Craignish,' as the author repeatedly asserts. This designation is applied solely to his grandson and is always applied to him.

The author seems to have been misled in the first instance by the fact that Effreta's sisters resigned to their nephew Donald, instead of to their brother-in-law John.

mac Igeil Baron of Barichibeau, by whom he got that Five pound land, and was the first Baron of Barichibeau Campbell, of which Donald McEan Gurm the present race of Craignish are lineally descended but not be that woman. . . .¹

1481 Ther is a Dispensation of marriage for marrying this Don^d & Effreta dated in the year 1481,² & a Charter of Confirmation granted be the Earles of Argyll of the sds
1486 Lands in the year 1486,³ hereafter to be more fully spoke to. But at present I goe on with the stock of the Family of Craignish as long as they continued, which was untill the year 1546. And when they are finished shall begin with the Race of Barrichybayan or succession of this Donnald McEan Ghurme vic Duill Chreaginish as they are called in every one of the originall papers,⁴ in all of which ther is a very singular speciality as if they held it sacred to part with the old paternall designation of Mac Douill Chraiginish as if prophetically they expected it might intytle them or thers to climb up (For as low as things then stood) and Represent the old stock again as it afterwards happened thro the Blessing of God.⁵

¹ Squeezed in margin at foot of page and now illegible. Major R. Campbell seems to have deciphered the words 'as she had no children but . . .' As a matter of fact, she *had* children: see Appendix B, 101.

² *Recte*, 1486.

³ I presume the author is referring to Appendix C, 6, the true date being 1481. He seems to have transposed the two dates. As this charter antedates the dispensation, there is no doubt that Donald *was* Effreta's son.

⁴ I repeat, this combination *never* appears in any of the documents seen by me—and I have perused most of those handled by the author. It is, however, fair to say that there *was* a John gorm M'Duill Craignish (see Appendix B, 94); but from the date he cannot have been this man.

⁵ Author's marginal note: 'N.B. That Archibald the eldest son and appeirand heir of this Ian Gorme is on of the Witness to the Resignat^{on} made by the 4 daughters of the last Barron M^cGeyll in favours of Donnald Effretas husband in the hands of Collin the first Earle of Argyll for new infetment to the said Donnald dated 3 day of December and 6th year of pp Alex^r 6th popedome viz. 1498 which Archibald succeeded that very year. Ther is another paper of this kind granted by these 4 sisters to the same man dated at Carnasary the 15 Indiction & 1 year of Alex^r the 6. pp which was 1493 and 20 day May on of the witnesses is his Father Ian M^cDoull Chreaginish of Corvoran.' This only shows how hopelessly confused the author was. See Appendix C, 7, which is a resignation by only one sister.

For in all these charters, clare constats & precepts of Seasin of which I have now in my hands no fewer than Eleven belonging to Craignish and granted and signed by the Earls of Argyll themselves (who certainly were proper judges whether or not they had a just claim to represent) I say that in all of them granted to the 5 Barrons of Barrichybayan reckoning and including this Donnald in the year 1481 to Joⁿ the father of Ronnald Roy who obtained the last of those I mention anno . . . ,¹ this patronimick as sons of M^cDouill Craignish is repeated as in the first, so in the Last, by a gradation backwards for fyve Generations, repeating the names from father to son, and so furth untill it lands them, and each of them, in this John Gorm M^cDouill Chreaginish,² as shall be made plain when I come to give a short Transumpt of each of these papers in ther due order, according to ther dates, and as they were obtained. But I proceed to speak a litle more of this John Gorm. He had a Daughter who is said to have run away with the Laird of Ardkinglass that then was, called Marian or More & was very handsome ; and I strongly presume it has been the third Laird of Ardkinglass, the son of John Reoch for it hapned about the year 1490, her Father being then dead & she under the manadgment of her brother Dugald.³ By her he had at least three sons to wit the Predicessor of this Campbell of Carrick, now Sir John,⁴ the Predicessor of Diergachy & the Predicessor of Campbell of Clachan Rosneath now & but lately extinct. Some say she had a fourth son, but I will not be positive. The Descendants of this woman assert their being begot in lawful marriage and I also heard that strongly controverted, & alleadged that it was but a Concubinats. I

¹ Left blank by author—a proof that he was not careful to examine his originals as he wrote. The year is 1561 : see Appendix C, 11.

² The reader has only to refer to Appendix C to see that this is not so, and how the author went wrong.

³ *Sic*. Former transcripts have substituted the name *Archibald*, which is correct according to the author's view of the line : see Appendix C, 7. The father was probably alive in 1497.

⁴ I do not know the exact year of Sir John's death, but he was dead on 3rd November 1722 (Argyll Sasines, v. 590). This helps us to date the MS.

should rather incline for the first, tho' I never saw any real voucher for it either. There is indeed an old storie goes that after she had lived with him several years in what the German princes & nobles call a marriage by the left hand, which perhaps might have been usual in this Countrey at that time also, when popery the **Mother** of all Licentiousness prevailld, after I say she lived with him several years at this rate, he says to her, upon a time, that if she went to visit her brother, & could procure a competent Tocher, he would marry her in the most solemn manner, upon which Errand she arriv'd at Craignish, & sent to him, as the usual Custom of those days was, a Friend be way of proxie, to tell she was come, & her errand. His answer was, that he did not much care for seeing her, & that well favoured whores needed no Tochers. Upon which she returned to Ardkinglass, and he being inquisitive to know what speed she came, she wav'd giving the direct answer, but told in general she had not succeeded. Well, well, then says he, **More** or **Marion**, since you have no Tocher, I'll marry you for God's sake, & out of Charity. This she took as a mighty affront and replied with the usual asseveration, **Carle**, by your Father and Goodsires hands, I scorn to live with you upon such mean Conditions, and so she taking away her bag & baggadge she left him, & coming to visit some of her Relations who liv'd upon the West Coast near Craignish, she accidentally mett with Gillicallum McLeod of Rarsay second son to the Laird of McLeod who with his Birling hapned to be then in these parts, with whom upon very short acquaintance he ¹ strikes up a marriage, & went alongs with him to Rarsay. The late famous John Garve MacGillichallum of Rarsay was her Great Grandson or fourth from her; her burial place is to be seen in Rarsay to this Day. The Macleods of Rarsay, and these Descendants of the house of Ardkinglass keep a close and constant Friendship with us, as being all descended from the same man John Gorm. He was succeeded by his eldest son, haveing lived in possession 22 years,

¹ *Sic.* The author probably intended to write 'she.'

Archibald ¹ of whom I find nothing memorable save that he married by a runaway marriage long before his father dyed John McGillean of Dufards ² youngest of 7 daughters about which marriage there was much mischief, by whom he had on Son called Dugall. This Archibald dyed young about the year 1510 and was succeeded by his Son Dugall then a boy. 1498 1510

Dugall, the first mention of whom I find (in token of his being his father's own Son) is that he procures a Charter ³ from Collin Earle of Argyll to his Bastard son Dugall, whom he calls in the charter Filio me[o] Carnali,⁴ of the Lands of Arinafade Danna Barmore Tontaynish, Glennasavill & Carsaig Carinabade failing he[i]rs of whom to return to the said Earle and his male.

The Charter runs thus, to his Cussin and servant Dugall Campbell McDouill Chregnish of Corvoran for his faithful services et filio suo carnale ⁵ Dugallo et her[ed]jibus suis masculis quibus deficientibus to return to the Earle as above.

The Reddendo is the same as is payed this day out of these Lands and is to be delivered at Castle=swine. Witness, Duncano Campbell de Ormadell whom I take to be the predecessor of Ellengrege, Duncano McEllar de Ardarie, Joⁿ Campbell of Drumsawny Charles McArthur of Tyrivadich Malcolm McEvir of Lag and M^r Archibald

¹ This whole paragraph is the best sense that can be made of the MS. Names have been cancelled and rewritten, and sentences have been struck out in the inefficient manner the author used, so that it is impossible to tell how much he really intended to cancel. His first idea seems to have been that the laird's name was Dugall and his son's John; and in a passage that is clearly cancelled he speaks of the son, John, living 'a very obscure life and vitious having many bastards and but one legitimat Son.' What possible evidence he can have had for this scandal it is difficult to see, since he certainly afterwards decided that John never existed!

² Presumably 'Duart's.'

³ Appendix E, 1. The charter contains no 'token' of his being son of Archibald.

⁴ Of course, the word *meo* does not occur. The bastard was Dugall's son, not the Earl's. I have no doubt that from this bastard descended the line of Danna shown in the *Genealogist*, N.S., vol. xxviii. p. 207. I there explained how they came to believe themselves an offshoot of Duntroon.

⁵ *Sic.*

M^cviccar, provest of Killmond, dated at Craighedderling 23 May 1523.

This is the Race called sliochd Dhuill Dannach and did not possess it above 2 Generations. So it fell soon again to Argyll from whom M^r Archibald son son ¹ to Achinbreck and first Killberry after he had quit the wars of Ireland, purchased these Lands about the year 1560 or 70.

I find also a seasin on this Charter in the same year. This ² Dugall had also another Bastard son called Charles or Tarlich eranich ³ or Irish Charles for being along with this same Mr Ard and his Cussin the Trustee Liu^{tt} Joⁿ M^cAlester vic Lauchlanc ⁴ so much esteem'd by Kilberry of whoes ⁵ valour I have heard incredible stories, and is witnes to the last charter granted by the last Dugall oige to M^cKisage of Caronbeg 1546. Of this Tarlich Eranich descended the late Race of Clan=tarlich of whom is Charles Campbell present Baily of Broadalbin & his sones Joⁿ, Peter Bane & Duncan.

I find that this Dugald dyed in the year 1537 leaving two sons, Ronald and Dugald & was succeeded in the same year by his eldest son & heir

1537

Ronald of whom I find mention made as Son & appeirand heir to the said Dugald in that Charter formerly narrated and unto which the old seal abovementioned is appended ⁶ granted be the s^d Dugall with Consent and assent of the said Ronald to Duncan Mackellar of Ardlary ⁷ & to Margaret Drummont his Spouse to the longest liver of

¹ The repetition of 'son' is probably a slip of the pen. Mr. Archibald Campbell of Danna was paternal uncle to the first baronet of Auchinbreck. I do not think he was ever of Kilberrie; but Colin Campbell of Kilberrie was his son (see Appendix B, 28).

² From this word down to the end of the paragraph the MS. has been severely obliterated by means of superposed spirals (a fashion of cancellation never used by the author) with the obvious intention that it never should again be legible. It will be noticed that the sons here allotted to the Bailie of Breadalbane bear the same names as three of the sons in the previous interpolation (p. 208, note 3).

³ *Eireannach*. The author adds a marginal note: 'His sword is yet in the house of Craignish.'

⁴ I presume he means 'trusty lieutenant,' but I have no idea to whom he refers.

⁵ *Sic*.

⁶ See note 2, p. 205.

⁷ *Sic* for Ardlary.

them two and to Patrick Mackellar their son dated at Kenlochgoyl the 7th day of October 1528, witnesses Roberto Campbell filio Johannis Militis whom I take to be Ard-kinglass, and that to be the first Knight of that Family. The other witnesses are Malcolm Mackellar, and Niell Fisher Treasurer of Lismore and Nottar publick.¹ I find nothing memorable of this Ronald save a skirmish he once had with the Baron M^cCorquodell about the possession of some shielling Roums upon Lochow, in which Action his Foster Brother Mackisage lost his hand and dropt his sword upon the banks of Lochtromnie,² which two handed sword the Macquorquodells got and keep in their mansion house of the Island of Lochtromonie to this Day in memory of that action as a Trophie, and is still calld Claymoir vickisage. I remember I asked it of the late Baron Duncan, who answered he would rather give me a hundred merks.³ This Ronald dyed without Childreen in the year 1540 being but thrie years in possession and was succeeded in the same year by his Brother

Dugal Oge who lived also but a short time ; For I find that by precept of Seasine by Archibald Earle of Argyll to infest the s^d Dugald brother german to the sd Ronald as being his nearest heir, & of lawful age, in the lands & Barony of Craignish which paper is dated at Dunoon the 20th Day of Septr. 1540.⁴ The Baillies whom the Earle chooses in this precept of Seasine are Farquhar Mac Ian vic Donil a son of the house of Barichibean, and Duncan Liich de Ardoran who were then and long before physicians heritably to the Family of Argyll for which Office they had the Lands of Ardorane in Lorne and were thence called Liich, which in our Language is Doctor, or Phisician, but their Sirname is Oconochir. The Family of Creginterve succeeded them in this office and kept it for 3 Genera-

1540

¹ Appendix E, 2.

² I think it is now called Loch Tromlie.

³ Author's marginal note : 'N.B. Mind to insert the Charter & seasine of this Ronald as heir to his father in the lands of Craignish granted be Coline Earl of Argyll written by David Smellie Nottar publick of the Diocy of Glasgow 1 of March 1537. The Seasine is in the same day the 3^d year of pope Paul 3^d viz. 1537.' See Appendix D, 8, and E, 3.

⁴ Appendix E, 4.

tions.¹ The witnesses to this precept of Seasine are Coline Campbell of Ardkinglass Lauchlan Mac Lauchlan of that Ilk Master John Campbell Rector of Kilmun who I imagine was the first Provost of it of that name,² the Mac Viccars being Rectors of it but very lately before, and from whom the old Parsons of Kilmalew, and Barons of Brenchellie, so famous for the surprizing Gift of Prophecie inherent to that Race of the Mac Viccars for many ages. Another witness in this paper is Master Donald Broun Rector of Lochow.

I find also a Seasine taken in favours of the said Dugald dated in the year 1541, & 4th day of November, the 14th Indiction & the 7th year of the s^d Paul the 3^ds popedom, in which Seasine, where the Nottar repeats the above precept he adds a third Baillie, or rather a second in place of the s^d Doctor of Ardorane viz. Donald mac Lawfardich, who certainly has been the mac Lawfardich³ of Gartcharran, which Family fostered the sd Dugal as they have done always with very few Interruptions the heir male of Barichibcan, and Craignish ever since. The Nottar to this Seasine is Nigellus Campbell Artium Magister, Clericus Lismorensis.

This Dugald married Anne Daughter to Charles of Strachurr⁴ by whom he had no Children either male or female; both he and his Lady dyed of the plague that then raged in Scotland in the year 1546.⁵ The last Deed I find him doe and is in that year is to grant a Charter

¹ Author's marginal note: 'This Ferquhars Grandson viz. Jon M^cDowill vic Eracher being lunatick killed my Grand unckell Ard the Tutor of whom afterwards.'

² On 10th June 1568 John Campbell, Provost of Kilmun, witnessed a charter by his brother, Earl Archibald, in favour of Patrick Campbell of Knap. This is among the writs belonging to Campbell of Inverneill. I understand John was an illegitimate brother. See also Appendix E, 4.

³ M^cLartich.

⁴ From the date I should rather say his sister.

⁵ In some Dunbarton Protocol Books (vol. i. No. 1), in possession of the Duke of Argyll, we find, under date of October 1556, a contract between the Earl of Argyll and Aillis Campbell, relict of Dowgall Campbell of Craigannis. This may be the widow of Dugall oig's father. If not the author must be wrong here.

of the Lands of Corranbeg to Mackisage his Officer of whom I formerly spoke ; one of the witnesses to it is John mac Alister vic Lauchlan a famous Hero of this Family, of whose strength and valour incredible things are told. He was Lieutenant to a strong Independent Company that M^r Archibald, Auchinbreck's son, carried over to Ireland to assist O Neil in the then Irish wars. The Family of Kilberry of whom this M^r Archibald was founder have this John's memory in great Esteem and a world of his adventure recorded.¹

This Dugall abovementioned was the last of this Race and as compromised by the tenor of the first Charters granted to Ronald more founded upon Christian's concessions to Coline Ingadich these lands fell a second time to the Family of Argyll for want of heirs male in a direct Line, passing by the righteous heirs male tho' in a Collateral Line, the Succession of Donald mac Ian Goirm vic Duil Chreagnish of Barichibean.²

It's now incumbent as the last part of this litle work that I begin with the race of Barichibean, commonly called the Barons of Barichibean, being the Offspring of Donald the second son of John Gorm mac Duil Chreagnish. And first I find that the then Baron of Barichibean, Son of the abovementioned Duncan M^cIgeill, in his old age haveing no heirs male, and but four Daughters³ to witt Effrick, Catharine, Margaret & Finwala, being desireous to have his Elder Daughter honourably married, and the rest taken care off, and also out of Gratitude (now an Opportunity being put in his hands) of makeing some

¹ The author's repetition of part of what is obliterated above is no proof that the obliteration was done by him. Repetitions are inevitable in such a muddled narrative.

² Author's marginal note: 'Here remember to mention the probable reasons of their Decay & the sins that most seemd to provoke Providence against them viz. shedding of blood & uncleanness.' One wonders what authority he had for these scandalous hints! In any case, his own great-grandfather was a shedder of blood and the father of at least one bastard daughter—see note 2, p. 244.

³ Really five: see Appendix C, 7.

1481

return to the people from whom his Father got these lands, comes to John Gorm mac Duil chreagnish and makes offer of his eldest Daughter Margaret¹ in marriage to his second son Donald, and that he would dispone to him the five pound land of Barichibean in tocher with her, he always takeing suitable care of the rest of his Daughters, which proposal was accordingly gone into. For I find that there is an Instrument of Resignation made be the sd Effreta n^c Igeill in the hands of Coline Earle of Argyll for new infetment in the lands of Barichibean to Donald mac Ian Guirm vic Duil chreagnish the sixth year of pope Alexander the 6ths popedom, and 13th day of December being the year 1481.²

I also find a Charter of Confirmation granted be Coline Earle of Argyll confirming the said Resignation wherein he calls him also Donald the son of John Goirm mac Duil chreagnish, dated at Inverarey the s^d year 1481.³ I find also a Dispensation ratifyeing the sd marriage ex post facto to the said Donald mac Ian Gorm vic Duil chreagnish by John Bishop of Imola then Legat from the pope in Scotland at that time, dated at Edin^r the 23^d Day of June 1486.⁴

¹ Sic for Effreta: see Appendix B, 101. But the author no doubt got confused over Appendix C, 7.

² The anachronisms are obvious; but curiously enough, one of them is contained in the Instrument itself, which also confuses the date. See Appendix C, 7. I have no doubt the author also saw another instrument of resignation (now lost) by the four daughters, dated 10th May 1493, since he gives us so many details of its contents (see later). Probably the fifth daughter (1497) was a half-sister of the others.

³ He calls him nothing of the sort. See Appendix C, 6.

⁴ Appendix B, 101. The original is written so clearly and the writing is so well preserved that any child of to-day could read it. As the Bishop's name is James, we see how extremely careless the author was in handling his documents. The spouses are given as *Johanni Donaldi Makcowlkragnyns et Effrete Duncani Nekgeyll*. 'Nekgeyll' is so impossible where it stands that it is obvious that the scribe intended it to be Effreta's surname; and therefore 'Makcowlkragnyns' must be taken as John's surname—or what the clerk accepted as such. It is definitely stated that the spouses already have children.

The true history is clearly this: in June 1481 John and Effreta obtained the dispensation, and the following December their eldest son, Donald, had a charter of Barrichbeyan. In 1493 it was found necessary for M'Geyll's daughters to resign to Donald; and in 1497, their half-sister, having come of age, made a further resignation. Probably the clerk in 1497 more or less copied

Next I find a general Instrument of Resignation by the four Sisters Effreta, Catharine, Margaret & Finwall Daughters to Duncan mac Igeill Baron of Barichibean in the hands of their Superiour Coline Earle of Argyll for new Infetment to the sd Donald mac Ian Guirm vic Duil chreagnish husband to the sd Effrick, dated at Carnasarie the tenth day of may 15th Indiction and 1st year of pope Alex^r the 6th, by John Dewar Nottar.¹ One of the witnesses is his Father John McDuil Chreagnish of Corvoran.² This Donald dyes An. 1491 and is succeeded by his Son John. For I find a precept of seasine by Coline Earle of Argyll and Chancellor of Scotland directed to his eldest son Archibald Master of Lorne and Argyll, to infest and sease John MacDonil vic Duil Chreagnish in the Lands of Barichibean dated at Stirling 24th October 1492.³ I also find a seasine followeing thereupon ; whose son

1492

Donald obtains another precept from the said Archibald then Earle of Argyll⁴ to infest himself in the lands of Barichibean, wherein he is calld Donald mac Ian vic Donil vic Ian Guirm, and son and heir to his Father John mac Donil vic Ian Gurm vic Duil chreagnish, dated the year 1532.⁵ I find no more of him, but another precept &

the resignation of 1493, thereby giving the Earl's name wrongly. Oddly enough Earl Colin actually died on the day of the 1493 resignation.

¹ *i.e.* 10th May 1493. It will be noticed that this same notary was responsible for the resignation of 1497, which makes it the more probable that he copied that of 1493.

² Quite so—the husband of Effreta. He seems to have been still alive at the date of the 1497 resignation.

³ We cannot doubt that the author saw this document ; but it is now lost. He fails to see that, if Donald died in 1491, his son, John, must have been dead in 1497, to make room for the Donald of that year's resignation—which would throw all the later patronymics out. It will be noted that he calls this a precept of sasine, not clare constat. Perhaps it was to infest Effreta's husband, John, in the liferent of the land on the death of his father-in-law, M'Geyll.

⁴ It was, of course, another man.

⁵ Appendix C, 8. There is not a word about 'vic Duil chreagnish.' The patronymics show that this Donald was the great-grandson of John gorm, and therefore we are still dealing with Effreta's son, Donald. Why he should need a precept of clare constat in 1532, having been already infested in 1481, it is difficult to say. Perhaps he was unable to find the earlier document. I have more than once found a precept of clare constat issued twice to the same individual. I would point out that this Donald was obviously a young child in 1481—or, at the most, just of age.

seasine following thereupon to infest his Son John who is called verbatim in these papers John mac Donil, vic Ian, vic Donil, vic Ian Guirm, vic Duil chreagnish, dated in the year 1544.¹

To this Donald succeeded his eldest sone John who married M^cpharlans daughter by whom he had Ronald Roy, Archibald Roy, Alexander Barwillin, George Ballechlavan called so from the M^cparlans his unkeil, and John Du killed in Jura by the Macillchevanichs.²

I also find another Instrument of resignation by John Campbell (who be the by is the only one called so in this progression³) mac Donil vic Ian, vic Donil, vic Ian Guirm vic Duil chreagnish in favours of Ronald Campbell his son dated the 4th of October 1590. This John lived to a great Age, about 84 years, so that as I before observed, after having come to man's Estate, or near to it, he was Contemporary with the three last M^c Duil Chreagnishes, he haveing dyed in the [year] 1591⁴ being succeeded by the Second Refounder of that Family another⁵ Ronald.

1591 Ronald commonly called Ronald Roy. This Ronald Roy long before his Father dyed, married Mary⁶ Daughter to Duncan M^cIver heretable Captain or Constable of Inverarey, who had most part of the Lands of Glenary in property, whose Son was Mac Iver of Penymore,⁷ and unto him belonged all the Land upon which the Town of In-

¹ Appendix C, 9. Of course he is not so called. The confusion between all these Donalds and Johns ends with him.

² See Appendix B, 94, which gives the names of these brothers and an account of the murder. I presume the author means that George was named after a maternal uncle.

³ I doubt it. The wording is likely to have been the same as is used in the regrant (Appendix C, 13).

⁴ Appendix C, 15.

⁵ That is, the former 'refounder' having also borne this name.

⁶ Unless Ronald had two wives of the Clan Iver, her name was Elizabeth (see Appendix B, 13 and 26). Principal Peter Colin Campbell denies that she was a daughter of the Captain of Inveraray; but his unsupported statements are quite unreliable. See my remarks on his methods in the *Oban Times* of 21st and 28th April 1923.

⁷ I think he is mistaken. See my notes on the MacIvers of Penny more in the *Oban Times* of 29th September 1923.

verarey now stands, round about, & to the very Gates of the Castle. He was married to a Daughter or Sister of Sorlie bowie M^cDonald. This woman being much puffed up with the good fortune of her brother the first Earl of Antrim, being a Son of the Mac^cDonald of Kintyre, I say, this, and the Opulencie of her present husband who also was heretable Baillie of Glenary, raised such a Contest betwixt her, and the then Countes of Argyll who (if I mistake not) was a Daughter of the Earl of _____,¹ that as the fruites of contesting with those too high for her, she was forced to succumb, & her husband obliged to sell the Lands about Inverarey. The last part he retained of them was the 6 mk land of Killian, which was given in tocher to this Ronald with his Daughter, whose second son Farquhar afterwards of Lagganlochan got in Patrimony.² This Roun of Killian had the Bailliary of Glenary annexed to it, the having of which Jurisdiction being the reason they were afterwards obliged to sell Killian and the Bailliary to the Earles of Argyll.

After John McDonill of Barichibean's death this Ronald his son was very successful in his worldly Improvements, and God blessd his Indeavours in a singular manner. So much so that I find him grapple to the old paternal Inheritance, and enter in Contract with Archibald the then Earl of Argyll, by which he dispones to the sd Ronald & his heirs male the three merk land of Corranmore the five merk land of Barvrachane, the one merk land of Peny Castle the three merk land of Ardehraignish the Isles of Risa Mackphadian, Corresa, Risan tru and Garrerisa all lying within the parish of Craignish and ten bolls of meal yearly to be uplifted fra the fewars of Garteharran for shearing of the lands of Corranmore in harvest (which proves this

¹ Blank in original. It was the Earl of Morton.

² Ferquhard is explicitly called second son of Ronald Campbell of Barrichibean in a contract (registered in the Argyll Sheriff Court Books on 24th November 1722) to which Ronald Campbell of Lagganlochan, son of the said Ferquhard, was a party. This contract recites the wadset contract next mentioned by the author (July 1614), and states that Ronald of Barrichibean assigned the wadset to his third son, Archibald, on 2nd September 1623, Ferquhard being then dead with issue.

1614

servitude formerly mentioned to be usual in these Days), and in warrandice of these Lands he gives the Lands of Knockbreck, Ardfin, Brostill, Stronan, Auchaleck, Sanaig, Crackaig, Knockniseliman, and Jillernel with the Isles of Frechilan, Islandriish, and Glashelan, extending to a Ten pound land with the Office of Baliary, lying in the Isle of Jura,¹ together with the five pound land of the Isle of Sheuna, which Contract contains a reversion for the sum of 8200 merks to be payd to the s^d Ronald or his heirs when redeemed. This Contract is dated the Eighteenth of July 1614.

But I should have first told you that this Ronald did not ly idle 'twixt the years 1591, and the said year 1614, for in that Interval he purchased from Charles Mac Iver of Aisknish descended of the good Christian, the nyne merk land of the two merk lands of Liergichonie and Garrara,² the five merk land of Barvoulne, the two merk land of Lagganloch and Greenock, the four merk land of Ardlarich, which in Effect, excepting the single Roum of Kilbryde, is the whole Baronie of Mac Iver, formerly (tho' very unjustly) retained by them by virtue of that marriage with the wicked Christian, which I find all repurchassd again by this Ronald in and about the year 1604, though at different times for the sum of 15000 merks Scots. So that this man, and in his own time before the year 1639 in which he dyed, either fewed, or wadsett the whole lands of Upper & Nether Craignish by honest Industry & frugal manadgement.

I find a Charter following upon the said Contract to the sd Ronald & his heirs male and assigneys dated the 19th day of July 1614 & seasine following therupon written by Patrick Mac Corran Nottar publick dated the last of September in the s^d year.

This Ronald had four brothers, John who was afterwards killed in Jura by the Macilliheanichs or Shaws of Jura, of whom afterwards, Archibald Roy who lived in

¹ At the southern end of the island.

² He means the 9 merk land of the two Lergachonies and Garraron.

Braelorne & dyed without heirs, Alexander who was the predicesor of Barvoulne,¹ and George who was the predicesor of Campbells of Ballichlavon in Ilay.²

In resentment of the slaughter of this John Dou, for so his Brother was nicknamed being black hair'd, Ronald encounters a Cluster of the Macilliheanichs, who he had been long looking after, and in revenge slew in one morning fifteen of them not sparing the Chief of them tho' at that time married to his own Sister viz. the Proprietor of Moalbuy in Scarba, who it seems by one expression procured his own death; for when he saw the rest of his friends slain, is said to have erylid out, Ronald is not litle John Dou[s] death suffieiently payd. The other being dipt in rage and blood made answer, with an Oath, If he is not, he shall be, & with the word lends one blow & finished him.³ His common weapon was a large two handed sword still kept in the house of Craignish, and his armour bearer was John More McNokaird with whom I spoke being then in his old age past 90 and dyed in the [year] 1684.

A Remission for this Slaughter under the great Seal lyes in the house of Craignish. After this action Ronald either being afraid of his ill neighbours, or feigning to be afraid goes straight to the Earle of Argyll, and told him that his house of Barichibean was no way suffieient to skreen him from the nocturnal attempts of his Enemies upon him, & therefore entreated he might allow him the house of Craignish to live in, & that he would prove as suffieient a Chamberlain as the present one⁴ who at that time happened to be Coline More Campbell commonly called Callen More MacVeister son to the formerly mentioned Mr. Archibald Campbell Auchenbrieks son: this

¹ Appendix B, 15.

² Appendix B, 104.

³ Appendix B, 94. No doubt the author had the details of the fight from the armour-bearer, who had probably been told of it by his predecessor.

⁴ From this point the rest of the MS. is now missing; so I follow Major R. Campbell's transcript, and the first typescript made therefrom and later amended by comparison with the original. I may state that, up to this point, this typescript differs very little from the original.

Colin was the first Killberry;¹ whom he dispossessed, having got the Chamberlainry and the possession of the house wherein thro' the Blessing of God his posterity have continued to this day.

By Duncan McIver Captain of Inverary's daughter Mary he had four sons and one Daughter viz. Donald, John, Farquhar and Archibald, his only Daughter² called Anna, of all whom in their order.

Donald his eldest son³ a very promising and high spirited young man having gone with a company of 40 men to assist the Earl of Argyle who was then in Isla to reduce the said Island from the MacDonalDs and to put it fully in possession of the Lairds of Calder in consequence of the agreement made betwixt the Earl and Calder, he I say upon a night as he had taken up his quarters at Ardnell in the south end of Jura and his cousine Inverlivers two sons with him as volunteers on his way to join the Earl in Isla, one of his centinels challenged a great body of men that passed by his post in the night and was answered that it was Coll MacDonald and his party, who by the bye was then lurking having left Isla for fear of the Earl. Coll asked the fellow whom he belonged to; he answered and told to whom, upon which Coll is said to have replied, that tho' he designed to have lodged in that place that night yet he would leave it to the Campbells since they were in possession and march a little further to find other quarters for himself. The Centinel calls to his fellow and

¹ I doubt if Kilberrie was ever Captain of Craignish: see note 3, p. 222, which shows us another Colin of Craignish round about 1600. I think the author may have confused these two, owing to the fact that Kilberrie had a wadset of some lands in those parts (Appendix B, 28, etc.).

² On p. 191 the author stated that Iver of Ardlarich was a maternal grandson of Ronald; and George Campbell of Kinnochtrie was another (see Appendix F, 1), since his paternal grandfather can be shown to be William Campbell of Soutarhouses (see *Oban Times*, 30th September 1922 and 6th January 1923). I have little doubt that George's mother was illegitimate—else the author, *more suo*, would assuredly have claimed kinship with this distinguished man. And as the author calls Anna an only daughter, it is probable that Iver's mother was also illegitimate, her name being Effie (see Appendix B, 13).

³ Ronald's eldest son, Donald, died without male issue between 1610 and 1623: see Appendix C, 18 and 19 (xxxiv.).

bade him alarm their leader at the head quarters that the grand Coll Kittick¹ or left handed Coll his enemy was then marching by with a party; upon which they got to their arms and, hearing that Colls party was but small, with a Dozen or two of his men and Inverlivers two sons, without waiting for the rest, pursued Coll but caught a Tartar, for he had all his threescore men in a body, and gave many fair words to be rid of them; but to no purpose so Providence would have it, for like one seeking his end he would not be put off, broke in thro' the people and singles out Coll himself, who often shifted him, the vigorous young man being hard for the old man. Coll at length cry's to his men and said since none of you dare face him have you never houghed (*i.e.* hamstringed) a cow. Upon which they came behind him whilst he was doubling his blows, and cut his sinews; upon which he fell and Iverlivers two sons and about 20 of his men. McLavertich of Gartcharran who was with him carried home the dead bodies, whose son told me the story.

John, the second son, who during Donalds life was bred at Glasgow College in order to follow his books and as I heard was designed for a churchman, was now brought home and a little while after married to Mary Mc'Dougall only child of John Moal Mc'Dougal of Rary of nether Lorne,² whose children in right of their mother had the most undoubted right to that Estate. By her he had three sons Ron^d Alex^r and Donald of whom in their proper places. This John died Anno 1638 the year before his father.³

Farquhar Ron^{ds} 3rd son married a Daughter of Neil

¹ *Ciotach*. He is usually known in history as 'Colkitto.'

² The marriage contract was dated 12th and 22nd July 1623 (Books of Council and Session, 29th November 1627).

³ I have never met with John's son, Ronald; nor have I direct evidence that Alexander was John's son. But he clearly must have been so, as he was grand-son and nearest heir male of Ronald in 1652 (Argyll Sasines, 1st ser., ii. 205); and we have already seen (note 192) that John's next brother, Ferquhard, left a son and heir named Ronald. Appendix F, 7, shows that Alexander was succeeded by his brother, Donald.

McDonachie voir Laird of Duntroon¹ by whom he had one son Ronald Campbell of Lagganlochan.²

1639
1646

Archibald Ronald Roy's youngest son survived all his Brothers and was tutor to his Brother Johns 3 sons. He was a man of a very martial spirit and fitted for the times he lived in and indeed his lot was cast in a very unlucky time when he had occasion for it all, being in the heat of the Civil wars. His Father having died in 1639 he lived and managed until the year 1646, and was a very generous man bordering upon profusion, but a very just tutor, one Instance of which was his giving a little before he died 8000 merks of the 12000 he had in wadsett on the Lands of Nether Craignish, being his Patrimony, to the minors of Barichibean, being as he guessed so much indebted to them by his Intromissions, and the remaining 4000 merks also remained in their hands, there being no person ever to demand it and afterwards to be more fully spoke of;³ and I likewise saw his Arms and Clothes, of a considerable value, in the Family. He married first a Daughter of Strachurs⁴ by whom he had no children, 2ndly a Daughter of the Laird of Loups⁵ by whom he had only one daughter, Elisabeth yet alive in Isla married to Duncan Campbell of Elister.⁶ This Archibald was unluckily murdered by his friend and attendant Ian vic Duil Eracher⁷ at the door of the Kiln of Barrichibean, as he was making water in the night time, was stabbed with a dagger in the small of the

¹ I showed (*Genealogist*, N.S., xxxii. p. 94, and xxxvii. p. 37) the impossibility of this marriage, but that Ferquhard may have married Duntroon's aunt. Oddly enough, some of the Lagganlochan pedigrees of the nineteenth century have given this lady the name of Jean—though this MS. is the sole evidence of her very existence! Ferquhard may have married twice: he certainly left a widow named Christian Campbell (Acts and Decrees, dxii. 163).

² See note 2, p. 241.

³ Archibald was certainly alive on 14th December 1649 (*Genealogist*, N.S., xxxvi. 82); and I have found a discharge to him dated 4th March 1651—but this may be an error. He was dead on 24th April 1652 (Books of Council and Session, 9th January 1656).

⁴ Catharine, eldest daughter of Colin Campbell of Strachur and wife of Archibald, son of Ronald Campbell of Barrichibean, had a grant from said Ronald on 29th April 1629 (Genl. Reg. Sas., 1st ser., xxvi. 62).

⁵ Appendix B, 106 and 108.

⁶ Appendix F, 3.

⁷ 'Vic Eracher': see note 1, p. 236.

Back and lived but five days after. This fellow the actor was Lunatick to a great degree and he was often desired to put him from about his person but would not be advised. It's very observable that by main force he rescued this villain from the hand of Justice, being sentenced to be hanged at Inverary for murder where he at last finished his miserable life for this very fact. Before I end the character of this Archibald by telling you as it was told me by many that knew him, that he was the most generous, daring, strong bold man of his time, he defended the house of Craignish and bore 3 weeks close siege of 1500 of Montroses men commanded by Alexander McDonald in person, and he having only 250 resolute brave men in and about, and by his stratagems it's said he annoyed them more than to the number of his own. He often challenged Alister or Alexander himself to single combat, but he would not, which caused Alister, he being very revengeful, continue the siege much longer than he otherwise would, till at length he was necessitated to raise the siege and quit it having burnt all the country round and got most of all the strongholds and places about there. The reader will forgive me, to pay all the respect possible to the memory of this good and valiant man by making mention of his only daughter Elizabeth and of her marriage.

This Duncan of Elister to whom she is married is 2nd son to Colin McIphryar of Ardochattan of the family of Calder in Lorne. This Colin McIphryar was the first settler of the name of Campbell in Isla under Calder, when the McDonalds were driven out of it, and he was the first Laird of Sunderland.¹ It is said and I have been particularly assured of it that he was with McDonald of Isla when he beat the McLeans upon Traigruniart, tho' a

¹ On 8th July 1628, Colin Campbell of Cladavil had a charter of Synnarling, in Islay, with remainder to his 'natural brother,' Alexander Campbell of Glassanes (Genl. Reg. Sas., 1st ser., xxv. 31). This Alexander is explicitly stated to be natural son of Alexander Campbell, first of Ardochattan, in another entry in the same Register (xlvi. 222). A MS. genealogy of Calder (now at Inveraray), composed while John Campbell-Hooke was Lord Lyon, states that 'Colin mac a Phriar, of whom Sunderland in Islay,' was a natural son of Alexander of Ardochattan.

boy, and was called McDonalds Buackilie Skca¹ or Aide de Camp and it is said had done great achievements there. This Colin McIphryar (which signifies son to the Prior of Ardhattan) had a considerable great family of both sons and daughters whom he provided for all remarkably well, besides acquiring the Estate. My brother George when in Isla seeing his sister Alice² at Sunderland was telling me a remarkable story well vouched to him of this Donach McCallam.³ He kept a large Birling when a young man which he traded with to the coast of Ireland and the north Isles, and kept a strong band of men aboard of her generally; and it being the practice of a wicked woman⁴ of the Family of Dunstaffnage then in Chief Command of the Island—she was married to the first George of Octomore son to Calder⁵—this wicked woman was in practice of seizing in the night all the followers of the Family of McDonald who was and is still the chief of the inhabitants upon that Island. By this womans orders the people would be bound hand and foot and carried away in boats and Birlines in the night time and before day and left

¹ The first word is *buachaille*, and I suspect the second has to do with *sgiath*. But I am quite unable to discover any such usage in Gaelic. I presume the author is referring to Colin of Sunderland, who, however, must, I fancy, have been very young indeed in 1577.

² Alice, daughter of Donald Campbell of Craignish and deceased wife of Archibald Campbell of Sunderland, is mentioned in connection with the marriage of her daughter, Margaret, with Colin Campbell of Elister, the contract for which was dated 21st March 1717 (*Argyll Sasines*, vi. 13). We may accept the author's later statement that she was his full sister, though she is omitted from her mother's testament.

³ Donnach M'Cailein. 'Donnach' is a local form of Duncan.

⁴ As the author never abuses any one in the direct line of his ancestry, we must suppose that he did not realise that she was his maternal grandmother! See next note.

⁵ George of Octomore was the author's maternal uncle, being a younger son of George Campbell of Airds, who was a son of Calder. But it was Airds that married a daughter (Janet) of Dunstaffnage; and as he was Tutor of Calder (and, as such, in 'Chief Command' of Islay), it is clear that Janet was the 'wicked woman.' As a matter of fact, the author is very shaky on the Calder pedigree, making his grandfather a son (instead of grandson) of Lady Mary Keith (see later). He may have been confused by the fact that George of Octomore was Bailie of Islay in 1689, at which date, of course, Duncan of Elister was no longer a 'young man.'

on Desart Rocks and Islands in the sea there to perish. This Donald ¹ McCallum would come and relieve them and land them on the coast of Ireland and Island of Rochray, and its told he always had the wind fair going and coming while he was relieving them. There was another wicked woman at Dunstaffnage that had the same practice of persecuting the remains of Coll McDonalds and his son Alexanders men, wherefrom he carried two cargoes with the like success. They have at this day a throng family of Sons and Daughters; many of the sons waited on my brother George and attended him during his stay in the Island. Many of them seem to be bold daring fellows. The old gentleman I am told lived in easy circumstances and is remarkable for his hospitality in the Island.²

Ronalds ³ only Daughter Anna before mentioned was married to the Laird of Inverliver Duncan Dou whose grandson this present Archibald of Inverliver is.

Next I begin with the children and descendants of John Rond^s 2nd son procreate 'twixt him and Mary McDugall 'a Rorays Daughter. Ronald the eldest a very hopeful youth died at Glasgow College in the house of old Colin Campbell into whose care he was committed. Alexander the 2nd son married Isabell daughter to Hector McNeil of Tainish ⁴ by whom he had one daughter who succeeded himself called Elizabeth and yet living, but unluckily made a marriage of her own choosing to Archibald McLaverty the last of that race of Gartcharran ⁵ and our

¹ *Sic* in typescript; but the author probably wrote 'Donach.'

² I do not see how we can doubt the story, which was probably told to George by the children of the victims after Duncan's death, which occurred between 1696 and 1704. George would have been something more than human had he omitted to verify the tale to some extent.

³ The reference is to Ronald roy, the author's great-grandfather. Duncan Campbell of Inverlevir and his wife, Anna Campbell, occur on 21st May 1642 (Argyll Sasines, 1st ser., vol. ii. fols. 19 and 20); but I have no evidence that she was Ronald's daughter.

⁴ Marriage Contract (antenuptial), 7th June 1652; and she was his widow on 19th September 1680 (Arg. Sas., 1st ser., ii. 217, and 2nd ser., i. 348).

⁵ Marriage Contract, 27th August 1673 (Appendix B, 109). There was really a second daughter, Mary, who was born in 1657 and died, s.p., in 1674 (Isles Testaments, 28th January 1727; and see also Argyll Sheriff Court Books, 8th February 1727).

own faithful servants; they never had children. Upon the death of this Alexander,

Donald my Father succeeded. Donald married his first wife Beatrice daughter to George Campbell Tutor of Calder, procreat 'twixt Sir John Campbell of Calder and Lady Mary Keith daughter to the Earl of Marshall.¹ By this Beatrice he had 3 sons and 2 daughters² viz. George, Alexander and Ronald, Catharine and Alice, of whom in order.

George³ fewed the lands of Nether Craignish being formerly only a wadsett, I say he fewed them from the late Earl of Argyle in 1676 and bought the property of the Castle of which they were formerly constables or heritable Captains as Dunstaffnage, Skipnish, Innishcollel⁴ and Tarbert are, I say he purchased that few and the property of the House for 1200 mks.⁵ being the very money already and formerly mentioned which Archibald held in Wadsett; he also bought Auchinavnich being a 20 shilling land of Gartcharran for 2500 mks. so that besides grappling with a vast many debts and cautionries educating his children which he did more liberally than any of his neighbours and keeping an honest house, suitable to his rank, he employed 17000 mks. to secure the Bones of the old Inheritance. His first wife Beatrice⁶

¹ Appendix F, 9. Airs appears frequently as Tutor of Calder (see Privy Council Register); but he was *grandson* of Sir John of Calder, the husband of Lady Mary Keith. His father, however, was also Sir John.

² Beatrice died in October 1673, and her Testament (Argyll Testaments, 17th December 1677) shows the following children:—George, Alexander, Ronald, Archibald, Beatrix and Katherine. Archibald and Beatrix must have died young, as they are never met with later; though another Archibald, son of the second marriage, is often erroneously called George's 'brother german.' There certainly was a daughter, Alice (Arg. Sas., vi. 13), and, in view of her brother's statement, we must accept her as by the first marriage, and omitted in error from the Testament Register.

³ Donald got the wadset for his son, George, on 23rd June 1669 (Argyll Sheriff Court Books, 24th November 1722). But the author grows very confused immediately after this, some of the statements that follow referring, not to George, but to his father, Donald. At the above date George is described as 'only son.'

⁴ *Sic* in typescript.

⁵ Should be 12,000 merks—*vide antea*.

⁶ That is, Donald's wife. George never had a wife of this name.

died and he married a second time Margret Campbell daughter to Captain Colin Campbell of Blarintibert¹ of the family of Auchinbreck by whom he had two daughters Mary and Ann. Mary is wife to Alexander of Sonachan on Lochow of the Family of Calder, Ann is married to Mr. Robert Steuart Minister of the Gospel at Fort William.²

Alexander after having studied the laws abroad entered Advocate in the year 1708 and by the Duke of Argyles friendship was made Commissary to the Royal Artillery in Scotland; the same year he married Ann Campbell daughter to Alexander Campbell, grandson to McConachie of Inveraw³ by whom he had 2 sons and 2 daughters viz. Alex^r Donald⁴

1708

Alice the 2nd daughter married Archibald Campbell 3rd Laird of Sunderland from whom I had some little helps for my little history.⁵ As I have already observed he is commonly called Gillespick McAlister vic Callen vic Iphryar. This Archibald has but one son living Duncan, whom I have seen, but has many Daughters one of whom called Margret is married to Colin of Elister eldest son to

¹ Donald's second wife was Margaret, daughter of James Campbell of Ardkinglass (Appendix B, 110). She died in November 1684 (Argyll Testaments, 8th February 1686), leaving an only son, Archibald. Donald then married (contract, 28th March 1689) Margaret, daughter of Colin Campbell of Blairintihert and widow of Alexander Campbell of Raschoille (see *Genealogist*, N.S., vol. xxxii. pp. 22, 25 and 26—Duntroon Inventory, 6, 15, 17 and 20). On Donald's death she remarried Mr. Colin Campbell, Minister at Ardchattan (Appendix F, 6 and 15). No doubt the author, having written the name of the second wife, lost his thread and thought he was dealing with the third.

² See Appendix F, 12, 13 and 14. Another daughter, Janet, is mentioned in their father's Testament (Argyll Sheriff Court Books, 7th August 1710); but we may assume that she died young.

³ They were married in Edinburgh, 19th November 1708 (see Registers). From the author's Testament (Edinburgh Test., 18th March 1726), we learn that he was Commissary to the Train of Artillery in Edinburgh Castle. As the Royal Warrant establishing this Unit was dated 16th December 1708 (Col. Cleaveland's Notes on the early history of the R.A.), the author was clearly the first holder of the position. He died on 26th Feb. 1725.

⁴ Part of the MS. was here wanting when Major Campbell made his transcript. In the Services of Heirs (14th March 1726) his son and heir is given as Dugald.

⁵ Argyll Sasines, vi. 13.

Donachie McCallen formerly and so honourably made mention of.¹ I cannot omitt an anecdote my Brother George and some others informed me of concerning this Family of Sunderland that the male line of the Sunderland Family will soon be extinct by which the heirs male of Duncan of Elister will succeed; consequently the heirs male of this Colin of Elister now married to Margret, a daughter of Sunderlands is said to happen in the time of the said Margret her heirs male.² Whether this is owing to dreams, second sight or other divining I have not heard, but those Islands of Isla and Mull are particularly given to the belief of those unaccountable and fabulous historys which the learned world cannot give credit to. There is an odd circumstance added to this which in itself is wonderful. Alexander of Sunderland after his first wifes death always aspiring to good marriages courted a daughter of Campbell of Island Greigs³ a family then, (tho' now extinct⁴) in the greatest power and respect in our country. Sunderland asking him for his Daughter, he told him that he expected a good match for her, that he had no objection towards him, but would wish to know his estate. Upon which Sunderland returning home and in order to make sure his prize applied to his Brother Duncan of Elister and required of him the right of Clalyfield or Cladifield, which Colin McIphryar their father is said to have given his son Duncan,⁵ it lying at a distance from the rest of the estate and in the neighbourhood of the Tack Lands of Elister and

¹ *Ibid.* Date of contract, 21st March 1717.

² The narrative is unclear. Apparently there was a prophecy that Margaret's offspring would inherit Sunderland—which failed to come off. The author is grossly superstitious, but likes to appear a sceptic as the result of his superior education!

³ Ellangreig. The lairds are described indifferently as of Ellangreig or of Ormidale. They descended from Niall of Ormidale, son of Duncan, Lord Campbell (Great Seal, iv. 21).

⁴ Sir Niall Campbell of Ellangreig died 17th March 1720 (Argyll Testaments); but his eldest son, John, was alive in 1738 (see Eik to his father's Testament). The author probably penned this after Sir Niall's death and was unaware of John's existence.

⁵ This is quite a myth, for a Notarial MS. (p. 348) in the Advocates' Library shows that Colin gave both Sunderland and Cladewell to Alexander.

others which he had also given him. Dunean being an easy good man and would never suspect his brother immediately gave him the right ; upon which Sunderland gained his prize, but did not enjoy her long, she having lived only about six months. It is said Alex^r of Sunderland being an exceedingly clever man endowed with all the benefits of education and a genius fit to benefit from every opportunity he had, and Dunean of Elister being but an easy good natured man bordering upon indolence and sloth, never had the rights of the lands returned him which the reader may easily see from his never making a demand of the 4000 mks. remaining of his father in laws as part of the 12000 Wadsett money he had upon the lower lands of Craignish to which the said Dunean certainly had the best right in consequence of his being married to the only daughter of that man, I say his indolence in this is a proof of the former, and the former if true, tho' with a brother, is a convincing proof of this. My reason for passing by the thread of my story is the frequent marriages, these people had with us and the respect I particularly owe to Elizabeth, the only memory left of my Uncle Archibald Tutor to my Brother and me,¹ who by the blessing of God and his singular bravery, first saved the castle from the greatest and most cruel tyrant we ever had, and next that he left so much of his little patrimony I may indeed say his whole, which was the principal part of what recovered us that part of our estate formerly mentioned and brought us by the blessing of God to what we are at this day.

Here the MS. ended when Major Robert Campbell made his transcript, But I can supply some of the details that the author would have given, if

¹ As the author was at least twenty-five at his father's death, there is clearly a mistake here—especially as he has already shown that Elizabeth's father, Archibald, was Tutor to his father and uncle. It is difficult to conceive of a man writing the above sentence unless his mind was failing. Hence I feel sure the author was making an effort to complete his history while on his death-bed. This helps to account for the other curious lapses and carelessness found towards the end of the narrative ; and I do not suppose that any part of what the author wrote is missing from the end, although it is true that Major Robert Campbell thought there was—from which we must infer that it finished at the foot of a page.

he did not actually do so in the portion shown as missing on page 251. His elder brother, George, married Margaret, daughter of Alexander Campbell of Lochnell (Appendix B, 116), and died in 1710 (Appendix A). His younger brother, Ronald, left a son, Capt. Archibald Campbell, who was living in Greinog (or perhaps Greenock) in 1754; and if, as seems likely, this Archibald was identical with the Aide-de-Camp to Gen. Bland and the purchaser of Barbreck, he had a brother, Alexander (Argyll Sasines, viii. 447, and ix. 68). The half-brother, Archibald, was of Garraron and Huntingtown and married Mary Campbell (Argyll Sheriff Court Books, 18th June 1720, and 8th February 1727, and Argyll Sasines, iv. 480). And the sister, Catharine, married, first, John Maclean, brother of Torloisk, and, secondly, Archibald Campbell of Crackaig (Appendix B, 113, and Argyll Sasines, iii. 342).

APPENDIX A

The following fragment I transcribe from two folio-sized photographs, which show the handwriting of Alexander Campbell, brother of George of Craignish.

A short extract of the falls of the family of Craignish and how it was recovered first by Ronnald More a Cadet anno 1414, and next by Ronnald Roy of Barkibay anno 1614—

D^r Nephew

According to my Ingadgement (when you gave me these old parchments of the 5 pound land of Barkibay to peruse) here I send you the Abstract of them, with my owne observations, which may give abundance of light to the Origine Falls and Rises of the Old tho Little Family you Represent, of which I may Justly Say as the Great Buchannan said of his Owne, Majus Vetusta Quam opulenta.

Before I give you the Transumpt of these parchments, I Judge it absolutely necessary, since I have had mor opportunityis and helps than any of my predecessors have hade, to know the certainty of these Genealogicall histories, to give you a very brief account of the of that¹ Old Branch you now represent or legitimat Cadet the oldest of the old and Illustrious F[amily] of Lochow.

But first of all I shall begin with that Illustrious family it self and poynt at the period in which our people descended from them. Gillespick o Dhuine (Nephew by the father To the Great o Dhuine Paull in Sporrان knight of Lochow or Treasurer or pursebearer to King Duncan) came from France, wher by his Victories and attchievements in the French Wars he gott the Sur name of Campbell or Beauchamp in Stead of o Dhuine and the armoriall Coat viz. a Gyronce of 8 now born as the paternall Coat by the wholl Name of Camp-bell.

About the
year 1060.

This Gillespige married at his return his owne Cussin german, Evah, Daughter and sole heiress to the said Paull, knight of

1070

¹ Sic.

Lochow ; By her he had Collin Moall-math. His only son and heir

1100 Collin Moall math had 2 Botord ¹ sones, famous in ther day for mighty warriours, viz. Taviss Corr and Iver Crom of whom descended 2 numerous Clanns the McTavishes or Tomsons, and the McIvers, both which are now much decayed ; yet many of them extant to this day. He married a Neece of K. Alexander the first, by whom he had 3 sones viz. Duncan the Eldest who Inheired the Lordship of Lochow, Donald-Don or brown haired died without issue the 2d, and Dugall of Craignish the 3d.

1140 This Dugall by the gift of his Fosterfather the Toshich bane McEacharn then proprietor of Nether Craignish, and by his sword got the possession of Upper and Neither Craignish which he and his posterity possessed for 7 Generations in a direct male Line which shall be further shewed in a larger work I've had now long on the Anvill. I say untill the year 1350.

Sir Dugall of Craignish is recorded in the Ragman Roll along with his kindly men or followers viz. Anegos mac Rath and Nicoll McWhisheap the succession of which two sirnames are still in Craignish and follow us to this day. He had two sones viz. Dugall the Eldest and Malcolm the 2d.

This Sir Dugall had a son and heir also c[alled] Dugall and . . . ² but whether Banieret or Batcheloar [I] cannot say : he had no child save an only Daughter called Christian who in the year 1361 did at Killmartine Martimass day in November Resign to her Cussin Archibald Knight of Lochow Son to Collin Ingateach the whol Barrony of Craignish under a Curse of ex communicā^{ne} & a penalty of 500 marks passing by her Unkell Malcolm and his childreen. The history of which Resignation and the Reasons and Causes thereof I reserve to be treated of at Large in the work above mentioned.

Our Chief the Knight of Lochow had possession by virtue of this Resigna^{ne} or Dispositi^{ne} of all Craignish except the 16 mark land the good woman reserved for her paramour and after husband, McIver, which we since purchased from them. The family of Lochow keept possession of the Rest untill the year 1412,

When Ronnald more Son to the above Malcolme gets a Charter of all Neither Craignish from Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow anno 1412 and another Grant anno 1414 and a charter of confirmane from his son to the Heratable Offices and two

¹ *Sic.*

² Probably 'knight.' The photograph shows a tear.

Castles of Craignish and Lochavich . . . constabulary of providing to build them higher ¹ 1446 ; But whether by favour, money, good offices, or payment of the penalty of 500 marks I cannot say, tho the Last looks lykliest.

This Ronnald had on only legittimate Sone called John agnominatus Gorm or blue either from the Collour of his Cloaths or armour as was usuall in those days who succeeded him.

John Gorm of Craignish or M^cDowill Chriagnish had 2 sones Dugall ² the eldest who Succeeded to his fathers fortune and Donnald the second.

Here we leave the Stock of the family of Craignish who possessed in a direct male line for 7 generations after Christian viz. untill the year 1546 ; when they failed a 2d tyme in the Last of that Race in Dugall who was married to Anna Campbell Daughter to Charles Campbell of Straquhir ; both dyed of the pleague without Issue anno 1546 which made the estate fall into the family of Argyll by vertue of the Clause given in Ronnald Mores rights viz. failling of heirs male in a direct line to come to the family excluding Collateralls : which we of Barkabay were the only and nearest.

But now to proceed to the branch of Barkabay the succession of the above Donnald M^cEan Guirme [vic] Duill Craignish.

Duncan McGyll Barron of Barkabay haveing gott that 5 pound Land as a reward of Services from S^r Dugall Campbell of Craignish Christians Father failed of an heir male his succession failed in the year 1480 having only 4 daughters viz. Effreta Catharine Mariotta and Finvola.

This Donald Craignish's 2d son married Effreta the Eldest and provides the other 3 daughters in portions and the[y] resign ther shares as Coheireesses in his favours.

To prove which

1. Ther is a charter of Confirmation granted by Collin Earle of Argyll to this Donnald wherin he calls him Donnald M^cEan Guirm vic Duill Chraignish dated at Inveraray 1481.

2. Ther is a Dispensation of marriage by John Bishop of Imola the popes Legat a Latere to the said Donnill M^cEan Guirme vic Duill Craignish dated at Edinb^r 23 June 1486.

¹ From 'Lochavich' to 'higher' the words are interlined and very hard to decipher.

² It is clear that he wrote this letter before making the confused amendment shown on page 233 of the narrative.

3. Instrument of Resignane the 4 sisters portiors of Barkabay viz. Effreta Catharin Mariotta & Finwola McGyll's Daughters to Duncan McGyll Barron of Barrkabay in the hands of their Superior Collin Earle of Argyll for New Infeftment to Donald McEan Guirm vic Dhuill Chraignish husband to the said Effreta dated at Carnaserie the 10 may the 15 Indiction the 1st year of Alexander the 6ths popedom 1492 John Dewar Nottar Wittness John McDhuill Chraignish of Corvoran this mans owne father.¹

4. A precept of Seasin Collin Earle of Argyll and Chancellor of Scotland directed to his eldest son Archibald Master of Lorn and Argyll to infeft and sease John McDhonill vic Dhuill Craignish in the Lands of Barkabay dated at Stirlin the 24 October 1492.

5. Instrument of Resignation by Margaret McGyll in the hands of Collin Earle of Argyll for new Infeftment of the Lands of Barkabay in favours of Donald McEan Guirm vic Dhuill Chraignish dated the 13 day of December the 6 year of pope Alex^r the Sixth's popedom; one of the wittneses is Archibald Eldest son and appearand heir to John McDhuill Craignish of Corvoran anno 1498.²

6. A Seasin of the Lands of Barkabay from Archibald Earle of Argyll to John m^cDonnill vic Ean vicDonnil vic Ean Guirme as Son and heir to his Father Donnald M'Ean vic Donill vic Ean Guirme vic Duill Craignish dated 1532.

7. Another Seasin from John M^cDonill vic Ean Guirm vic Duill Craignish to his son Donnald of the saids Lands of Barkabay anno 1544.

8. Another Seasin to John M^cDonill vic Ean Guirm of the Lands of Barkabay and pertinents anno 1561.

9. Instrument of Resignane John Campbell M^cDonill vic Ean vic Donill vic Ean Guirm vic Dwill Craignish in favours of Ronnald Campbell his Eldest Sone upon his mariage Octo^r 1590.³

¹ As Donald was not Effreta's husband, it is clear that the author is merely giving what he understands to be the general drift of the document, and not an exact abstract.

² See Appendix C, 7.

³ I have not seen this instrument, but the Earl's charter resulting from it is among the Barrichbeyan Writs, dated 20th October 1590; and it would naturally follow the terms of the Resignation. There is not a word about any marriage; and the father is called simply John M'Donell V'Ane, the surname,

10. Contract past betuixt Archibald Earle of Argyll and Ronnald Campbell of Barkabay of the 5 mark Lands of Corvoran more the 5 mark Lands of Barvrakan the 1 mark land of penny Castle the 4 mark Land of Ard Craignish and the Islands of Risa m^ephaden, Corrissa, Rissantru & Garririssa lying in Craignish and 10 bolls meall yearly to be uplifted from the fewars of Gartcharran for Shearing the saids Lands of Corvoranmore and that as principall and in warrandice thereof the Lands of Knockb[r]jek, Ardfinn Broastill Stronan, Achilick, Sannag, Crackage, Knocknaseolaman, Killermell with the Islands of stroachellen Ilandrish and Glashellan Extending to a 10 pd Land with the office of Baillierie in the Isle of Jura and the 5 pd Land of the Isle of Shuna dated the 18 July 1614.

11. Charter following on the said contract in favours of the said Ronnald his aires male and assigneys dated the 19 July 1614.

12. Seasin following on the said Charter both prinll. and warrandice Lands in favours of the said Ronnald Campbell under the hand and subscription of Patrick M^eCoran Not pub: dated the Last of Sept^{er} 1614.

This Ronnald by Wadsett and few purchased the Earle of Argylls part and M^eIver of Asknishes part of Craignish and in his time employed 50000 merks therein. He dyed the 2d Se^{pt} 1639. His Estate to his Eldest Son,

John who survived him but 2 years leaving two Infants Alexander the eldest & Donnald.²

Alexander married Issobell m^eNiell Daug^{tr} to Hector M^eNiell of Taynish and left no Sones but a daughter. He was ten years in possession and dyed in the year 1668 who was succeeded in the Estate of Craignish by his only Brother,

Donnald my father who dyed the 2d feby 1698 leaving four Sones George the eldest, Alex^r Ronnald and Archibald.

George dyed the 10th August 1710 leaving 5 sones Dugall Daniell Alex^r Ronnald & John.

Campbell, being applied only to the son. And I need hardly add that 'M'Ean Guirm' is a flight of imagination throughout this letter. It is useful having these documents thus mentioned together, as one thereby gets a clear view of the author's inaccuracy in reporting, due, of course, to his obsession that Donald was the husband of Effreta and son of John gorm. The wording of Effreta's dispensation is, of course, fatal to his whole scheme of the descent.

¹ Partially illegible. I have found him alive on 26th July.

² Appendix F, 7, shows these two as brothers.

Dugall now possesseth & represents that little old Inheritance of Craignish from which its plain that the Cadet of Barkabay gott possession of Craignish from the Earl of Argyll anno 1614—being the 2d reviving of that family in the person of Ronnald.

Here the letter ends, and as it does not quite reach to the foot of the page, it probably never was completed. Possibly it is merely the rough draft of one sent.

APPENDIX B

CRAIGNISH WRITS

(In possession of Lt.-Col. Ronald Campbell)

(NOTE.—The numeration of the following abstracts follows that of an Inventory made about 1895 by Mr. Andrew Ross, Ross Herald. Most of the originals have been re-examined since by the Duke of Argyll or myself. Where this has been done, I add the letters 'A' and 'C' to denote which of us has done it. I omit unimportant Writs.)

VARIOUS LANDS.

1. At Glasgow, 13 March 1559/60: Charter of sale by Archibald, Earl of Argyll, to his servitor, Mr. John Carswell of Carnassarie, and the lawful heirs male of his body (whom failing to his brother german, Malcolm Carswell, and the lawful heirs male of his body, whom failing to Mr. Donald Carswell and the lawful heirs male of his body), of the 1 merk land of Pennycastle in the barony of Craignish, together with the islands called the three Resyis and the custody and captaincy of Craignish Castle and the office of Martay and Brewster of the said barony; with precept of sasine addressed to Malcolm M'Ane M'Donill of Corbarranbeg. Witnesses: Archibald Campbell of Clauchane, Colin Campbell of Boquhane, Niall Campbell, rector of Luing, and William Hegait, notary. (Original very faint, but recovered from Reg. Mag. Sig.—'A.')

2. At Dunoon, 25 May 1573: Renunciation by Duncan M'Dowle M'Ane of Soraba in Craignish to his good friend, Malcolm M'Ane M'Donall V'Gillecallum of Corwarranbeg, and his heirs, of all right that he had to the Mill of Craignish, situ-

ated on the grounds of Corwarranbeg, resigning specially the letter of tack of the said Mill, which he had from the Lady Cragnesche, Katherine Campbell of Argyll, but reserving the liferent of the thirled miltures of the Mill. Witnesses: Malcolm Carswell, Captain of Craignish, Allaster M'Donill bane, Gillespick M'Eclachae (*sic*), John M'Nelos, John M'Doll gromich, and Thomas Watson.—('A.')

3. 8 April 1592: Sasine of the Seneschallate or Bailliary of Barrichbeyan, given by Gilbert M'Ean V'Illichrist, as baillie, to Ronald M'Ean V'Conill of Barrichbeyan as heir to his deceased father, John M'Donald V'Ean of Barrichbeyan. Witnesses: Charles M'Ean V'Donald in Barrichbeyan, Malcolm mor M'Kesaig there, John M'Illechallum V'Ean there, Gilbert M'Incard in Barmullin, Donald M'Ilallane in Kilbryde, Alexander M'Ean V'Conill, brother of said Ronald, and Dougald our M'Allister V'Clartich.—('A' and 'C.')

5. At Kilmartin, 8 Jan. 1622: Charter of the 30/- land of Lagganlochan in Craignish by Mr. Niall Campbell, parson of Glassary, with consent of Mr. Niall Campbell, parson of Kilmartin, to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan; with precept of sasine addressed to John M'Olchallum in Corvorranebeg. Written by Henry Oliphant, servitor to John Nicoll, W.S., and witnessed by James Kincaid, notary in Kilmartin, and his son, James Kincaid, James Kincaid, servitor to Alexander Kincaid in Kilmichael, Alexander Campbell in Torrane, Duncan Campbell, apparent of Duntroon, and Niall Carswell of Carnassarie.—('A.')

7. At Inveraray, 1 Jan. 1602: Sale contract between Duncan M'Iver of Stronchiro and his grandson, Iver M'Iver, son and apparent heir of deceased Iver M'Donachie, as principals, with Allan M'Dougall of Ragray, John M'Nahtan of Dundaraw and John M'Iver of Pennymore, as their cautioners, all on the one part, Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan on the second part, and Archibald M'Gillespick and Dougall M'Gillespick *alias* Campbell, brothers to deceased Niall Campbell, parson of Craignish, both on the third part, narrating that the said Duncan M'Iver sold the 4 merk land of Ardlarach in Craignish (under reversion for 500 merks) to the said parson and his heirs; and now the said Duncan M'Iver and his grandson assign the reversion to said Ronald; and moreover, as the said Ronald has paid 500 merks as redemption to the said brothers, Archibald and Dougall Campbell, they renounce the

wadset to him, so that he is now to hold the lands without redemption. Written by John Ambrois, servitor to Mr. James Kirk. Witnesses: Archibald Campbell of Kilmelford, Archibald M'Allaster, apparent of Tarbert, James Kincaid, Commissary of Argyll, Iver M'Iver, apparent of Pennymore, David Dunbar, Archibald Campbell, brother of said Ronald, and Charles Campbell, son of said Duncan M'Iver.—('A.')

8. At Inveraray, 5 Jan. 1602: Charter in implement of above by Duncan M'Iver of Stronchiro and his grandson, Iver (whose father is here given as Aeneas M'Donochy V'Iver), of the said land of Ardlarach in favour of said Ronald Campbell; with precept of sasine addressed to Alexander Campbell of Torran. Witnesses: the first three as in No. 7. Consent is given by the grandson's curators, Iver Campbell, laird of Lergachonie, John M'Nachtan of Dundaraw, Charles M'Iver, and Iver Campbell, apparent of Pennymore.—('A.')

9. 1 Feb. 1602: Sasine on above, given by said baillie to said Ronald Campbell. Witnesses: Angus M'Iver of Glasvar and his son and apparent heir, Alexander M'Iver, Dougall Campbell M'Gillespick V'Ean and his son, Alexander Campbell, and Mr. John Campbell, minister of Craignish.—('A.')

10. At Inveraray, 23 Dec. 1605: Contract of sale between Charles M'Donochy V'Iver *alias* Campbell of Lergachonie and Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, whereby Charles agrees to sell to Ronald his 4 merk land of Ardlarach in Craignish, with the bailliary and crownship thereof. Witnesses: Mr. Niall Campbell, bishop of Argyll, Archibald M'Lachlan of Strones, Mr. James Kirk, sheriff depute of Argyll, and his servitors, Robert Campbell and John Huttoun.—('A.')

12. 7 Jan. 1606: Sasine of above bailliary and crownship given personally at Ardlarach by said Charles to Ronald. Witnesses: Alexander Campbell, brother german of said Ronald, and Alexander Campbell, brother german of Niall Campbell of Kendmoir.—('A.')

13. At Castle Craignish, 'one thousand six hundred and . . .' (rest blank): Contract of Excambion between Archibald M'Douill V'Illespick V'Iver bane of Lergachonie and Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, whereby Archibald agrees to infest Ronald in his 5 merk land of Lergachonie mor, 4½ merk land of Lergachonie beg, 1 merk land of Greinag, the mill of Ler-

gachonie mor, and the crownship and bailliary of the properties, all which are to be held (away from Archibald) of Charles M'Iver of Asknish, for a reddendo as laid down in the infetment of Archibald's late 'guidschir,' but reserving the liferent of Lergachonie beg to Archibald's mother, Margaret M'Dougall. Archibald further agrees to make Ronald his cessioner to a reversion, given to his said 'guidschir,' Archibald M'Iver bane, by the now deceased Archibald M'Ean V'Iver, brother to Malcolm M'Iver, now of Kirnan, in respect of the redemption of half the said land of Lergachonie inor, which was sold on wadset for 1,200 merks, half of which sum has been repaid; and also to a contract, dated 'one thousand five hundred four score and . . .' (rest blank), whereby the now deceased Duncan M'Iver of Stronchiro agreed to obtain Archibald's said grandfather infetted at the hands of the Earl of Argyll. And on his part the said Ronald, with consent of his wife, Elizabeth N'Iver, agrees to give Archibald his 4 merk land of Ardlarach in Craignish (to which Archibald was already entered at last Beltane), to be held of the said Ronald, and also 40 bolls seed-oats and 2 bolls seed-bear already sown there, and 40 great cows &c. Further, Ronald agrees to pay the sum to £1,027. 6. 8 Scots as follows: 600 merks to said Malcolm M'Iver of Kirnan, as heir to his said late brother, for the redemption of the said wadset, whereby Ronald will be henceforth in complete possession of the land; 200 merks due on Greinag to Angus Campbell of Inverlevir; 100 merks to John M'Donill keir in Barsweil; 100 merks to John M'Allester V'Iver in Avvachan; 100 merks to Allester oig M'Illechallum V'Ean in Lergachonie; 67 merks to Marion nein Tarlych V'Ean V'Illechallum V'Iver; 24 merks to Isobel nein Molcallum V'Finlay; and 350 merks to Charles M'Iver of Asknish. And finally, Ronald is to maintain the said Archibald and his wife, Aif Campbell, sufficiently in bed and board for a period of five years from immediately after their marriage. Witnesses: Archibald Campbell, brother of said Ronald, Donald Campbell, son and apparent heir of said Ronald, John M'Harlych V'Donill (or perhaps 'V'Douill') *alias* Campbell, John Ambros and James Kincaid, notaries, and Malcolm M'Finlay in Barrichbeyan.—('C.')

NOTE.—The date of this contract can be approximately recovered as follows. Duncan of Stronchiro can be shown to have died in 1602 or 1603; hence the date must be after 1601. By the contract Archibald

acquired Ardlaracli, in which he was duly succeeded by his son, Iver; and the author of the Craignish MS. states that he knew personally this Iver of Ardlarach, who was maternal grandson of Ronald and 'dyled in Anno 1689, above the age of 82 years.' In this date, however, he was mistaken; for Iver's testament (Argyll Commissariat, 8th February 1686) gives the date of death as September 1684. As the author, however, wrote about 35 years after the event, the error is explicable; but his youthful mind is likely to have been impressed by Iver's great age, which, though, no doubt, it would not have been accurately known, may be accepted as past eighty, which would place his birth in about 1604. And as it is clear from the contract that his parents had not long been married, we can fix the year at about 1603.

14. At Asknish, 28 Nov. 1612: Contract of sale, whereby Charles M'Iver of Lergachonie agrees to sell to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan the 5 merk and 40 penny land of Barmulling and to deliver to him a contract and a reversion, granted to said Charles by Colin Campbell of Kilberrie, in regard to a wadset of the said land; while Ronald agrees to pay Charles 1,000 merks and also 1,700 merks to the said Kilberrie for the redemption of the wadset, and to pay a reddendo in kind to Charles and his heirs. Witnesses: Archibald Campbell of Kammiss, Angus M'Iver, apparent heir of said Charles, and Alexander Campbell, brother german of said Ronald.—('A.')

15. At Barrichbeyan, 18 May 1614: Backbond by Allaster M'V'Doneill V'Ean in Barvullin, narrating that, as his brother german, Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, has on this date obliged himself to grant a charter to said Allaster and his heirs of half the lands of Barvullin (excluding the Monreoch) in Craignish, and as Allaster has not yet paid in full for the said land, he agrees not to press Ronald for the said rights until the land is redeemed from Colin Campbell of Kilberrie (who has a wadset on them), or until he can find security for the payment. Written by Patrick M'Corran, notary. Witnesses: George M'V'Doneill V'Ean in Cambus, Archibald Campbell there, Charles M'Iver of Asknish and his son and apparent heir, Angus M'Iver.—('A.')

16. At Lettirnamoult, 8 Nov. 1592: Liferent charter by Angus M'Allaster V'Illespick V'Harlich *alias* M'Iver of Lettirnamoult to his future wife, Marion Campbell neie V'Donald V'Ean, of his 1 merk land of Lettirnamoult in Glassary, presently occupied by John M'Donald gyr. Witnesses: Alexander Campbell of Lagg, Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan,

John M'Illespick V'Harlieh of Glasvar and his son, Angus M'Ean V'Illespick, and Charles M'Ean V'Donald, his son.—('A.')

NOTE.—There is some confusion over this last witness, as, from the patronymic, Charles could not be the son either of Angus or of John of Glasvar; but the patronymic would seem to point to a brother of Ronald of Barrichbeyan. In the Duke of Argyll's abstract of the sasine (which forms No. 17), where the witnesses are the same, the words 'his son' do not occur.

LANDS OF SOROBAY.

18. At Dunstaffnage, 11 June 1549: Charter by Archibald, Earl of Argyll (with consent of his wife, Katherine N'Lean, and of his son and apparent heir, Archibald, Master of Argyll), of the 5 merk land of Sorobay and Ilane Maknevyn, with the isle of Ilane Nahunsheag and pendiele isles, all in the lordship of Craignish, to his beloved servitor, Dougall M'Ane V'Neill, and the lawful heirs male of his body (whom failing to return to the Earl and the heirs of his present marriage, whom failing to Colin Campbell, his lawful son by his late wife, Margaret Grahame, daughter of deceased William, Earl of Menteith). Witnesses: Hector M'Lean of Duart, Colin Campbell of Ardinglass, John M'Doule [of] Dunollieh, John Campbell of Lochnell, John M'Doule of Ryray, Mr. Niall Campbell, rector of Kilmartin, and Mr. Gilbert M'Olehallum, rector of Craignish, both notaries public, and Brayne M'Viear, harper (*cytharista*) to the Earl. In the Reddendo Sorobay alone is referred to as a 4 merk land.—('A' and 'C.')

19. Same place & date: Obligation by the Earl (with his wife's consent), narrating that, as he finds that the tenants of the 4 merk land of Sorobay used to pay certain dues to John M'Douill V'Gillechallum and his predecessors, tenants of Corwarranbeg, in the Earl's own lifetime and also in the time of John M'Douill Cragneis, therefore this payment is to continue under the new ownership of the property.—('A.')

19a. At Sorobay, 13 June 1549: Sasine on No. 18, given by Malcolm M'Douill M'Gillechallum of Corwarranbeg, as baillie. Witnesses: Dunean M'Dowle V'Ane, Allan M'Intyepick, Tawish M'Towle V'Ane, Evar M'Ane V'Donchie, Donald M'Kindlay and Findlay M'Gilleker.—('A'); but misdated and given as No. 22 in Ross's Inventory.)

20. At Inveraray, 9 Nov. 1572 : Precept of clare constat by the Earl of Argyll, addressed to his beloved Colin Campbell of Barbreck and Malcolm Carswell, Captain of Craignish, as his baillies, for infefting Duncan Campbell M'Doule, son of deceased Dougall Campbell M'Ane V'Neill, in the 5 merk land of Sorobay and the Islands M'Neving and Quhingek (*sic*). Witnesses : Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck, Duncan Campbell of Duntroun, John Campbell of Ulva and Duncan Campbell of Danna.—(' A.')

21. At Toyintaynis, 15 April 1589 : Charter of sale by Duncan M'Dougald V'Ean *alias* Campbell of Sorobay to Duncan Campbell of Dannay, of the above land and islands ; with precept of sasine, addressed to John Campbell of Rudill. Witnesses : Duncan gair M'Dougald Dannay, Malcolm gair M'Molen, Gilbert M'Sorle Conoyche (*sic*) and his son, Patrick M'Conachie V'Couill, Donald M'Vicar, pastor of Kilmolrue, and Cuthbert Adamson, notary public.—(' A.')

23. At Tontynish, 11 Dec. 1593 : Contract, narrating that Duncan M'Coule Dannay *alias* Campbell of Sorobay has sold to Duncan Campbell of Dannay, as a wadset for 1,800 merks, his 5 merk land of Sorobay, Ylen M'Nevin and Dowag, all in the barony of Craignish, which wadset was to be redeemable after 17 years, of which there are 14 years still to run from next Whitsunday ; and now the said Duncan M'Coule agrees not to alienate the reversion until the 17 years have expired, and then to give the other the first offer of it. Witnesses : Duncan gair M'Coule Dannay, John M'Taviss, Niall oig M'Taviss, Donald M'Lukas and Gilchrist M'Iver V'Illechrist, servitors of said Duncan Campbell (of Dannay), Patrick M'Conachie V'Coule, son of said Duncan M'Coule, and Cuthbert Adamson, notary.—(' A.')

NOTE.—This reveals an error in No. 21. It was, of course, obvious from the patronymics that Patrick could not be the son of Gilbert M'Sorle.

24. Same place & date : Letters of Reversion by Duncan Campbell of Dannay to Duncan M'Duil V'Ean *alias* Campbell of Sorobay, in respect of above wadset, the charter of which is stated to have been signed on 29 April 1589. Witnesses : Angus M'Ilmun in Ylen M'Nevein, Patrick M'Conachie M'Coule, son of said Duncan M'Duil, Duncan mor M'Molen and Cuthbert Adamson, notary.—(' A.')

26. At Barrichbeyan, 13 Nov. 1596 : Contract between

Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan and his wife, Allassat nyc Donachie V'Iver, on the one part, and Duncan M'Coule Dannay *alias* Campbell of Sorobay on the other part, narrating the above wadset, and that the said Duncan M'Coule, being indigent and unable to redeem the land, sells the reversion to Ronald and his wife for 800 merks. Witnesses : George Campbell, brother of said Ronald, Angus M'Illihanyeh, John M'Ille-challum, Malcolm M'Keisaig in Dunaurusay, Robert M'Farlane, Gilbert M'Inlych, and Cuthbert Adamson.—('A' and 'C.')

27. At Carsaik, 20 Jan. & 13 Feb. 1596/7 : Renunciation by Duncan Campbell M'Coule Dannay to Duncan Campbell of Dannay, narrating that the former had sold to the latter his 6 merk land of Sorobay, Illen M'Neven and Dowag, all in the barony of Craignish, under reversion for 1,800 merks, and that it was agreed that Dannay was to have the first refusal of the reversion ; but that Duncan M'Coule, had since sold the reversion to Ronald Campbell of Barriehbeyan. Therefore he hereby annuls this latter sale and sells the reversion to said Duncan Campbell of Dannay. Witnesses : Rorie M'Conachie V'Ean in Rowdaill, Duncan gair M'Coul Dannay, brother of said Duncan M'Coule, John M'Goun in Carsaik, Gilbert M'Inlych, servitor to Cuthbert Adamson, Angus Campbell, fiar of Dannay, and James Kincaid and Cuthbert Adamson, co-notaries.—('A' and 'C.')

28. At Ballimore in Glassary, 8 Dec. 1607 : Contract of sale between Duncan Campbell of Dannay on the one part, and his brother german, Colin Campbell of Kilberrie (as taking burden for his lawful son, Patrick Campbell) on the other part, whereby Duncan sells to Colin and Patrick (in liferent and fee), for 2,400 merks the 4 merk land of Sorobay and 1 merk land of the isle of M'Niven, which are to be held of the Earl of Argyll for certain duties conform to the original charter of the land given to Dowgall Dannache *alias* Campbell. Witnesses : Donald Campbell of Duntroon and his brother german, Mr. John Campbell, Duncan Campbell, lawful son of Donald Campbell of Blairintibert, Alexander M'Iver, apparent of Kirnan, John dow M'Cawis in Ballimore, and Hugh Campbell, notary public.—('A' and 'C.')

NOTE.—The Argyll Sasines show that Donald of Blairintibert was succeeded by his *natural* son, Duncan ; so that 'lawful son' in this writ may be an error.

29. At Kilmartin, 16 Dec. 1608 : Charter of the 5 merk land of Sorobay and Illan M'Nevin, with the island of Illannahuinsaig and other isles, by Duncan Campbell of Dannay to his brother german, Colin Campbell of Kilberrie, in liferent, and to Patrick Campbell (son of said Colin by Marion M'Dougall) in fee, and to the lawful heirs male of said Patrick's body, whom failing to his brothers german, James, Donald and Alexander Campbell, and their heirs as above, *seriatim*, whom failing to Archibald Campbell and his lawful heirs male whatsoever. Witnesses : John M'Patrick V'Doull V'Caus of Dunardarie, Colin Campbell (*sic*), his brother german, Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck, Donald Campbell, son of the granter, Duncan Campbell, son of Donald Campbell of Blairintibert, Alexander M'Neill gorm V'Tauise in Fearling, and George Loudoun, notary public.—(' A.')

NOTE.—The substitute, Archibald Campbell, above, is not described in the Duke of Argyll's abstract ; but it was probably Kilberrie's father, who bore that name.

30. 18 Dec. 1608 : Sasine on last, wherein Colin Campbell, brother german of Dougall Campbell of Auchinbreck, acts as attorney for Patrick. Witnesses : John M'Harlich V'Ean V'Olechallum V'Iver in Sorobay, John M'Ewin V'Lachlan there, Niall M'Donchie dow V'Gilleis there, Colin Campbell M'Donchie modir and Gilbert M'Angus V'Almund.—(' A.')

31. At Edinburgh, 3 Aug. 1627 : Instrument of resignation of above lands to Lord Lorne, following on a disposition, dated 15 May 1627, by Patrick Campbell, lawful son of deceased Colin Campbell of Kilberrie, in favour of Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan. This took place at the Earl of Morton's house at Nidriw Wynd Head, Edinburgh.—(' A.')

32. 23 Aug. 1627 : Charter of Confirmation and Novodamus of above lands by Lord Lorne (with consent of the Commissioners of his father, who is abroad), in favour of said Ronald, pursuant to a resignation by Patrick Campbell of Innerhea, lawful son of deceased Colin Campbell of Kilberrie.—(' A.')

33. 9 April 1628 : Sasine on last (John M'Gillechallum V'Doniell in Corranbeg being baillie), witnessed by Donald roy M'Lartie in Sorobay, Duncan M'Allister V'Harlich *alias* Campbell and his brother, Archibald, both also in Sorobay, Gillemichael M'Oshean, miller at Craignish Mill, and Malcolm M'Gillechallum, son of said baillie.—(' A.')

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LAND OF CORVORRANMORE.

34. 21 Oct. 1623 : Sasine of the 3 merk land of Corvorrانmore, 5 merk land of Barvrackan, 1 merk land of Pennycastle, 3 merk land of Airdraignish, and the islands of Resigphaidean, Corresay, Resantrow and Garrowisay, and also the lands of Gartcharran and the £5 land and island of Shuna, given personally by Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan to his third lawful son, Archibald Campbell. Witnesses : Alexander M'Innes V'Lartich of Gartcharran, Gilbert M'Ean V'Gilchrist *alias* Campbell in Barvrackan, John M'Olchallum, officer in Craignish, Duncan M'Douill V'Gillechallum in Barvrackan, John oig Campbell, natural brother of said Ronald, and John M'Findlay V'Infeder, Ronald's servitor. Regd. in Argyll Sasines, 1 Nov. 1623.—('A.')

35. At Inveraray, 23 June 1669 : Contract between Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, for himself and as taking burden for his only lawful son, George Campbell, on the one part, and Ronald Campbell of Lagganloch an on the other part, narrating that, on 18 June 1614, Archibald, Earl of Argyll, with consent of his wife, Annas Cornwallis, wadset the above lands of Corvorrانmore, Barvrackan, Pennycastle, Airdraignish and the four islands to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan for 8,200 merks ; that the last-named Ronald assigned, on 2 Sept. 1623, to his third lawful son, Archibald Campbell, and his heirs, whom failing to Ferquhard Campbell, second lawful son of said Ronald and father of the present Ronald of Lagganloch an. All the other parties are now dead, and Ronald (who is described as Ferquhard's only lawful son) dispones to said George, in fee. Witnesses : John Zuill in Inveraray and his brother, Nicoll Zuill, and Duncan Fisher, notary.—('C.')

LAND OF CORVORRANBEG.

36. At Dunoon, 10 July 1547 : Feu charter and confirmation by Archibald, Earl of Argyll, with consent of his wife, Katharine N'Lean, to his beloved servitor, John M'Douill M'Gillechallum V'Eyseg, and his heirs, of the 2 merk land of Corvorrانbeg in Craignish, with the office of sergeandry or mairship of the tenendry or bailliary of Craignish and of the lands of Dowag, Narrachane, Kilmun and Duninverane on Lochavich, and the mairship and principal sergeandry of the

Earl's lands and also of the lands of the lordships of Barbreck, M'Iver of Lergachonie, and Barrichbeyan, in Craignish parish—all which properties were formerly included in the tenendry *libere hereditarie dño mak doule cragnische et dicto Joanni a predecessoribus suis tanquam sue native terre hieburnice dowis-sach*, and are now occupied by the grantee. To be held of the Earl and Countess and the heirs male of their marriage, whom failing Colin Campbell, the Earl's son by his late wife, Margaret Graham, and the lawful heirs male to be gotten of his body, whom failing the Earl's own heirs and successors. With precept of sasine addressed to Finlay M'Moldonich and Donald glas M'Oshenag. Witnesses: Archibald, Master of Argyll, Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, Mr. Archibald M'Vicar, provost of Kilmun, Mr. Niall Campbell, rector of Kilmartin and Gilbert M'Olchallum, rector of Craignish (all three notaries), and John Uchtre of Kildalvan.—('C.')

39. At Stirling, 18 June 1592: Precept of clare constat by Colin Campbell (natural son of deceased Archibald, Earl of Argyll, by Beatrice Campbell), as Lord of Craignish and superior of the subjects concerned conform to an excambion between Archibald, [present] Earl of Argyll, with consent of his curators, on the one part, and the said Colin on the other part, in favour of Donald M'Illechallum V'Douill V'Illechallum as son and heir of deceased Gillechallum M'Ean V'Douil V'Illechallum, who died last vested in the above properties in the reign of the present King. Colin Campbell of Barbreck Craignish is appointed baillie. Witnesses: Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, John Stewart of Appin, Charles Campbell of Kilbryde, chamberlain, Archibald M'Lachlan of Strones and Mr. James Kirk, notary.—('C.')

NOTE.—It is, perhaps, worth noting that the above bailie, Colin of Barbreck, was also a natural son of one of the Earls and was also at one time 'of Craignish.' This is proved by an Inventory of Barbreck Writs in the Argyll Charter Chest, and also by his marriage contract with Katharine, heiress of the old line of Barbreck, registered in the Books of Council and Session on 31st January 1576-7. On the other hand, the son of Beatrice is shown in the same Register (20th February 1606) to have died without issue, his heir being John Campbell of Calder, whose father (the third laird of Calder) had been maternal uncle of Colin. Barbreck, of course, left issue, as is indicated in the Manuscript. It is difficult to say which Earls were the respective fathers of the two Colins; but I suspect that they were the fourth and fifth Earls.

40 & 41. Date missing (Ross gives 1615) : Two fragments of a contract, much perished. This concerns a wadset, for 600 merks, of Corvorrانbeg and mill by Gillecallum M'Ean roy to John M'Illechallum V', cautioners for the former being Alexander M'Lardich of Gartcharran and Donald roy M'Lardich in Sorobay, while Duncan M'Callum of Poltalloch and Kenneth M'Isack seem to be curators to one or other of the parties. Witnesses: Mr. Niall Campbell, parson of Glassary, Duncan M'Neill V' in Kilmartin, Molecallum M'Ferchar in Corvorrانmore, and James Kincaid, younger.—(' C.')

42. 30 Dec. 1667 : Sasine of above land and offices, given to Malcolm M'Callum of Corvorrانbeg, on a charter by the Earl of Argyll to him and his heirs male whatsoever bearing the surname of Clanchallum, which was signed at Inveraray, 5 Nov. 1667. Witnesses to sasine : Donald dow M'Callum in Corvorrانbeg, Malcolm M'Keissaig there, Duncan M'Callum in Strone and Dugall Campbell in Sorobay. Genl. Reg. Sasines, xviii. 274.—(' C.')

43. 30 Nov. 1667 : Instrument of Resignation by John Campbell, brother german to Archibald Campbell of Inverawe, as procurator for Malcolm M'Callum of Corvorrانbeg, in favour of Zachary M'Callum of Poltalloch and the heirs male of his body (whom failing his heirs male whatsoever, bearing the surname of Clanchallum, whom failing the Earl of Argyll and his heirs), of the above lands and offices.—(' C.')

44. 30 Dec. 1667 : Sasine on last, witnessed as in No. 42.—(' C.')

45. At Kilmartin, 13 Nov. 1677 : Disposition of the 2 merk land of Corvorrانbeg and mill by Zachary M'Callum of Poltalloch to Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan. Witnesses : Ronald Campbell of Lagganlochan, John M'Callum, lawful son of said Zachary, and John Stewart, Commissary Clerk of Argyll.—(' C.')

LANDS OF DOWAIG.

46. At the Dornyng of Ylane M'Neving in Craignish, 21 May 1573 : Obligation by Duncan M'Doule V'Ane of Sorobay to infest his son and apparent heir, Niall M'Donche, in the liferent of Dowaig on Lochavichside. With this in view, Duncan has

found Colin Campbell of Barbreck and his heirs sureties for the said Colin's grant of the land ; and Colin has bound himself as surety to Niall for his (Colin's) sister, Agnes Campbell, wife of said Duncan, that she will renounce the land, excepting her liferent rights over Sorobay, Ilan M'Nevin and Dowraig ; and the writs are to be handed over for safe custody to Lachlan M'Donche of Dunemuck. Witnesses : Archibald M'Iver bane of Lergachonie, Kanneche oig M'Lachlan, John ballif M'Ane V'Neill, John M'Olchallum keir, and others.—(' A.')

NOTE.—I am informed that a dornying is a place where, at low tide, one can pass over to an island.

CHURCH LANDS.

48. At Achafyne in Ariskeodnish and Pennykill in Craignish, 3 & 6 Jan. 1590/1 : Sasine given personally by Niall Campbell, rector and vicar of Craignish and chaplain of the Chaplainry of the B.V.M. sometime situated in Kilmartin parish church, to James Campbell M'Neill V'Gillespick V'Ane, of the 3 merk land of Achafyne in Ariskeodnish (belonging to said Chaplainry), and 1 merk land of Pennykill and Darrak, called Kilmolrwe, in the barony of Craignish (belonging to said Vicarage of Craignish), with the bailliarics of the said lands, but reserving for the incumbent at all future times the 4 acres of land known as the Rector's Acre, in Craignish, with pasturage for 4 cows and the manse. Witnesses at Achafyne : Dougall M'Gillespick V'Neill, Dougall M'Gillespick V'Ane and his brother, Archibald, Donald M'Donchy V'Illechonill in Melfort, Malcolm M'Sir Ewar in Kilmartin, and Gillenyff M'Kerris, servant of said rector. Witnesses at Pennykill : the first four as above, and Finlay M'Gillechallum V'Arthur. Dougall M'Arthur is notary.—(' C.')

49. At Kilmartin, 18 May 1602 : Charter by James Campbell, natural son of deceased Niall Campbell, rector of Craignish, to his beloved cousin, Archibald Campbell *alias* Gillespick bayn, son and apparent heir of Archibald Campbell M'Gillespick V'Ean, of the 1 merk land of Kilmolrw and Darrag, in implement of a contract between said James and said Archibald, elder, dated at Kilmartin 6 April 1600. The properties are called the Kirktoon and are to be held, away from James, in feufarm of the vicars of Kilmolrw church. Witnesses : Mr.

Niall Campbell, bishop of Argyll, Archibald Carswell of Carnassarie, Mr. Donald M'Olvorie, minister at Kilmichael, and James Kincaid, notary.—('C.')

50. At Kilmolruy in Craignish, 27 Feb. 1626: Sasine of Pennykill and Darrak, called Kilmorie (*sic*), given personally by Archibald Campbell of Kilmorie (*sic* for Kilmolruy) to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan and his lawful son, Archibald Campbell, in liferent and fee. Witnesses: Malcolm M'Iver, lawful son of Charles M'Iver of Asknish, Alexander M'Lartich of Gartcharran, and Donald M'Coran, servitor of James Kincaid, notary.—('A.')

51. At Pennycastle in Craignish, 10 March 1629: Disposition and assignation of the above lands, with bailliary, irredeemably, for £1,220 Scots, by Archibald Campbell of Kilmorie (*sic*) to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan and his third lawful son, Archibald Campbell. There are certain exemptions of duties; but Ronald and his successors are bound to serve the Earls of Argyll in resisting Englishmen and Islesmen when they invade the kingdom or the Earl's country. Witnesses: Mr. Colin Campbell, parson and vicar of Craignish, Ferquhard Campbell, lawful son of said Ronald, John Stirling, slater in Kilmolruy, Walter Moresoun, quarrier there, and Robert Ferguson, Commissary Clerk of Lorne.—('A.')

52. Next day: Sasine on same, witnessed by John our M'Douill V'Ean roy in Barvrackan, Donald M'Fadzean, servitor of Robert Ferguson, notary, &c.—('A.')

LANDS OF THE TWO LERGACHONIES & GREINOG.

53. At Asknish, 23 Jan. 1581/2: Contract of Excambion between Duncan M'Iver of Stronserow and his son, Iver, fiar thereof, on the one part, and Archibald M'Iver banc of Lergachonie and his son and apparent heir, Dowgall, on the other part, whereby Archibald and Dowgall renounce the lands of Asknish with the isles thereof, called Ellan-na-gawn and Ellan-Craignish, now estimated at a four merk land, of which Duncan and Iver are superiors; and it is agreed that Duncan and Iver and their tenants of Asknish, Barmullin, Kilbryde, Ardlarach and Lagganlochan are to have their corn ground at the mill of Lergachoniemore for payment merely of grinding-costs. On his part, Duncan is to pay 1,200 merks to redeem Archibald's

lands now in wadset and to relieve his sureties, so far as the money goes—*viz.*, 300 merks to Niall Campbell, parson of Craignish, 300 merks to John M'Iver of Kirnan, 100 merks to John Campbell of Inverlevir, 100 merks to Anna nein Uhi Kerlie, widow of Mr. Archibald Campbell of Dannay; and Duncan is to relieve Archibald at the hands of Duncan M'Gillechallum V'Iver of Kilbryde in respect of a yearly payment of victual, and also to infest Archibald and his heirs male, descending from his father, Iver bane M'Iver, in the 10 merk land of the two Lergachonies and Greinog. John M'Neill of Kenmoir and Duncan Campbell, apparent of Inverlevir, are sureties for said Duncan M'Iver. Witnesses: Gillechallum M'Douill V'Gillechallum of Corvorrancog, Alexander M'Neill in Ardsture Malcolm M'Douill V'Finlay, John our M'Allester V'Iver, John oig M'Allester V'Doule V'Iver, Dougall M'Ane V'Ane V'Duil in Ardlarach, Gillespick M'Thorne V'Villi, Patrick M'Dowgall V'Ane V'Kerlich, and Dowgall M'Arthur, notary.—('A.')

54. At Lergachoniemore, 17 Nov. 1586: Sasine (just copy) of the half of Lergachoniemore, extending to a $2\frac{1}{2}$ merk land, given by Archibald M'Iver bane of Lergachoniemore to Archibald Campbell *alias* M'Ean V'Allaster V'Iver. Witnesses: Duncan Campbell of Inverlevir and his servant, Donald M'Donachie V'Ean, Donald M'Pherson, minister of Kilmartin, and Ewen roy M'Iver.—('A.')

55. At Tibertich, 3 April 1592: Instrument of pronouncement of decret arbitral between Dougall M'Gillespick V'Iver bane of Lergachonie and his brother, Iver, whereby Dougall is required to 'latt' to Iver the half of Lergachoniemore. The arbiters are Colin Campbell of Barbreck, Mr. Niall Campbell, bishop of Argyll, John Campbell of Duntroon, John Campbell of Kenmoir, Alexander Campbell of Torran, and Niall Campbell, parson of Craignish, with Duncan Campbell of Inverlevir apparently as president.—('A.')

56. At Lergachonie, 19 April 1595: Renunciation by Iver M'Gillespick V'Iver bane *alias* M'Iver in favour of his brother, Dougall M'Gillespick V'Iver bane of Lergachonie, in respect of the 5 merk land of Lergachoniemore, which his late father, Archibald M'Iver bane of Lergachonie, had granted him in accordance with the marriage contract of his said father with Margaret Campbell, mother of said Iver, and this in consideration of the said Dougall having granted him half the lands of Lergachoniemore with mill. Witnesses: John M'Ewin V'Doull

of Barnacharrache and Dougall M'Dowle V'Allaster V'Doul in Ardnahoway.—(' A.')

57. At Kilmartin, 10 Nov. 1606 : Sale by Charles Campbell M'Ean V'Allaster V'Iver to his beloved Iver M'Gillespick V'Iver bane, portioner of Lergachonie, of the 8/8 land of Lergachoniemore in Craignish, extending to one horse-gang. Witnesses : Angus Campbell of Inverlevir, Iver M'Illevernagh, fiar of the Oib, John M'Dougall of Barnacarach and John M'Callum. Annexed is a receipt by Charles for 300 merks in settlement of above sale.—(' A.')

58. At Asknish, 1 March 1610 : Sale Contract, whereby Charles M'Iver of Asknish binds himself to infest Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan in the 9 merk land of the two Lergachonies and mill, with bailliary and crownship thereof—to be held of the said Charles, as superior, as freely as they were possessed by Archibald M'Iver bane and his son, Dougall M'Gillespick V'Iver, and Archibald M'Doull V'Gillespick. And Charles binds himself to discharge the letters of Lawburrows, raised at his instance against the said Ronald and his son, and against Alexander M'V'Conell V'Ean. Witnesses : Angus Campbell of Inverlevir, Niall Campbell of Kendmoir, Donald Campbell of Achnadrayn, Colin Campbell, brother of said Angus, Iver oig M'Gillespick V'Iver, and Patrick M'Coran, notary. The price is 400 merks.—(' A.')

60. At Cambusnanes, 28 Feb. 1610 : Renunciation by Angus Campbell of Inverlevir to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, in respect of the lands of Greinog in Glendoyne and the two Lergachonies, Ronald having paid 300 merks in satisfaction of all that is owing to Angus by deceased Archibald M'Iver bane of Lergachonie, deceased Dougall M'Gillespick, his son, and Archibald M'Doull V'Gillespick V'Iver bane, his grandson. Witnesses : Alexander M'Doncill V'Ean and his brother german, George, Colin Campbell, brother german of said Angus, Archibald Campbell, son of said Ronald, and Patrick M'Coran and George Loudoun, notaries.—(' A.')

LAND OF GARRARAN.

61. 21 Nov. 1720 : Sasine of a security for 3,000 merks over Garraran in favour of Archibald Campbell of Huntingtoun and his wife, Mary Campbell. Regd. 14 Jan. 1721.—(Not examined.)

LANDS OF BRAE LORNE.

62. At Glenorchy Castle, 27 Nov. (?) 1571 : Nineteen years' tack, from Whitsunday 1573, of the lands of Brae Lorne by Colin Campbell of Glenorchy to his beloved John M'Donil V'Ane, baron of Barachnaboy (*sic* for Barrichbeyan). Duncan Campbell, fiar of Glenorchy, also signs. Witnesses : V'Conochy, Captain of Glenorchy Castle, Tarlech M'Ane V'Carlych, John bane M'Nab, and James Rich. Much perished at testing clause.—(' C.')

62a. At Stirling, 6 Feb. 1592/3 : Five years' tack by same to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, from Whitsunday 1592. It is laid down that Ronald is to be ready himself, with four men, to serve Glenorchy and his heirs in time of hosting ; and ' gif we have uther wayes ado,' he is to serve with six men at Glenorchy's charges. But if Ronald is engaged ' in my cheiffis seruice,' his brother or eldest son is to take his place under Glenorchy. Witnesses : James Campbell, apparent of Lawers, and his brother, Colin Campbell, George Schaw, brother to Harie Schaw of Cambusmoir, John Muscheit and Alexander Levingstoun.—(' C.')

63. At Balloch, 25 Feb. 1597/8 : Another five years' tack to Ronald. Witnesses : Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, John Campbell in Auchenic . . . , Alexander Schaw of Cambusmore, Gavin Hamilton, notary, and his son, Patrick.—(' C.')

64. At the Isle of Lochdochart, 12 April 1611 : Ditto to Rannald M'Ean V'Donald *alias* Campbell of Barrichbeyan. Witnesses : John Campbell of Auchinryre, John M'Carlych in Finlarig, Thomas M'Kie, servitor to Glenorchy, and John Balvaire, notary.—(' C.')

65. At Balloch, 12 March 1631 : Ditto to Ronald. Witnesses : Duncan Campbell, fiar of Lavginscheoch, Archibald Campbell of Kilmarie, Mungo Lockhart of Nether Howdoun and Walter Dagleish, notary.—(' C.')

66. At Finlarig, 28 July 1631 : Tack by Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, for the lifetime of the shortest liver of them both, of the 1 merk land of Elrig, 1 merk land of Blairin, 1 merk land of Cloichrich, 1 merk land of Drumnasalg, 1 merk land of Blairnedin, 2 merk land of Corrilorne, 2 merk land of Ewning, 2 merk land of Stringis, 2 merk land of Finglen, the lands of Altacarmick,

and the 2 merk land of Selchrich, all in Lorne. Witnesses : Patrick Campbell of Edinample, Lockhart and Dalgleish.—(' C.')

NOTE.—Some of the previous tacks show that these lands constituted the lands of Brae Lorne.

67. At Castle Kilchurn, 10 Dec. 1650 : Five years' tack, from Whitsunday 1651, of the £10 land of Brae Lorne by John Campbell, fiar of Glenorchy (with consent of his father and grandfather, John Campbell, apparent of Glenorchy and Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy), to Archibald Campbell, Captain of Craignish, as tutor to his nephew, Alexander Campbell, now of Barrichbeyan, who has paid 1,200 merks for relief of the debts of the House of Glenorchy. Witnesses : Duncan M'Corquodale of Phantillands and his brother german, Mr. Archibald M'Corquodale, and James Gilberson, notary.—(' C.')

NOTE.—There follow numerous wadsets, reversions, etc., in respect of these lands, some of which narrate later tacks and wadsets by Glenorchy. These form the subject of entries in the Argyll Sasines ; and I therefore omit them.

BONDS OF MANRENT.

NOTE.—Some of these occur in Gregory's MS. and in *Collect. de Reb. Alban.* Others are new. I give the latter and such of the former as bear upon the MS.

93. At Barrichbeyan, 8 April 1592 : Bond of Manrent by Malcolm mor M'Kesaig and his sons, Donald bane, Duncan and Gilcallum M'Kesaig, to their beloved Ronald Campbell M'Ean V'Donald of Barrichbeyan and his heirs. Witnesses : Gilchrist M'Ean V'Gillechrist V'Donald, Donald M'Lalan, Charles and Allister M'Ean V'Donald, brothers of said Ronald, Dugal M'Dugal Craignish and Archibald M'Ean gorm V'Dugal Craignish.—(' A.')

94. At the Ile of Ellanan in Kreggenis the xxj day of Februcr in the zeir of God 1604 It is appointit contractit finallic endit and aggreit betwix the parteis underwrittin To wit Rannald Campbell of Barrachybyen with consent and assent of his germane brethir Alexr. George and Archd. Campbellis and Ewir Makgillespik vek ewir bane of Lergachony and certane utheris thair kin and freindis on the ane pairt and Donald

makangus vekgillichaynich, Duncane oig, Neill, Gilcreist, Gillicallum, John ower and John oig his germane brethir And siklike Johne makdonill vekconchie vekillehaynych, Duncan oig his germane brothir, Donald makeane vekdonill vekillehaynych, Angus oig and Johne dow his brethir, Donald oig makdonill vekdowsey vekgillehaynych, Gillicallum his sone and Duncane oig his broder sone on the uther pairt In maner forme and effect as eftir followis : That is to say Forsamekle as Johne dow Campbell broder germane to the said Rannald wes slane in the Ile of Jewra be Angus Makdonill of Dwnyvaigis schaweis in the moneth of July the zeir of God 1602 and siklike it wes notourlie knawin and kend that John makdonill vekgillechreist vekgillehaynych and Neill makane vek donill vekgillehaynych wes art and part of the slachter of the sd. umqle. Johne dow Campbell in putting handis in his body, halding him in handis and taking his wappynis fra him and striking (him) thro' the body with his sword and siklike manifestlie knawin and kend that Angus Macdonchie vekgillehaynych and Neill makdonill vekdonchie vek gillehaynych wer art and part of the said slachter in sa far as thay kepit sacretie fallowschip and company oft and syndrie tymes eftir the said slachter with the personis takeris and slayeris of the said John dow thay and the committaris of the said slachter being then schaweis to the said Angus makdonill of Dwnivaig and committing in the menetyme Raif and spulze within the erll of crgylis cuntrie throw the quhilks it chancit the said Rannald Campbell and his compliers to slay the said Angus makdonchy Vekgillehaynych father of the said Donald makangus and his said brethir and siclike to slay the said Neill makdonill vek donchie broder sone to the said umqle. Angus : Nevirtheles baith the saidis pairteis for sindrie causes moving thame and in speciall becaus the said Donald makangus and his brethir germane foresaid ar sister sones to the said Rannald ; and baith the saidis pairteis thinkis (it) mair necessar and kyndlie and commodious for baith thair weifare that familiaritie freindschip kyndnes and gude nychtbourheid be observit and kepit amangis thame in tymes cuming (and) nocht innimitie and fellony : Thairfoir howevir the saidis slachteris on ather syd hes proceidit and bene comittit baith the saidis pairteis hes remittit and forgevin and be the tenor of thir presentis fullelie remittis and forgevis ilk ane of thame uther of the saidis slachteris comittit on ather syde and the rancour and malice of thair hertis conceavit aganis utheris thairthrow : That is to say the

said Rannald Campbell for hymself and brethren foirsaid kyn and freindis and assistaris Remittis the forenamit Clan makillehaynych thair airis and successouris for evir the slachter of the said Johne dow his broder and all that may be imput to thame thairthrow in the law or by the law : And in lykmaner the foresaid Clan makillehaynich for thameselffis thair barnis and successouris kyn freindis and assistaris Remittis the foirnameit Rannald Campbell his airis brethir and compliers being art and pairt of the slachter of the said Angus and Neill, and all that may be input to thame and ilk ane of thame thairthrow in the law or by the law : And baith the saidis pairteis bindis and oblissis thame thair airis and successouris to be leill trew and of auld freindis to uther in all tymes cuming and to fortefie maintene and assist ilk ane of thame utheris in all their lesum actionis caussis and querrellis aganis all maner of man except the Erllis of Argyle thair successouris and surname being exceptit be the said Ranald and his foirsaidis and Maklane of Doward and his successouris being exceptit be the said Clan Makillehaynych And quhilk of the saidis pairteis failzeis in fulfilling thair part of this present Contract but violatis the samin Bindis and oblissis thame thair airis executouris and assigneis to content and pay the sown of ane thowsand merkis gude and usuall monie of Scotland to the pairtie keparis and fulfillaris of thair pairt thairof or euir thay be hard in judgement thair failze and brek being first knawn and kend and siclyke the Clan makillehaynich bindis and oblissis thame thair airis and successouris that thay nor nane that thay may stop or lat do hurt nor harme in ony tymes cuming in persoun or guddis to ony that dwellis within the Erll of Ergyllis cuntrie bot as law ordainis, under the paine foresaid and baith the saidis pairteis hes fund the personis underwritin of thair propir confessionis souerteis and cautionaris for thame for fulfilling all and sindrie the premisses respective ilk ane thair awin pairt thairof and the saidis cautionaris Bindis and oblisses thame thair airis and assigneis in the said cautionarie and baith the saidis pairteis bindis and oblisses thame thair airis and assigneis to releif and skaithles keip thair said cautionaris of the said cautionarie : Cautionaris for the said Clan makillehaynych Donald Campbell of Duntrone Cautionar for twa hundreth and fyftie merkis, Mr. Neill Campbell Bishop of Argyle Cautioner for twa hundreth and fyftie merkis and John dow mc.allane vc.sorle of Shwnay Cautionar for fyve hundreth merkis and Hector Maklane of Doward to releif the

saidis Cautioneris according to his oblißing (here follows the usual clause of registration in the Sheriff Court Books of Argyll) IN WITNES HEIROF baith the saidis pairteis and Cautionaris hes subscriwit thir presentis as followis zeir day and place foresaid Befoir thir witnessis Archibald Campbell of Barbrek creggenis, Archd. Campbell makgillespik vc.eané (or *baine*) in Kilmolrwe Donald rewaich makdonill (or *makdonchie*) makdunlaif in Ard-larach in Looing Johne makgillechallum vc.ane vek donill, Donald makgillechallum his broder Officiar of Kreggenis, Gillespik makgillecreist vc. larty and Gillespik makane gwrn vekdoull Creggenis.

(signed) RONALD CAMPBELL off Barrichibyand.

(The rest of the principals sign by Dougall M'Arthur, notary.)

Signed personally by HECTOR MAKLEANE OFF DOWARD at Kilmartin, 24 June 1604, before Duncan Campbell of Ulway, Archibald Campbell of Barbrek and Duncan M'Doneill V'Olchallum of Paltalloch.

Signed by John dow of Shuna by James Kincaid, notary.

Signed personally by DONALD CAMPBELL OFF DUNTRONE.

Signed personally by MR. JOHNE CAMPBELL, as cautioner, but 'onlie to the tyme that my father Mr. Neill Campbell returne home godwilling nixt eftir this twentie fourth of Junij 1604 and thaireftir to be as frie as I was befoir the subscriptioun heirof.'—('A' and 'C.')

NOTE.—I give the above in full as having a special interest. I am informed by the Rev. Hector Cameron that the word 'schaw' was adopted as a surname by the M'Gillechaynichs from the Ayrshire surname as being not altogether unlike the name by which they had been known in Gaelic, viz. Sitheachair, or rather Mac-Shitheachair—their ancestors having been 'wolfers' (wolf-killers) to the Macdonalds. He states that Mac-Shitheach(air) became MacSheathaich, MacSheathanaich, and so Mac'Ille-sheathanaich, which thus accounts for the Clan-name. A branch of the family in Ariskeodnish anglicised to 'Jackson'!

95. At Barrichbeyan, 7 March 1605: Contract of friendship between Gillecillum M'Feithe of Collisnaye (*sic*) and his foster-father, John growm M'V'Kechern, officiar of Collisnaye, on the one part, and Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan on the other part. Witnesses: Donald M'Donald chrom *alias* Campbell, George Campbell, brother of said Ronald, John M'Feithe,

brother to said Gillecallum, Archibald M'V'Kechern, son of said John growm, and Donald growm M'Morrachie.—('A.')

96. At Cambusnanesran, 28 Feb. 1610 : Contract between Angus Campbell of Inverlevir and Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, who, 'understanding of gude memorie that the Twa houssis of qm thai ar discendit, Hes bane of befoir in auld freindschip and familiaritie, and that thai have asistit uthers hithertillis and willing heirthrow, that the lyk freindschip be upholding be them and thair successors, berand thair armes and surname ilk ane of them, to wthers,' bind themselves to assist each other in all lawful affairs and business against all men except the Earls of Argyll and Glenorchy, 'and sall wit nor heir of ather of thair skayth or hurt bot sall foirsie uthers thereof according to thair power. And the said Rd. hes grantit him to have ane precious stane perteing to the said Angus, Qlk. stane the said Rd. hes oblissit him and his airis qtsumevir, To mak furthcumand to the said Angus and his airis and to that effect sall anis delyver the said stane in the hands of the said Angus. And the said Angus sall redelyver thairefter the said stane again In and to the custodie and keping perpetuallie of the said Rod. and his airis berand his surname and armes.' And Ronald agrees to hand over the stone when Angus and his heirs 'sall have to do thairwith, the samen beand reportit bak agane eftir thair turne be done'; and if Ronald fails to produce the stone, he is to pay 100 merks as its value, 'all guyle beand secludit.' Witnesses: Alaster M'V'Coneill V'Ean and his brother, George, Duncan dow M'Cule V'Ean, Niall M'Donchie V'Doull, servitor to said Angus, and Patrick M'Coran, notary. Signed by the two principals, and by 'D. Campbell' as witnessing and ratifying, and by the notary as witnessing.—('A' and 'C.')

NOTE.—I have quoted extensively above, as it is difficult to see what part the stone was supposed to play. It can hardly have been a token for demanding help, as only one party holds the token. I can only conclude, therefore, that it possessed some magic qualities. The ratifier, 'D. Campbell,' ought, I suppose, to be Duncan dow M'Cule V'Ean, since he is also a witness; but I am quite unable to place him. The name suggests a cadet of Craignish; but the patronymics make it impossible that he can have been an important member of the family—at the very most, he can only have been a nephew of Ronald; and as Alaster and George were Ronald's full brothers, why should they be excluded in favour of a nephew? On the other hand, the patronymics would make him still more remotely

related to Angus. I suggest that the initial refers to Duncan Campbell, eldest son of Angus and son-in-law of Ronald.

97. At Pennycastle, 26 Aug. 1615: Bond of Manrent by Dougall M'Minister *alias* M'Gra, sometime resident in Ireland, to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan and his heirs, acknowledging that Dougall's ancestors and predecessors had been 'native men and servandis' to Ronald's ancestors and predecessors and had 'bene under thair manrent tuitioun and defence thir mony and sindrie zeiris bigane past memorie of man,' and giving Ronald the Calp of himself and his heirs. Witnesses: Gillichreist M'Gilchrist Campbell in Corranmoir, Archibald Campbell, brother to said Ronald, Donald M'Ean V'Donill (or *V'Douill*) roy and Gilcallum M'Agoun in Pennycastle.—('A.')

NOTE.—The above no longer exists in the Collection, except as a full (modern) transcript. Gregory gives a full transcript, stating that it was made (1833) from the original then in the Collection.

98^b. At Castle Craignish, 18 April 1616: Ditto by Donald M'Ean V'Donald V'Igoull (or *V'Igail*) in Nether Rudill to said Ronald and his heirs, narrating that Donald's deceased father, grandfather and great-grandfather were bound in service, homage and manrent to the heritors of the House of Barrichbeyan, 'descendit of the hous of Craignische,' and acknowledging 'to . . . in the lyk to Rannald Campbell of Barrichbyan and his airis descendit lykways of the said house.' Witness: Rorie M'Donachie V'Ean in Rudill.—('A.')

99. At Edinburgh, 19 April 1632: Lawburrows found by Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan and his sons, John Campbell, fiar thereof, and Ferquhard Campbell, and also by Niall Campbell of Kendmoir, John Campbell, fiar thereof, John M'Gillicallum and John dow M'Donnald V'Donochy, that Murdoch Maclaine of Lochbuie, his wife, bairns, men, tenants and servants shall be harmless and scatheless at their hands.—('C.')

100. At Inveraray, 8 Oct. 1630: Renunciation by Colin Campbell of Barbreck in favour of Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan of a contract of dependance, signed at Inveraray, 25 Oct. 1598, whereby the said Ronald, Dugall oig M'Dugall Craignish and John gorm M'Malcolm V'Duill Craignish bound themselves to depend on the now deceased Archibald Campbell of Barbreck (father of said Colin) and his successors, descending from Colin Campbell of Barbreck, father of said Archibald, and that in

consideration of a money-payment. Witnesses: Malcolm MacNachtan of Stronshiro, Patrick Campbell of Inverhea, Andrew Darling, writer in Edinburgh, and Malcolm Fisher and James Bruce, messengers.—('A.')

MARRIAGE DEEDS.

101. At Edinburgh, 30 June 1486: Papal dispensation by James, bishop of Imola, papal legate to Scotland and England, to his beloved in Christ, *Johanni Donaldi Makcovelkragynys et Effrete Duncani Nekgeyll*, laycis of Argyll diocese, who are related in the fourth and fourth degrees of consanguinity and have had carnal knowledge of one another and have had children; wherefore this dispensation is granted for their marriage. Second year of Pope Innocent VIII.—('C.')

NOTE.—I have given the exact Latin covering the above names, as the author of the MS. states that the husband was Donald, son of John. The document is exceptionally well preserved, and the writing is so clear that any child can read every letter.

102. At Dounaich, 13 Feb. 1594/5: Marriage contract between Iver M'Gillespick, brother of Dowgall M'Gillespick V'Iver bane of Lergachonie, and Deirwaill neyn Ean V'Ewin V'Doule, daughter of John M'Ewin V'Doull of Barnacairach. The bride is to be infested in half the lands of Lergachoniemore, with mill and alehouse, which formed the subject of a decret arbitral, dated at Tibertich, 3 April 1592 (see No. 55). Witnesses: Duncan Campbell of Inverlevir, Alexander Campbell of Torrane, John Reid, vicar of Killynyewir, Ewin M'Allister, Niall M'Ean glas V'Arthur, Alexander M'Ewne, Donald M'Allister M'Aw, and John M'Kellar, vicar of Muckairne. James Kincaid and Socrates M'Ewin V'Corle appear as co-notaries to attest.—('A.')

NOTE.—I have not seen this original; but see No. 1 of Appendix C, where I read the name of the second notary as V'Coile. I would, however, hesitate to insist on my reading as against that of the Duke of Argyll.

104. At Kilvorow and Schangart, 29 & 31 Oct. 1632: Marriage contract (antenuptial) between Mr. John Darroch, minister at Gigha, and Margaret, lawful daughter of and with consent of George Campbell of Ballachlavan. Sureties for John Darroch are John oig Campbell in Balzcoll and Duncan oig M'Gillyglas

there ; and surety for George is his brother german, Alexander Campbell in Skearbols. Written by John Robertson, notary. Witnesses : Mr. William Campbell of Torobols, Moreis Darroch, minister at Kilcalmonell, Niall M'Neill, Commissary of the Isles, Archibald Mudie (?), and Donald Campbell, lawful son of said George.—(' C.')

105. At Inveraray, 3 April 1651 : Marriage Contract (antenuptial) between Dowgall Campbell, younger of Kenmoir, eldest lawful son of John Campbell of Kenmoir, and Isobel Campbell, eldest lawful daughter of Duncan Campbell, . . . to Colin Campbell of Lochnell, both fathers being parties. The bride is to be infetted in the 6 merk land of Fernoch and Soccoch ; but during the lifetime of Margaret Campbell, wife of said John, she is to have, as warrandice, the 5 merk land of Ardinsture and Arrevdowane with the isle called Skeircallychfynnen and half the 2 merk land of Barquheil and Soccoch. It is mentioned that, failing issue to John, the lands revert to the descendants of his great-grandfather, Dowgall Campbell. The bride's father provides a tocher of 3,000 merks, and there is mention of his wife, Moir Campbell, mother of Isobel. Witnesses : Donald M'Olvorie, provost of Inveraray, Donald Cameron, sheriff clerk of Argyll, and his servitor, Colin M'Lachlan, Archibald Campbell, brother german of said Lochnell, Donald M'Laurine, merchant burges of Inveraray, and Archibald Ritchie, servitor of George Campbell, sheriff depute.—(' A ' and ' C.')

NOTE.—The bride's father was uncle to Colin of Lochnell—see Argyll Sasines, 1st ser., ii. 162.

106. At Inveraray, 26 April 1652 : Discharge by Mary N'Allister, daughter of Hector M'Allister of Loup and widow of Archibald Campbell, Captain of Craignish, brother of deceased John Campbell, fiar of Craignish, in favour of (Alexander) Campbell of Craignish, in respect of her rights under her marriage contract with Archibald, which was dated at Ardpatrick and Tarbert, 10 & 21 May 1642. Witnesses to present discharge : Colin Campbell of Lochnell, Duncan Campbell of Inverlevir, John Campbell of Ardchattan and his lawful son, Archibald, George Campbell, sheriff depute of Argyll, and Archibald Ritchie.—(' A.')

108. At Corranbeg, 18 Jan. 1661 : Discharge by Iver M'Iver of Asknish, husband of Mary M'Allister, in favour of Alexander

Campbell of Barrichbeyan, in respect of 2,500 merks. Witnesses: Donald Campbell, brother german of said Alexander, and Ronald Campbell.—('A.')

109. At Auchahairne, 27 Aug. 1673: Marriage Contract between Angus M'Lardich of Gartcharan and Archibald M'Lardich, fiar thereof, on the one part, and Elizabeth Campbell, lawful daughter of deceased Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan, and her uncle, Donald Campbell, brother of said Alexander, on the other part. Witnesses: Mr. John M'Lachlan, minister at Kilvorweh in Craignish, Ewir Campbell, fiar of Ardlarach, and Thomas Campbell in Barrichbeyan. The bride's mother is mentioned as Isobel M'Neill, and there is an elder sister. The tocher is 1,250 merks.—('A.')

110. At Shirvan, 3 & . . . Oct. 1678: Antenuptial marriage contract between Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan and Margaret, lawful daughter to James Campbell of Ardkinglass. Archibald M'Lachlan of Craiginterve is cautioner for James. Witnesses: Ronald Campbell of Lagganlochan, Colin Campbell of Glenan, Alexander Campbell, lawful son of said James, Mr. William M'Lachlan, parson of Kilmartin, and John Stewart, Commissary Clerk of Argyll.—('A' and 'C.')

113. 11 Aug. 1685: Marriage Contract between John M'Lean, brother to Lachlan M'Lean of Torloisk, and Catherine Campbell, daughter to Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan.

NOTE.—This was not examined; but the sasine on it is registered in the Argyll Sasines, 2nd ser., ii. 142.

115. 2 March 1693: Marriage Contract between Archibald Campbell of Sinderland and Alice Campbell, daughter to Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan.

NOTE.—Not examined; but the marriage is mentioned in the marriage contract of her daughter, Margaret, with Colin Campbell of Elister, 21 March 1717. See Argyll Sasines, vi. 13.

116. At Kilmore in Lorn, 14 April 1693: Antenuptial marriage contract of George Campbell, fiar of Barrichbeyan, son of Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, with Margaret, second lawful daughter of Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, both fathers being parties. Witnesses: Mr. Alexander Campbell, minister of Kilmore, Mr. Alexander Campbell, son of said Donald, Ronald Campbell of Lagganlochan, Donald Campbell of Ardintalin, Colin Campbell of Braglein and John M'Gilchrist, notary.—('C.')

APPENDIX C

BARBRECK WRITS

(*In possession of Mr. J. A. Campbell of Barbreck*)

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NOTE.—The original Writs, of which the following are abstracts, were lent to me by Mr. J. A. Campbell for perusal in 1921, the abstracts being made by myself.

LAND OF LERGACHONIE.

1. At Lergachoniemore, 19 Feb. 1594/5: Obligation by Dowgall M'Illespick V'Iver bane of Lergachoniemore, narrating a decreet arbitral (Append. A, No. 55), whereby the said Dowgall was decreed to infest his brother, Iver M'Illespick V'Iver, in the half of Lergachoniemore and the mill thereof, with the bailliary and Crownership of the same, all lying in the lordship of M'Iver and sheriffdom of Argyll. It is stated that Dowgall has already granted a charter of the land and mill to Iver and to Deirwaill neyn Ean V'Ewin V'Dowill, future spouse of said Iver, in conjunct fee and liferent, and to the heirs male to be gotten of their marriage, in fee, whom failing the lawful heirs male to be gotten of said Iver's body, but that the offices had been omitted; wherefore he now disposes these. Witnesses: John M'Ewin V'Douill of Barnacarrach (who himself signs), Dowgall M'Soirle V'Allister mullych, Dowgall oig M'Ean V'Dowill V'Ean V'Ilpheddir, and Duncan M'Inulty in Lergachonie. On reverse is a note that sasine was given same day by Dowgall M'Iver of Lergachonie to the said spouses, witnesses being the same, and co-notaries being James Kincaid and Socrates M'Evin V'Coile. In quoting the decreet arbitral, it is here stated that the bishop of Argyll was president.

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PART OF BARMULLIN.

2. At Castle Craignish, 6 Jan. 1606: Irredeemable disposition by Charles Campbell, *alias* M'Iver of Lergachonie to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan and his heirs of a piece of mess called Moncreoch (exact boundaries being given), being

part of Charles's lands of Barmullin. Witnesses: Alexander Campbell, brother of said Ronald, Malcolm M'Goune in Penny-castle, Allister M'Dowgall M'Evin V'Allister, John M'Tarlych in Barmullin, Allister Campbell, brother to Niall Campbell of Kendmoir, and James Kincaid.

3. 8 Jan. 1606: Sasine on same, given and received personally on the land. Witnesses: Alexander Campbell, brother german of Niall Campbell of Kendmoir, Archibald Campbell, brother of said Ronald, and Finlay M'Illerewych.

LAND OF BARMULLIN.

4. At Barvullin in Craignische, 29 June 1581: Instrument of Resignation of the 5 merk land of Barmullin by Colin Campbell of Barbreck in favour of Duncan M'Iver of Stronescherow, Captain of Inveraray, and his son and apparent heir, Iver M'Iver, in implement of a contract, dated at the Great Hall at Crocha . . . 27 June 1581. Witnesses to resignation: Duncan M'Gillecallum V'Iver of Lergachonie, John M'Donill V'Ane of Barrichbeyan, Allester M'Neill in Ardestur, Duncan oig M'Arthur, Captain of Inischonnell, Alexander Campbell, fiar of Torran, Charles M'Iver of Fyncharne, Dougall M'Ane V'Ane in Ardlarach, Dougall M'Ane V'Neill, John oig M'Allester V'Iver and Gillemorie M'Donche V'Gillemorie tyre.

5. At Kilberrie, 7 Dec. 1609: Wadset charter of the 5 merk land of Barvullin, in Craignish barony, by Charles M'Iver *alias* Campbell of Lergachonie to Colin Campbell of Kilberrie and his son, Dugall Campbell, in liferent and fee, and to pass to the lawful heirs male to be gotten of Dugall's body, whom failing his brother german, James, and the lawful heirs male to be gotten of his body, whom failing to Colin's heirs whatsoever. The price is £1,133. 6. 8 Scots. George Campbell M'Baron V'Donill V'Eun is appointed baillie. Witnesses: Colin Campbell, brother german of Angus Campbell of Inverlevir, Duncan M'Doneill, apparent of Blairintibert, Tawse M'Kauis in Achty-molen, Duncan M'V'Neill, servitor of the grantor, and Patrick M'Coran, notary.

Seal remains, gyronny of eight, with legend S. CARROLLVS MACCEVIR.

NOTE.—The baillie was probably the brother of Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, 'Eun' standing for 'Ean,' and not 'Eune.'

The seal is remarkable for its ungrammatical legend, and is, I believe, the earliest known MacIver seal. Each alternate gyron is rudely scratched with horizontal lines—for the purpose of relief, the date being, of course, too early for the modern method of depicting tinctures. But as I understand that the MacTavish family (and possibly also some of the MacIvers) used the tinctures, blue and silver, I strongly suspect that they were taken, at a later date, from this seal, under a misapprehension, as I suggested in an article in the *Oban Times* of 28th April 1923.

LANDS OF BARRICHBAYAN.

6. At Inveraray, 10 Dec. 1481: Charter of the 7½ merk land of Barrichbeyan in the lordship of Craignish by Colin, Earl of Argyll, to his beloved cousin, *Donaldo Johannis M'Dugal Cragnich*, and the lawful heirs male gotten or to be gotten of his body. Reddendo: the usual services, ward, relief, marriage &c., and a six-oared galley when required. Witnesses: Archibald Campbell, Master of Argyll and Lorne, Archibald Campbell of Ottir, John, son of Allan Stewart, Archibald M'Iver of Pennymore, Donald Campbell, Dougall, son of Allan Campbell, Niall Campbell of Tovlaren and John Dewar, rector of Lochaw.

NOTE.—I give the grantee's name exactly as it stands in the original, as the author of the MS. states that his father was John gorm M'Dugal Craignish. I published a practically full transcript of this charter in the *Oban Times* of 1st July 1922.

7. 13 Dec. 1497: Instrument of Resignation and re-infeftment, narrating that Margaret Nekigile produced an old charter of the lands of Bargabey (*sic*) to her deceased father (not named), and showed that she was his fifth daughter and thus owned one-fifth of the said land, which she resigned into the hands of Colin, Earl of Argyll, for a regrant to Donald, son of John M'Coul Cragnich. Witnesses: Archibald, son and apparent heir of John M'Coul Cragnich of Corwarran, Archibald M'Iver of Pennymore, Donald and John Campbell, and John M'Kellar. The notary is John Dewar, priest of Argyll diocese.

NOTE.—The date actually reads '1407,' *nonagesimo* being omitted in error at the beginning of a new line. But the papal year, the sixth year of Alexander VI., shows the true date. Oddly enough, there is a second error in the document. Earl Colin had been dead for more than four years! It is almost inconceivable how the notary can have made such a mistake.

I take it that Margaret had been born (probably by another marriage) after the resignation by the other daughters, as mentioned by the author of the MS.

8. At Castle Lachlan, 12 June 1532 : Precept of clare constat by the Earl of Argyll, addressed to Donald M'Finlay M'Ane reoch, Malcolm M'Gillemokessaig and Dougall M'M'Kay (*sic* apparently ; but presumably for *M'V'Kay*), as baillies, for the infettment of Donald M'Ane M'Donil in the 7½ merk land of Barrichbeyan, as son and heir of deceased John M'Donil M'Ane gorm. Witnesses : Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, Gylchrist M'Murrych, and Mr. John Campbell, rector of Lochaw.

9. At Strachur, 27 (or 28) Nov. 1544 : Precept of clare constat by the Master of Argyll, with consent of the Earl, addressed to Gillecrist M'Ewin V'Olbrede and Dougall M'Morche, as baillies, for infetting John M'Donil V'Ane V'Dwil Craginche in the said land, as son and heir of deceased Donald M'Ane V'Donil V'Ane gwrum. Witnesses : Alexander Campbell, brother of said Master of Argyll, Duncan Macfarlane of Arrochar, Robert Macfarlane, John Uchiltre, and Mr. Gilbert M'Olehallum, rector of Craignish.

10. 3 Dec. 1544 : Sasine thereon, given by Gilbert M'Ewin V'Inolbrede, as baillie, to John M'Donil V'Ane V'Dwil Craginche. Witnesses : Dougall Campbell of Corvarran, John M'Allester V'Lachlan, Donald M'Laffreyche (*i.e.* M'Laffertych), Donald dowff M'Tarlich, Sir William Elachtane, vicar in Long, Niall M'Illeconill and Donald M'Corle.

11. At Edinburgh, 31 May 1561 : Charter by the Earl of Argyll to his beloved John M'Donill V'Ane of Barrichbeyan and his heirs male, of the seneschallate or bailliary of the £5 land of Barrichbeyan in the lordship of Craignish ; with precept of sasine addressed to Malcolm M'Donil V'Illehallum in Corwarranbeg and Malcolm Carswell, as baillies. Witnesses : Donald Campbell Robertson, Niall Campbell, James Campbell of Dronghie and Mr. Donald Carswell.

12. 11 June 1561 : Sasine on last, given by the first-named baillie. Witnesses : Terlich M'Ane V'Illehallum, Allan M'Allen V'Donil, Terlich M'Ane V'Donil, and Donald M'Allen V'Corle of Sewna.

13. At Craignish, 20 Oct. 1590 : Charter by the Earl of Argyll to his beloved cousin, Rynald Campbell M'Ane V'Donell, and his heirs male, of the £5 land of Barrichbeyan, which had

belonged to said Rynald's father, John M'Donell V'Ane; and were resigned by him on this date for this regrant to his said son and apparent heir. Dougald M'Illespick V'Ean bane is appointed baillie on the sasine. Witnesses: John Campbell, fiar of Ardkinglass, Niall Campbell of Clachan and his son and apparent heir, Archibald bane Campbell, Duncan Campbell of Ardintennie, Duncan M'Iver, Captain of Inveraray, Donald Campbell M'Illespick, Mr. James Kirk and Niall Campbell, apparent of Drumseyniemore.

14. 4 Dec. 1590: Sasine thereon. Witnesses: Archibald Campbell M'Illespick V'Ean, Donald M'Tarlich V'Illichrist V'Donald, Malcolm M'Kesaig, John M'Illichallum M'Illepatrick and Donald Brown.

15. At Dunoon, 17 Feb. 1591/2: Precept of clare constat by the Earl of Argyll, addressed to Gilbert M'Ean V'Illichrist, as baillie, for infetting Rannald M'Ean V'Donell, now of Barrichbeyan, in the above seneschallate, as nearest lawful heir male of his deceased father, John M'Donell V'Ean of Barrichbeyan. Witnesses: Duncan Campbell of Danna, Colin Campbell of Kilberrie, Colin M'Lauchlan *alias* Leich of Craiginterve, Charles Campbell of Kilbryde, Archibald M'Allester, apparent of Tarbert, Archibald Carswell of Carnassarie and Mr. James Kirk. The docket calls this a charter.

16. At Dalawirsay, in Barrichbeyan, 31 Jan. 1602: Charter of the £5 land of Barrichbeyan, lying in 'our' lordship of Craignish, together with seneschallate, by Rannald Campbell of Barrichbeyan to his lawful son and apparent heir, Donald Campbell, and his heirs male to be lawfully gotten of his body, whom failing to the said Rannald and his heirs male. Witnesses: Angus M'Iver of Glasvar, Malcolm M'Kesaig in Barrichbeyan, George Campbell M'Oneill V'Ean, brother german of Rannald, and James Kincaid, notary.

NOTE.—George's patronymics must, of course, have been M'Ean V'Oneill.

17. At Inveraray, 2 May 1608: Charter of said land by the Earl of Argyll to his beloved cousin, Donald Campbell M'Rannald V'Ean V'Donell, whose father, Ronald Campbell M'Ean V'Donell V'Ean, has this day resigned for this regrant in favour of his said son and apparent heir; with precept of sasine addressed to Alexander M'V'Doneill in Barmullin, as baillie. Witnesses: Dowgall Campbell of Auchinbreck, Mr. Niall

Campbell, bishop of Argyll, Archibald M'Lachlan of Strones, Archibald Campbell, brother to James Campbell of Lawers, Mr. James Kirk, sheriff depute of Argyll, and his servitor, John Huttoun, William Stirling of Achagyll, and Archibald Campbell, notary. Seal remains.

18. 30 Jan. 1610: Sasine on No. 16, given and received personally. Witnesses as in last, except that Angus dow *alias* M'Doule Craignish replaces the notary.

19. At Edinburgh, 25 Feb. 1778: Inventory of the Writs of Barrichbeyan, signed by John Henry, writer in Edinburgh, and Allan Macdougall, W.S., consisting of 56 items. I quote a few that help to make clear some genealogical details:—

xix. Sasine of the two Lergachonies, Kilbryde, Barvullin, Ardlarach, Lagganlochan, Greinog and Asknish to Charles Campbell *alias* M'Iver, brother german of Iver Campbell *alias* M'Iver, son of Duncan M'Iver of Stronshira, dated 21 Dec. 1605, proceeding on a precept of clare constat by the Earl of Argyll, dated 19 Nov. 1603.

xxxiv. Charter of the two Lergachonies and mill, Barrichbeyan, Ardlarach, Greinog and Barvullin, by Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, with consent of his sons, Fergus and Archibald Campbell, in favour of John Campbell, eldest son of said Ronald, dated 22 July 1623.

xxxvi. Precept of clare constat by the Marquess of Argyll in favour of Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan, as grandson and heir of Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, in the lands of Barrichbeyan, Killean, Lealt and the bailliary of Glenaray, dated 1 May 1652.

xlii. Precept of clare constat by the Duke of Argyll's Commissioners in favour of Dugald Campbell of Craignish, as son and heir of George Campbell of Craignish and Barrichbeyan, in the lands of Barrichbeyan and many others, dated 12 Dec. 1719.

APPENDIX D

WRITS IN POSSESSION OF THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

(*Abstracts made by him*)

1. 1315 : Charter of the lands of Derrynaneunach, Knockallway and others by John M'Martin of Gleserech to Dugall Campbell and his wife, Margaret, sister of said John. (This is quoted in *Highland Papers*.)

2. 16 Aug. 1361 : Disposition by Christian Cambell in favour of her cousin, Colin, son of Archibald Cambell, knight of Lochow, of her third part of the barony of her deceased husband, Alexander MacNachtan of that Ilk.

3. Martinmas Day, 1361 : Disposition of the whole barony of Craignish by Christian Cambell, as the only surviving child of her father, Sir Dugall Cambell of Craignish, in favour of her cousin, Colin Cambell, knight of Lochow.

4. 18 June 1412 : Precept of sasine by Colin Cambell of Lochow in favour of Ronald Malcome of Craignish and his heirs male of the 5^d land of Corvoranemore, 5^d land of Gartcharran, 1^d land of Arderaignish with the Isle of Reesa M'Phayden, 5^d land of Barwracken, 5^d land of Soroba with the Isle of Ilan M'Nevin, and the 4^d land of Lochaffie (Lochavich).

(From *Argyll Inventory*, vol. i. p. 308.)

5. At Innyschonille, 4 June 1414 : Charter by Sir Duncan Innai, Lord of Lochawa, with consent of his son and heir, Celestine Cambell, in favour of Ronald Cambell of Cragynis and the lawful heirs male of his body, of the Superiority of the fivepenny land of Barrichbeyan, of which the property is vested in the Baron MacGeyll, and also of the property of the lands shown in No. 4. Ronald is to furnish a twelve-oared galley when required ; and if he shall roof the Castles of Craignish and Lochavich, he is to be Constable of them, holding them for Sir Duncan and his heirs. Witnesses : Sir John Cambell, rector of the Church of St. Martin and brother of Sir Duncan, Celestine M'Sowerle and his son, Donald, Kenneth son of William son of Ewen, Sir Celestine MacGille michael, clerk to the said Sir Duncan and rector of Melfurde, and Sir Martin Malachie, chaplain to Sir Duncan. The precept of sasine

(another document, but of same date) is addressed to Sir Duncan's beloved and faithful cousin, Alexander, son of John Cambell, as baillie; and Ronald is also styled 'beloved cousin,' and is called 'son of Malcolm.'

6. At Inishail, 20 Feb. 1446/7: Charter by Duncan le Cambell, knight, Lord of Lochow and Lieutenant of our Lord the King in the districts of Argyll, to his beloved cousin, Reginald, son of Malcolm of Craiginche, Lord of Corbarran, and the lawful heirs male of his body born or to be born, of the office of Seneschal, Toisachdoir and Mair of 'our' whole land of Craginche. It is laid down that, if the heir shall ever be a minor, the office is to be ruled by the Tutor, with the advice of the heir's kindred (*parentelae*), namely, the Clandowill Craginche. Witnesses: George, bishop of Argyll, Duncan Cambell, son of the grantor, John M'Persoun, Lord of Dubpenyg, and his son, Gilchrist, Celestine M'Ewen of Ottir, Ewen M'Gillevonane, Gilchrist M'Nicholl, and Sir Nevin, 'our' chaplain.

7. At Strachur, 1 Dec. 1448: Precept of clare constat by Duncan, Lord Cambell, knight, Lord of Lochaw, addressed to his beloved Seneschals of Ariskeodnish and Lochaw, Duncan Yong Cambell of Duntrone and Celestine, son of Angus Campbell of Barbrek, as his baillies, for infesting John as lawful son and nearest heir of deceased Reginald M'Molcalum of Craginche, Lord of Corbarran, in the lands of Corbarran.

NOTE.—'Yong' is, of course, a clerical translation of 'oig.' He appears as *Duncan Cambel junior* as a witness to the grant of the Duntrone lands to his father, Duncan Cambel 'senior' (mor), at Dunbarton, 30th January, 1422/3.

8. 1 March 1537/8: Charter by Archibald, Earl of Argyll, to Ronald M'Coull of Craignish, as son and heir of Dougall M'Coull of Craignish, of the lands of Kilmun and Duninveran in the barony of Craignish; together with confirmation of the lands of Airdcraignish, Barrichbeyan, Gartcharran, Barbreckan (*sic*), Corruoranemore and Soroba, all in the said barony.—(From *Argyll Inventory*, vol. i. p. 311.)

NOTE.—The Duke of Argyll questions whether the above date is correct.

9. At Inveraray, 18 July 1614: Wadset (for 8,200 merks) by Archibald, Earl of Argyll, with consent of his wife, Anna Cornwallace, to Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, of the 3 merk land of Corvorrannmor, 3 merk land of Barvrackan, 1 merk land

of Pennycastle, 3 merk land of Arderaignish, and the islands of Resagphaidean, Corresay, Reisantraw and Garrorisay, all in Craignish, and, as warrandice, the lands of Knockbreck, Ard-fync, Proastill, Stronan, Auchaleik, Sinnak, Craigkack, Knokinfeoliman, Killerndall, Nairinc, Laingbraik, Knokerome and Ardernall, with the islands of Freuchiland, Ilandcreach and Glaisiland, extending to a £10 land, with bailliary thereof, all in Jura, and the £5 land of the Isle of Sewna with bailliary. Witnesses: Colin Campbell of Lunday, John Macdougall of Ragray, Alexander MacNachtan of Dundaraw, Archibald MacIachlan of Craiginterve, Mr. James Kirk, sheriff depute of Argyll, and George Loudoun, notary.

APPENDIX E

SOME OTHER WRITS

(Abstracts made by the Duke of Argyll)

1. At the Manor Place of Cragy Eddarlyng, 27 May 1523: Charter by Colin, Earl of Argyll, to his beloved cousin and servitor, Dougall Campbell M'Dougal Cragynch of Corwarran, and Dugall Campbell, natural son of said Dougall, and the heirs male of his body, of the 4 merk land of Danna, 1 merk land of Arenawad, 1 merk land of Glenasawfle, 1 merk land of Barmore, 1 merk land of Tontiyne and 10/- land of Carsaig, all in Knapdale. Witnesses: Duncan Campbell of Ormadyll, Duncan M'Kellar of Ardare, John Campbell of Drumsawny-moir, Charles M'Arthur of Terdufedych (*sic* for Tirivadich), Malcolm M'Iver of Lag, and Mr. Archibald M'Vicar, provost of Kilmun.—(Register House, *Calendars*, vol. v. No. 944.)

NOTE.—The sasine on this (1st June 1523) is in the Argyll Charter Chest, but is almost illegible. One of the bailies was Duncan roy M'Gillespick V'Iver, and a witness was Donald roy M'Ane V'Douill.

2. At Kenlochgoill, 7 Oct. 1528: Precept of sasine by Dowgall Campbell of Corwarrane, with consent of his son and heir, Ronald Campbell, addressed to Malcolm M'Callar, Duncan M'Gillepatrick M'Callar and Malcolm M'Kiver, as baillies, for infetting Duncan M'Allar of Ardare and his wife, Margaret Drumment, and their son, Patrick M'Callar, in liferent and fee, in the 1 merk land of Kilmun near Lochavich in the lordship

of Middle Lochaw. Witnesses: Robert Campbell, son of Sir John, Maculin M'Callar murche, piper, Malcolm M'Ane V'Gilleker, Sir Michael M'Callar and Sir Niall Fischer, Treasurer of Lismore and notary. Seal almost perfect—gyronny of eight, with legend S. DUGAL CAMPBELL.—(Reg. House, *Calendars*, vol. v. No. 1029.)

NOTE.—The *Argyll Inventory* (vol. i. p. 272) calls the grantee 'Duncan M'Aulay of Ardorie' and gives the date as 6th October.

3. At Inveraray, 20 Aug. 1537: Instrument of Sasine narrating precept of clare constat and sasine by the Earl of Argyll, addressed to Donald M'Ane V'Donill and Donald M'Finlay M'Ane reoch, as baillics, for infefting Ronald M'Cowill Craginche as son and heir of Dougall M'Cowill Craginche of Corwarran, in the 3 merk land of . . ., 3 merk land of Corwarranmore, 4 merk land of Gartcharran, 1 merk land of Duninveran, 1 merk land of Kilmun and 1 merk land of Soroba. Witnesses: Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, Dougal Campbell, son and heir of Archibald Campbell of Kilmichael, Lachlan Maclachlan of Strathlachlan and Mr. Ronald M'Cawis.—(Reg. House, *Calendars*, vol. vi. No. 1165.)

4. At Duntroon, 20 Sept. 1540: Instrument of Sasine narrating precept of clare constat by the Earl of Argyll, addressed to Ferchard M'Ane V'Donil and Donald M'Lawfardych, as baillies, for infefting Dugall M'Dwil Craginche, as brother german and heir of Ronald M'Cowl Craginche of Corverane, in the 3 merk land of Airdcraignish &c., extending to an 18 merk land in the barony of Craignish. Witnesses: Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, Lachlan Maclachlan of that Ilk, Mr. John Campbell, rector of Kilmartin, and Mr. Donald Broun, rector of Lochaw.—(Reg. House, *Calendars*, vol. vi. No. 1274.)

NOTE.—A second precept by the Earl, of same date, is for the infeftment of Dougal oige Campbell in the lands and barony of Craignish, as brother german and heir of Ronald. The original is in the Register House. I think, however, both these were dated at Dunoon, not Duntroon.

APPENDIX F

SOME BUNDLES FORMING PART OF THE
CRAIGNISH CHARTER CHEST

*(In possession of Mr. R. R. Campbell, Board of Education,
London)*

Abstracts made by myself from the originals, which were lent to me in 1922 by Mr. R. R. Campbell.

1. At Inveraray, 19 Sept. 1660: Discharge by George Campbell, sheriff depute of Argyll, to Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan (and others in his name) in respect of 80 merks contained in a bond by the deceased Ronald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, 'gudsyr' to the said George, in favour of the now deceased Malcolm Fisher in Inveraray, which bond was dated 11 May 1639 and was assigned by said Fisher to said George on 19 Feb. 1640; and also in respect of 400 merks due by deceased Archibald Campbell, Captain of Craignish, to Mr. Andrew Maclean, now minister at Kilvaree, who had assigned the debt to said George. It is stated that George obtained a decret against the said Alexander as heir of the said Ronald and Archibald, 'gudsyr' and uncle to the said George, and that the present discharge is written by George himself. The signature is that of George Campbell of Kinlochtrie.—(Bundle I, No. 7.)

2. At Campbeltown, 4 June 1674: Discharge by Daniel M'Kay of Ugadale to Donald Campbell, Captain of Craignish, in respect of a bond for 400 merks by said Donald (therein described as Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan) in favour of said M'Kay. The date of bond is not given.—(Bundle I, No. 14.)

3. At Kilmichael in Glassary, 27 Jan. 1683: Discharge by Duncan Campbell of Elister to Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan in respect of 2,000 merks of tocher, promised to said Duncan by said Donald in terms of said Duncan's antenuptial marriage contract with Elizabeth, lawful daughter of deceased Archibald Campbell, who was uncle to said Donald. The contract was dated 22 March and 11 April 1665, the bridegroom being described in it as lawful son of deceased Colin Campbell of Shinderland.—(Bundle I, No. 19.)

4. At Kenmore, 5 April 1697 : Assignment by Donald Gillies of Glenmore of a bond by deceased Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, dated 14 May 1665. On the reverse is an Instrument of Intimation of this assignation to George Campbell, now of Craignish, dated at Ellan M'Niven, 14 June 1697, and witnessed by Mr. Alexander Campbell of Greenock (*sic*) and Ronald Campbell, both brothers german of said George.—(Bundle I, No. 45.)

5. 6 Nov. 1713 : General Charge at the instance of Donald Gillies in Greenaig against Dugald Campbell of Craignish, eldest lawful son and apparent heir of deceased George Campbell of Craignish and grandchild and apparent heir of deceased Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, to obtain himself served heir to his said father and grandfather.—(Bundle I, No. 53.)

6. At Achnaba, 13 Nov. 1719 : Discharge by Mr. Colin Campbell, minister at Balleveodan or Ardchattan, to Dugall Campbell of Craignish, in respect of the jointure due to said Colin's wife, Margaret Campbell, by the terms of her marriage contract with her former husband, Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan (dated 28 March 1681), and a bequest to her under her said late husband's testament (dated 6 Feb. 1697). It is stated that the marriage contract of Colin and Margaret was dated 2 March 1702.—(Bundle I, No. 56.)

The date of the former contract is obviously wrong. She was widow of Alexander Campbell of Raschoille, who died in 1685. The correct date is given in the latter contract as 28 March 1689. See *The Genealogist*, N.S., vol. xxxii. pp. 24 and 26.

7. At Inveraray, 17 Feb. 1669 : Discharge by John Anderson, younger of Dowhill, to Donald Campbell, now of Barrichbeyan, as brother and heir of deceased Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan, in respect of a bond by said Alexander, dated 22 April 1658.—(Bundle II, No. 17.)

8. At Kilmartin, 20 Dec. 1664 : Discharge by Ronald Campbell of Lagganlochan to Mary and Elizabeth Campbell, lawful daughters and executrices of deceased Alexander Campbell of Barrichbeyan, and to their uncle, Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, as intromittor for them, in respect of a bond by said Alexander to said Ronald, dated 9 Nov. 1660.—(Bundle III, No. 1.)

9. At Edinburgh, 21 March 1683 : Obligation by John Erskine of Balgounie and another to Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, who is indebted to them, to accept, as part

settlement of the debt, a sum due to said Donald by George Campbell of Airds, in terms of Donald's marriage contract with George's daughter, Beatrix Campbell, which was dated 14 March and May and 19 Sept. 1669.—(Bundle III, No. 9.)

This marriage contract must have been post-nuptial, as there was already a son of the marriage in 1669.

10. At Castle Craignish, 6 June 1721 : Discharge by Ronald Campbell, third lawful son of deceased Donald Campbell of Barrichbeyan, and uncle of Dugall Campbell, now of Craignish, with consent of Mary Campbell, wife of said Ronald, in respect of what remains due to them by the deceased George Campbell of Craignish as promised in their marriage contract (no date given), and also in respect of Ronald's claim under his father's testament.—(Bundle III, No. 51.)

11. At Edinburgh Castle, 19 May 1725 : Discharge by Anne Campbell, relict of Mr. Alexander Campbell, advocate, to Dugall Campbell of Craignish, in respect of all annualrents due to her up to Martinmas 1725.—(Bundle III, No. 71.)

12. At Castle Craignish, 23 May 1716 : Discharge by Alexander Campbell of Sonachan to Margaret Campbell, relict of George Campbell of Craignish and Tutrix of said George's eldest son, Dugall, in respect of the annualrent of a sum contained in a marriage contract between said George and Alexander, dated 26 Sept. 1709.—(Bundle IV, No. 2.)

13. At Glenachern, 26 Feb. 1729 : Fitted accompt between Dugall Campbell of Craignish and Anna Campbell, relict of Robert Stewart. The husband is not described ; but one of the entries shows that he held a tack of Greinog for five years.—(Bundle IV, No. 34.)

14. At Inveraray, 15 July 1738 : Receipt by Donald Campbell, tacksman of Knock in Mull, to Dugall Campbell of Craignish in respect of the amounts of annuity (covering 7 years, from 1731 to 1738) due to said Donald's wife, Ann Campbell, formerly wife of the now deceased Mr. Robert Stewart, minister of Kilmalie.—(Bundle IV, No. 63.)

15. At Castle Craignish, 1 April 1740 : Receipt by James Campbell of Raschoille to Dugall Campbell of Craignish in respect of full settlement of the balance of jointure due to said James's grandmother, the deceased Margaret Campbell.—(Bundle IV, No. 72.)

Margaret is not otherwise described ; but see note on No. 6 *supra*.

16. At Inveraray, 27 April 1740: Discharge by Alexander M'Callum, innkeeper at Ardfern, to Dugall Campbell of Craignish, in respect of the tocher promised by said Dugall with his sister, the now deceased Isobell Campbell, who was wife of said M'Callum. In their marriage contract (dated 25 March 1728) the bridegroom is called son of Donald M'Callum in Barbreck, and it is stipulated that this tocher is to be in lieu of the bride's claim on the estate of her father, George Campbell. —(Bundle IV, No. 73.)

In Bundle III, No. 70, we have a discharge (dated at Ardfern, 20 April 1725) by Isobell Campbell, eldest lawful daughter of deceased George Campbell of Craignish, to said George's eldest son, Dugall, in respect of a bequest to her by her said father, whose second daughter, Beatrice, is also alive. It would seem, then, that Isobell must have squandered most, if not all, of her patrimony before her marriage.

MISCELLANEOUS CHARTERS

1165-1300

Edited from transcripts in the Collection of
the late Sir William Fraser, K.C.B., LL.D.,
with Abstracts and Illustrative Notes, by

WILLIAM ANGUS

INTRODUCTION

THE National Records of Scotland have suffered much from time to time at the hands of our 'auld inimies of Ingland,' and also from native neglect, but despite the loss through pillage and carelessness, the salvage of one class of record at least, those relating to land rights, is by no means inconsiderable. In the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, the Register of Sasines and the Register of Retours, we have a unique, though incomplete, record of the constitution and transfer of these rights from 1306 down to the present day, and it is needless to emphasise their importance not only to the student of land tenures, but also to those engaged in genealogical and topographical research. For the period prior to 1306 we are not without material, and from the chartularies of our Bishoprics and Religious Houses, and the charter rooms of our noble and baronial families, we obtain data, meagre of course compared with what is available for later times, which nevertheless enable us to trace the development of our system of land rights from the very beginning of Feudalism in Scotland.

Thanks to the various publishing Clubs and Societies, most of the ecclesiastical chartularies known to be in existence and a goodly number of burgh charters have been printed, but they have done comparatively little to exploit private charter rooms. The earlier reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts gave us a glimpse of the wealth of material which lay there, but it is chiefly due to Sir William Fraser that so much of it has been printed. The series of family histories which

he issued between 1858 and 1897, contain not only early charters and deeds relating to land, but also State Papers and public documents, which have been of great assistance to historical students; and it is this feature of his work which has proved to be his most valuable and permanent contribution to historical scholarship.

Sir William in the course of his researches procured copies of a number of charters which have not appeared in any of his works, and those covering the period 1165-1300 are here printed. With the exception of No. 12, it is believed none of them have been published before. It is hoped in a subsequent volume to bring the collection down to 1400. While it has not, perhaps, the same interest and value as one in which we can trace the development of a monastic estate, or the rise of a baronial family, the writs form by no means an unimportant contribution to that corpus of early charters which Dr. Maitland Thomson and Sir Archibald C. Lawrie contemplated, and towards the completion of which they had made considerable progress before they died. It is interesting to note that a number of the charters here printed were unknown to them. While every care has been taken to produce an accurate text, the reader is warned that collation with the original has been possible only in two cases. Certain obvious mistakes have been corrected, but some doubtful readings remain. Corrections and suggested emendations will be found in the Notes.

I desire to express my great indebtedness to Mr. Alan O. Anderson, M.A., of St. Andrews University, for his help in elucidating several difficult points, and also to my colleagues, Mr. R. H. Lindsay and Mr. H. M. Paton, for reading the proofs and for their corrections and suggestions.

MISCELLANEOUS CHARTERS, 1165-1300

(1)

CHARTER BY KING WILLIAM THE LION TO THE NUNS OF
MANUEL of the land in Manuel which King Malcolm,
his brother, gave to them, 1165-1171. (Original in
1860 *penes* Mr. Robert Haldane, W.S.)

W[illelmus] Rex Scottorum episcopis abbatibus comiti-
bus baronibus iusticiariis vicecomitibus ministris prepositis
et omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et
laicis Francis et Anglis Scottis et Galweiensibus salutem :
Sciant presentes et posterii me concessisse et hac carta mea
confirmasse Deo et monialibus apud Manuel manentibus
et Deo seruientibus in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam
terram illam in Manuel quam rex M[alcolmus] frater meus
eis dedit cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis et per rectas
diuisas suas sicut G. de Maleville et Thore filius Swani et
alii probi homines mei illam eis perambulauerunt cum
communi pastura et cum aisiamentis nemoris de materie
et claustrura et focali quantum ad proprios usus suos eis
opus fuerit et ex dono Walteri Corbet decimam molendini
de Jhetham sicut carta eius testatur et ex dono Rawenild
de Jetham unam maisuram in Rokesburgo sicut cirografum
eius testatur : Volo itaque et precipio firmiter ut predi-
cte moniales terras et tencuras prenominatas habeant et
teneant ita libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut
aliqua elemosina in tota terra mea liberius et quiecuis
plenius melius et honõrificencius tenetur ; et prohibeo
firmiter ne quis eis aut alicui suorum infra diuisas terrarum
suarum in aliquo forisfaciat super meam plenariam foris-
facturam. Testibus A. comitissa matre mea Nicholao
cancellario Ricardo de Moreuille constabulario Waltero

filio Alani dapifero DD. Olfier Philippo de Valoniis camerario G. de Maleville Alexandro de Sancto Martino; apud Jarwemeres.

(*Abstract.*)

WILLIAM, King of Scots, makes known that he has granted and confirmed to the Nuns at Manuel, in free and perpetual alms, that land in Manuel which King Malcolm, his brother, gave to them by its right marches, as G. de Maleville, Thor son of Swan, and other of his good men perambulated it for them, with common pasture and easements of wood for building, fencing and fuel, so far as necessary for their own use; also the gift of Walter Corbet of a tenth of the mill of Jhetham and the gift of Rawenild of Jetham of a holding in Rokesburg: He wills and commands that the said Nuns hold the said lands as freely and quietly as any alms throughout his lands are held and straitly prohibits any one, upon pain of forfeiture, to injure them in any way within the bounds of said lands.

(2)

CHARTER BY WILLIAM THE LION TO WALTER, SON OF PHILIP, THE CHAMBERLAIN, of the lands of Lundin in Fife, 1166-1171. (Original at Drummond Castle.)

W[illelmus] Rex Scottorum episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus justiciariis vicecomitibus et omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue salutem: Sciant presentes et posterius me dedisse et concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Waltero filio Philippi camerarii Lundin in Fif cum omnibus iustis pertinenciis suis per rectas divisas suas: Tenendum sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in feudo et hereditate libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus et rectitudinibus ad idem feudum pertinentibus in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in terris et aquis in campis et moris et in omnibus aliis rectis pertinenciis suis per seruicium unius militis: Quare volo et firmiter precipio ut predictus Walterus et heredes sui predictum feudum teneant de me et heredibus meis ita libere et quiete sicut alii milites mei liberi et quociens feuda sua de me tenent in regno Scocie sicut carta regis M[alcolmi] fratris mei testatur et confirmat: Testi-

bus Engelramo episcopo de Glasgu Nicholao cancellario comite Waldevo comite Dunecano Ricardo de Moruill constabulario Waltero filio Alani dapifero Roberto Auenel Willelmo de Mortemer Radulfo de Clere Waltero de [Ber]kelai Ricardo clerico : Apud castellum puellarum.

(*Abstract.*)

WILLIAM, King of Scots, makes known that he has granted to Walter, son of Philip, the chamberlain, Lundin in Fife, with its pertinents and by its right marches: To be held by him and his heirs of the King and his heirs for the service of one knight: He wills and commands that he should hold his fee as freely and quietly as other knights hold their fees in the kingdom of Scotland, as the charter of King Malcolm, his brother, witnesseth and confirms.

(3)

CHARTER BY KING WILLIAM THE LION TO ROGER OF
HADEN of the land of Frande in Glendevin, 1190-1199.
(Original in Camperdown Charter Chest.)

W[illelmus] Dei gratia Rex Scottorum episcopis abbatibus comitibus baronibus iusticiariis vicecomitibus prepositis ministris et omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem: Sciant presentes et futuri me dedisse et concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Rogero de Haden totam terram de Frande in Glend[ev]in per rectas diuisas suas et cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis: Tenendam sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in feudo et hereditate in boscho et plano in terris et aquis in pratis et pascuis in moris et maresiis in stagnis et moleninis et omnibus aliis ad predictam terram iuste pertinentibus cum socca et sacca cum furca et fossa cum tol et them et infangenthefe libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice per seruicium unius militis: Ego autem et heredes mei predictam terram predicto Rogero et heredibus suis warentizabimus sicut eam quam ei dedi pro seruicio suo: Testibus Matheo episcopo Aberdonensi comite Dunecano comite Gilleberto Ricardo de Prebenda Philippo de Valoniis camerario nostro Willelmo Cumin Johanne de Hastings

Malisio fratre comitis Gilleberti Malcolmo filio comitis Dunecani Willelmo de Valoniis Daudid de Haia Alexandro filio Thor ; apud Clacmanan.

(*Abstract.*)

WILLIAM, King of Scots, makes known that he has granted to Roger de Haden the whole of Frande in Glendevin by its right marches and with all its pertinents, to be held by him of the King and his heirs for the service of a knight. He also warrants the said land to him and his heirs as that which he has given to him for his service.

(4)

CHARTER BY MALCOLM, SON OF EARL DUNCAN, TO THE NUNS OF NORTH BERWICK of the Church of North Berwick with the land thereof and others ; undated, but before 1199. (Original in 1872 *penes* Mr. Samuel Dickson, W.S.)

Universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis clericis et laicis presentibus et futuris Malcolmus filius comitis Dunecani salutem : Sciatis me concessisse et dedisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et beate Marie et monialibus de Nor Berwich in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiam de Norberwich cum terra eiusdem ecclesie et cum decimis et oblacionibus et omnibus aliis rectitudinibus eidem ecclesie iuste pertinentibus et terram in qua domus predictarum monialium fundata est scilicet quod Gillecolmestun solet nominari ; et terram hospitaalem de Norberwich et terram hospitaalem de Ardros ; et ecclesiam de Largach cum decimis et oblacionibus et omnibus aliis rectitudinibus suis ; et ecclesiam de Login cum Drumnath scilicet terra eiusdem ecclesie et cum decimis et oblacionibus et omnibus aliis rectitudinibus eidem ecclesie pertinentibus et Adernin et Machrive et dimidietatem terre de Brech per rectas diuisas suas : Quare volo ut prenominate moniales predictas ecclesias et predictas terras adeo libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice teneant et possideant in pratis et pascuis in aquis in moris et maresiis et omnibus

aliis aisiamentis et iustis pertinenciis suis sicut aliqua abbacia aliquam elemosinam in terram regis Scotorum liberius quiecius plenius de comite vel de barone tenet et possidet sicut karte patris mei dant et confirmant et testantur super eisdem elemosinis : His testibus domino patre meo comite Dunecano domina mea comitissa Ela matre mea Adam patruo meo Duncano David Willelmo Johanne fratribus meis Merlesuano domino Jacobo magistro predictarum monialium magistro Simone de Torfekin Roberto de Upsetelintun Siluestro filio Willelmi de Siclinhale Waltero capellano comitis Willelmo Fairfex Astino senescallo patris mei Malbride Cospatricio de Rereis Merlesuaino filio Merlesuain Laurencio de Abernithie Waltero de Lundin.

(Abstract.)

MALCOLM, son of Earl Duncan, makes known that he has granted to God, St. Mary and the Nuns of North Berwick, in free, pure and perpetual alms, the church of North Berwick with the land thereof, teinds, offerings and all other rights justly pertaining thereto and the land on which their house is built, usually named Gillecilmestun; the hospital lands of North Berwick and Ardros; the church of Largach with its teinds, offerings, and other rights; the church of Login with Drumnath (viz. the land of the said church) and its teinds, offerings and other rights, and Adernin and Machrive and one-half of the land of Brech by their right marches: He wills that the nuns shall hold and possess the same as freely as any abbey holds and possesses any alms in the land of the King of Scots of any earl or baron, and as the charter of his father gives, confirms, and witnesseth regarding said alms.

(5)

CHARTER BY ROGER MAULE AND GODIT, HIS SPOUSE, TO THE CHURCH OF ST. CUTHBERT OF CARRAM, of the island at the head of Hiliuespedberna; undated, but *circa* 1200. (Original now in Record Office, General Register House.)

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Rogerus Masculus et Godit eius sponsa salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra

quod nos concessimus et dedimus et presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Deo et beato Cuthberto de Carram in liberam et quietam et perpetuam elemosinam totam illam insulam que est ad caput de Hiliuespedberna ad pacem et capellam Sancti Cuthberti: His testibus Ricardo le Neim Henrico de Seincler Petro et Thoma filiis Willelmi de Essebi Rogero canonico Ern[aldo] diacono Willelmo de Palestun Ranulpho de Carrum Johanne constabulario Ricardo de Kisebei Petro de Killum Roberto de Achild Rogero Ruffo Thoma filio Ricardi de Gordon.

(*Abstract.*)

ROGER MAULE and Godit, his spouse, make known that they have granted to God and St. Cuthbert of Carram in free and perpetual alms the island at the head of Hiliuespedberna to the peace and chapel of St. Cuthbert.

(6)

CHARTER BY WILLIAM THE LION TO GALFRID, SON OF RICHARD, STEWARD OF KINGHORN, of a dwelling house and houses in Kinnard, 1204-1211. (Original *penes* Mr. Thomas Yule, W.S.)

W[illelmus] Dei gracia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem: Sciant presentes et futuri me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Galfrido filio Ricardi senescalli de Kingor totam illam mansionem et domos in villa de Kinnard quas Ricardus de Kinnard nepos Radulfi Ruffi ei dedit et tradidit coram probis hominibus meis: Tenendas sibi et heredibus suis de predicto Ricardo et heredibus suis in feudo et hereditate ita libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut carta predicti Ricardi testatur saluo seruicio nostro: Testibus comite Malcolmo de Fif Philippo de Mubray Willelmo de Bosco clerico meo Ricardo filio Hugonis Ricardo Reuel Adamo filio Herberti: Apud Uchtermuke-thin viii die Januarii.

(*Abstract.*)

WILLIAM, King of Scots, makes known that he has granted and confirmed to Galfrid, son of Richard, steward of Kinghorn, the dwelling

house and houses in the town of Kinnaird which Richard of Kinnaird, grandson of Ralph 'Ruffi,' gave and delivered to him in presence of 'my good men': To be held by the said Galfrid and his heirs of the said Richard and his heirs freely and quietly as his charter witnesseth, saving the King's service.

(7)

CHARTER BY MALCOLM, EARL OF FIFE, TO ALEXANDER OF BLAR of the lands of Thases and others; undated, but *circa* 1204-1228. (Original in Zetland Charter Chest.)

Comes Malcolmus de Fif omnibus amicis suis et hominibus salutem: Sciant presentes et futuri me dedisse et concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Alexandro de Blar totam terram de Thases et de Kintases et de Ballendureth per rectas diuisas suas et cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis: Tenendas sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in feudo et hereditate in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in moris et maresiis in stangnis et molendinis et in omnibus aliis aisiamentis eisdem terris iuste pertinentibus pro seruicio unius militis adeo libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut aliquis miles tenet feudum suum in regno Scocie de comite vel barone liberius quietius plenius honorificencius per seruitium militis: His testibus Johanne filio Michaelis Thoma de Kilmaron Willelmo de Wiuilla Malcolmo de Mala Uilla Dunecano de Pert David de Atun Henrico de Abernid Willelmo Norensi Waltero et Gregorio capellanis Malcolmo de Kilmaron Michaele filio Mallotheni Willelmo de Kalmaron et multis aliis.

(Abstract.)

EARL MALCOLM of Fif makes known that he has granted and confirmed to Alexander of Blar the lands of Thases, Kintases, and Ballendureth by their right marches and with all their just pertinents: To be held by the said Alexander and his heirs for the service of one knight, as freely and quietly as any knight holds his fee in the kingdom of Scotland of any earl or baron by the service of a knight.

(8)

CHARTER BY HUGH OF NIDIN TO ALEXANDER OF BLAR of one-half of the lands of Konakin ; undated, but *circa* 1204-1228. (Original in Evelick Charter Chest.)

Hugo de Nidin omnibus amicis suis et hominibus salutem: Sciant presentes et futuri me dedisse et concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Alexandro de Blar cum Ela filia mea dimidietatem terre mee de Konakin per rectas diuisas suas cum omnibus iustis pertinenciis suis in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in moris et maresiis in uis et semitis et in omnibus aliis aisiamentis eidem terre pertinentibus: Tenendam in feudo et hereditate de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis quos suscepit de Ela filia mea adeo libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut ego eandem terram teneo de episcopo Sancti Andree liberius quietius plenarius et honorificencius: Reddendo inde annuatim michi vel heredibus meis quinque solidos scilicet medietatem ad Pentecosten et medietatem ad festum Sancti Martini et faciendo forinsecum seruicium domini regis quantum ad quartam partem de Konakin pertinet: Et si ita contigerit quod ego vel heredes mei sibi uel heredibus suis predictam terram de Konakin warentizare non poterimus ego vel heredes mei dabimus ei vel heredibus suis aliam terram ad valenciam predicte terre per uisum proborum hominum faciendo predictum seruicium: Testibus comite Malcolmo de Fif Dunecano et David fratribus eiusdem comitis Alano de Laceles Thoma de Kenmake Ricardo de Laceles magistro Symone de Sancto Andrea Waltero capellano comitis Malcolmi de Fif Alexandro capellano magistri Symonis Philippo Vuieth Philippo de Scughale Ada de Ardist Willelmo et Andrea filiis Laudini Symone filio Stephani Laurencio filio Ricardi et multis aliis.

(Abstract.)

HUGH of Nidin makes known that he has granted to Alexander of Blar, with Ela, his daughter, one-half of his land of Konakin by its right marches and with all its just pertinents: To be held of the granter

and his heirs by the said Alexander and the heirs born to him of the said Ela as freely and quietly as the granter holds the said lands of the bishop of St. Andrews, rendering annually therefor five shillings and the forinsec service due to the King for a fourth part of Konakin: And if it should happen that the granter or his heirs are unable to warrant the said land they shall give another land of equal value at the sight of honest men, rendering the said service therefor.

(9)

CHARTER BY ALEXANDER II. TO THE NUNS OF MANUEL of one and a half chalders of salt from the tithe of his salt pans, 22 June 1224. (Original in 1860 *penes* Mr. Robert Haldane, W.S.)

Alexander Dei gracia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem: Sciant presentes et futuri nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse Deo et monialibus de Manuel ibidem Deo seruiantibus et seruituris in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam celdram et dimidiam salis de decima salinarum nostrarum quas Radulfus Baretus tenuit: Quare volumus et precipimus ut predicte moniales predictam elemosinam teneant et habeant ita libere et quiete sicut alias elemosinas suas liberius et quietius tenent sicut carta domini regis Willelmi patris nostri inde facta predictis monialibus testatur: Testibus Waltero filio Alani senescallo Waltero Olifard iusticiario Laodonic Thoma de Striueline archidiacono Glasguensi Roberto capellano nostro Roberto filio Roberti de Rose Waltero Cumine Thoma Hostiario: Apud Lillidqu vicesimo secundo die Junii anno regni domini regis decimo.

(Abstract.)

ALEXANDER, King of Scots, makes known that he has granted and confirmed to God and the Nuns of Manuel, in free and perpetual alms, one and a half chalders of salt from the teinds of his salt pans which Ralph Baret holds: He therefore wills that the said Nuns shall hold the said alms as freely and quietly as they hold their other alms and as the charter of King William, his father, made to them witnesseth.

(10)

CHARTER BY ALEXANDER II. TO RODERIC THE SON OF GILLECRIST confirming the grant of Strathanret made to him by Roger de Quenci, 14 April 1226. (Original in Strathendry Charter Chest.)

Alexander Dei gracia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue clericis et laicis salutem : Sciant presentes et futuri nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse concessionem illam quam Rogerus de Quenci fecit Roderico filio Gillecrist de Strathanret : Tenendam eidem Roderico et heredibus suis de predicto Rogero et heredibus suis in feodo et hereditate per rectas diuisas suas ita libere et quiete sicut carta predicti Rogeri iuste testatur saluo seruicio nostro : Testibus Thoma de Strivelin cancellario Henrico de Ballioll camerario Johanne Biset Waltero Cumin Jordano Cumin Willelmo Biset Alexandro filio Patricii de Strivelin : Apud Kincardin xiiij die Aprilis anno regni domini regis duodecimo.

(Abstract.)

ALEXANDER, King of Scots, makes known that he has confirmed that gift which Roger de Quenci made to Roderick, son of Gillecrist, of Strathanret : To be held by the said Roderick and his heirs of the said Roger and his heirs by its right marches freely and quietly as his charter witnesseth, saving the king's service.

(11)

CHARTER BY JOHN OF KINROS TO ALEXANDER OF OGGOLUIN of the lands of Belauht and others in free marriage with Dennis, his daughter ; undated, but before 1232. (Original in Evelick Charter Chest.)

Omnibus hominibus presentibus et futuris has litteras visuris uel auditoris Johannes de Kinros filius Heruici de

Kinros salutem : Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Allexandro de Oggoluin cum Dionisia filia mea in liberum maritagium totam terram de Belauht Clunoc et de Hauht Nahaele : Tenendam et habendam sibi et heredibus suis quos habebit de predicta Dionisia filia mea de me et heredibus meis per rectas diuisas suas et cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis libere et quiete integre et honorifice in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in pasturis in moris et marisiis in uiis et semitis in exsitibus in aquis et stagnis in molendinis et in omnibus aliis aysiamenis predictae terre iuste pertinentibus ita libere et quiete integre et honorifice sicut aliquis miles in tota terra Scocie aliquam terram liberius et quietius potest dare in liberum maritagium et cum tempus aduenerit quod predicta terra exiet de iure de libero maritagio concessi sibi et heredibus suis quos habebit de predicta Dionisia filia mea de me et heredibus meis tenere predictam terram ita libere et quiete sicut ego predictam terram de domino rege teneo et possideo : Ego uero et heredes mei warantizabimus sibi et heredibus suis quos habebit de predicta Dionisia filia mea predictam terram cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis et cum rectis diuisis predictae terre contra omnes homines inperpetuum uiuentes : hiis testibus domino Malcolmo persona de Luntrethin domino Duncano persona de Kinros domino Hugone persona de Essi Johanne filio Johannis de Kinros Magno filio comitis de Catenesse domino Andrea capellano Grigono [? Grigorio] filio persone Wilermo clerico Wilermo filio Anegus de Neucubir et multis aliis.

(*Abstract.*)

JOHN of Kinros, son of Hervy of Kinros, grants and confirms to Alexander of Oggoluin in free marriage with Dennis, his daughter, the lands of Belauht, Clunoc and Hauht Nahaele : To be held by the said Alexander and the heirs of the said marriage of the granter and his heirs as freely and quietly as any knight in the whole of Scotland is able to give any land in free marriage, and when the time comes that the said lands shall pass by the right of free marriage, the said Alexander and the heirs of the marriage shall hold them as freely and quietly as the granter holds and possesses them of the king.

(12)

CHARTER BY MORGUND, SON OF ABBE, TO MICHAEL, HIS SON,
of a davach of his lands of Carrecros ; undated, but
circa 1239. (Original in Panmure Charter Chest.)

Omnibus hominibus tam presentibus quam futuris has literas visuris vel auditoris Morgundus filius Abbe salutem : Noueritis me dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Michaeli filio meo unam dauocam terre mee de Carrecros per omnes rectas divisas suas inter Tarfe et Turruchd : Tenendam et habendam sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete et plenarie integre et honorifice in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in moris et mariseis in stagnis et molen- dinis in aquis ripis et viuariis in viis et semitis et in omnibus aliis asyamentis et libertatibus predicte terre pertinentibus adeo libere et quiete sicut aliquis liber homo infra regnum Scotie liberius plenius et quietius terram suam dare poterit filio suo : Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis ille et heredes sui unum par calcariorum ferri ad Pentecostim pro omni servicio et consuetudine et æxactione seculari preter forinsecum domini regis seruicium : Hiis testibus domino G. episcopo Brechinensi magistro Lauren- cio archidiacono Sancti Andree domino Alano Hostiario domino David de Hastings domino Johanne de Vallibus domino Johanne Cambrun domino Rogero de Lorenger domino Hugoni Flandres magistro Guidone fratre domini Laurencii archidiaconi Sancti Andree Gregorio de Maleuill Johanne Clugestoun Villelmo de Sandfor clerico et multis aliis.

Seal of green wax appended :

Two deer running from each other.

(*Abstract.*)

MORGUND, son of Abbe, makes known that he has granted to Michael, his son, a davach of his lands of Carrecros by all its right marches between Tarfe and Turruchd : To be held by the said Michael and his

heirs of the granter and his heirs as freely and quietly as any free man within the kingdom of Scotland is able to give his land to his son, rendering therefor annually at Whitsunday a pair of iron spurs for all service, custom and secular exaction, excepting the forinsec service due to the king.

(13)

CHARTER BY ALEXANDER II. TO ADAM, SON OF CONSTANTINE OF LOUCHOR, confirming the grant of the lands of Lumfilane made to him by the said Constantine, 9 April 1242. (Original in Pitfirrane Charter Chest.)

A. Dei gratia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue salutem: Sciant presentes et futuri nos concessisse et hac carta nostra confirmasse donacionem illam quam Constantinus de Louchor fecit Adamo filio suo pro homagio et seruicio suo de terra sua de Lumfilan: Tenendam et habendam eidem Adamo et heredibus suis de dicto Constantino et heredibus suis in feodo et hereditate per rectas diuisas suas et cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis ad eandem terram iuste pertinentibus ut (*lege*, vel) que ad dictam terram poterunt aliquo tempore pertinere ita libere quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut carta predicti C. inde plenius confecta dicto Adamo filio suo iuste testatur saluo seruicio nostro: Testibus Alexandro Cumyn Willelmo de Mar Johanne de Vallibus Roberto de Meyners Roberto Byset Roberto Cumyn: Apud Forfar nono die Aprilis anno regni domini regis vicesimo octavo.

Seal attached, pretty entire.

(Abstract.)

ALEXANDER, King of Scots, makes known that he has confirmed that gift which Constantine of Louchor made to Adam, his son, of his land of Lumfilan for his homage and service: To be held by the said Adam and his heirs of the said Constantine and his heirs in fee and heritage by its right marches and with all liberties and easements justly pertaining to it, or which may at any time pertain thereto, freely and quietly as his charter to the said Adam testifies, saving the king's service.

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(14)

CHARTER BY WALTER OF LUNDYN TO PHILIP OF FEODARG
of the lands of Balcormoch; undated, but *circa* 1242-
1249. (Original at Drummond Castle.)

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel auditoris Walterus de Lundyn salutem: Sciant tam presentes quam futuri me dedisse concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Philippo de Feodarg cognato meo pro homagio et seruicio suo terram de Balcormoch per rectas divisas suas et cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis exceptis quatuor bouatis terre quas canonici de Cambyskynel in ea habent: Tenendam et habendam sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate in bosco et plano in pratis et pascuis in viis et semitis in moris et marresiis in stagnis et molen-
dinis et in omnibus aliis aisiamentis et libertatibus iuste ad dictam terram pertinentibus ita libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut aliquis liber homo aliquam terram ab aliquo comite vel barone in regno Scocie liberius et quiccius plenius et honorificencius tenet et possidet: Faciendo ipse et heredes sui forinsecum seruicium domini regis quantum pertinet ad tantam terram pro omnibus seruiciis consuetudinibus demandis et exaccionibus secularibus liberis sectis curie in perpetuum posse pertinentibus: Ego vero Walterus et heredes mei predicto Philippo et heredibus suis predictam terram de Balcormoch cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis et libertatibus sicut predictum est contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum warantizabimus: Hiis testibus domino Alexandro Cumyn comite de Buchan domino Willelmo de Brechyn domino Willelmo Cumyn persona domino Philippo de Maleuile domino Sibaldo milite domino Simone de Garentuyle domino Hugone Gray Hugone Scott Jacobo de Ouen Umfredo de Mideltun Hugone Blund David filio Margarete Alano de Denham et aliis.

(Abstract.)

WALTER of Lundyn makes known that he has granted to Philip of Feodarg, his kinsman, for his homage and service, the lands of Bal-

cormoch by its right marches and with all its just pertinents excepting four oxgates of land which the canons of Cambyskynel (Cambuskenneth) have in it: To be held by the said Philip and his heirs of the granter and his heirs in fee and heritage as freely and quietly as any free man holds and possesses land of any baron or knight in the kingdom of Scotland, rendering therefor the forinsec service due to the king for said lands.

(15)

CHARTER BY SYMON OF LENNA, BURGESS OF PERTH, TO CRISTIN DE INSULA, BURGESS OF PERTH, of his land in the Watergate of said burgh; undated, but *circa* 1270-1280. (Original at Drummond Castle.)

Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum visuris vel auditoris Symon de Lenna burgensis de Perth eternam in Domino salutem: . . . universitas vestra me in ligia potestate mea et ex consensu et assensu Cecilie sponse mee et Johannis filii mei et heredi . . . omnium heredum meorum dedisse vendidisse concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Cristino de Insula bur . . . Perth totam terram meam in vico aquatico de Perth quam tenui de domino Abbate de Lundors in libero burgagio . . . dam summa pecunie quam idem Cristinus mihi in mea maxima neccitate pre manibus pacavit: que quidem terra jac . . . ter terram Huberti de Scartheburt ex parte aquilonali et terram Andree Teket ex parte australi: Tenendam et . . . dicto Cristino et heredibus suis vel assignatis imperpetuum in libero burgagio ita libere et quiete sicut ego dictam terram . . . quo tempore de dictis abbate et conventu liberius quociens tenui teneo vel tenere potero: Reddendo inde annuatim domui de Lundors pro omni seruicio ad eos pertinente unam libram piperis ad Assumpcionem Beate Marie Virginis et ad faciendum seruicium domini regis quantum pertinet ad tantam terram: Ego vero Symon et heredes mei totam predictam terram ut prenominatum est predicto Cristino et heredibus suis vel assignatis sub omni tenemento terrarum nostrarum in villa de Pert imperpetuum warantizabimus et defendemus: In cuius rei

testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum una cum sigillo Johannis filii mei et heredis apposui: Hiis testibus domino Philippo Oliphard tunc tempore ballivo de Perth Johanne Aylbot Willelmo de Kellyn Henrico de Scona clerico Andrea Teket Johanne de Pert Alexandro de Muncur Rogero Clerico Willelmo Redberd Hugone clerico et aliis.

(Abstract.)

SYMON of Lenna, burgess of Perth, with consent of Cecilia, his spouse, and John, his son and heir, for a sum of money paid to him by Cristin de Insula, burgess of Perth, grants to him his land in the Watergate of Perth, which he holds of the Abbot of Lundors in free burgage, lying between the land of Hubert of Scartheburt on the north and the land of Andrew Teket on the south: To be held by the said Cristin and his heirs in free burgage as freely and quietly as the granter holds them of the abbot and convent of Lundors, rendering annually a pound of pepper, at the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to the house of Lundors for all services due to them, and to the king the forinsec service pertaining to said land.

(16)

CHARTER OF CONFIRMATION BY JAMES, STEWART OF SCOTLAND, TO STEPHEN, SON OF NICHOLAS, of land lying between the burgh of Renfrew and the ness of Ren where the Water of Grife falls into the Clyde; undated, but *circa* 1283-1306. (Original in Dargavel Charter Chest.)

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel auditoris Jacobus Senescallus Scocie salutem in domino sempiternam: Sciatis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Stephano filio Nicholai burgensi de Reynfru pro homagio et seruitio suo totam terram illam que quondam fuit Patricii de Seluinisland que terra jacet inter burgum de Reynfru et le nese del Ren vbi aqua de Grife descendit in aquam de Clide cum omnibus rectis diuisis et iustis pertinentiis suis actenus vsitatis et in futuris de iure vsitandis; quam quidem terram Adam quondam filius eiusdem Patricii nobis in plena curia baronie nostre de Reynfru per fustum et baculum sursum reddidit et penitus resignauit: Tenendam et habendam eidem

Stephano et heredibus suis de nobis et heredibus nostris in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete pacifice et honorifice bene et in pace in boscis et planis in aquis et stagnis in molendinis et multuris in pratis et pascuis in viis et semitis in piscariis et aucupacionibus et venacionibus et in omnibus aliis commoditatibus libertatibus et aysiamentis tam non nominatis quam nominatis ad dictam terram spectantibus seu quocunque modo de jure spectare valentibus: Reddendo inde dictus Stephanus et heredes sui nobis et heredibus nostris quolibet anno duodecim denarios argenti nomine feodifirme apud manerium nostrum de Reynfru ad duos anni terminos videlicet sex denarios ad festum Pentecostes et sex denarios ad festum Beati Martini in hyeme sine multura et sine warda et releuio et sine secta curie pro omnibus aliis seruiciis exactionibus secularibus vel demandis nihil aliud inde reddendo vel faciendo: Nos vero Jacobus Senescallus Scocie et heredes nostri totam predictam terram cum omnibus iustis pertinentiis suis commoditatibus libertatibus et aysiamentis et rectis diuisis in omnibus vt predictum est predicto Stephano et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas presentes et futuros warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus imperpetuum: In cuius rei testimonium presentem cartam nostram in possessione sigilli nostri roborauimus; Hiis testibus dominis Thoma Randalf Roberto Boyde Williello Fleming de Baruchan Finlao de Huwistoun militibus Gilberto de Coningsburgh petre (*lege patre*) Gillisio del Estwod Roberto Simpil tunc senescallo baronie de Reynfru Rogero Wythirspou clerico et multis aliis.

(Abstract.)

JAMES, Stewart of Scotland, confirms to Stephen, son of Nicholas, burgess of Reynfru, for his homage and service, that land formerly the property of Patrick of Seluinisland, lying between the burgh of Reynfru and the nese of Ren where the Water of Grife falls into the Water of Clide, which Adam, son of the said Patrick, resigned to him by staff and baton in a full court of the barony of Reynfru: To be held by the said Stephen and his heirs of the granter and his heirs for payment annually at his manor of Reynfru of 12 silver pennies in name of feu-farm, without multure, ward, relief and suit of court.

(17)

TRANSMUMPT OF CHARTER BY WILLIAM DE VALONIIS, SON AND HEIR OF SIR WILLIAM DE VALONIIS, KNIGHT, TO JOHN DE LEDALE of the lands of Panlathy, Balbany, and Petcouray; undated, but *circa* 1288-1296. Transmumpt dated 10th August 1400. (Original in Glenbervie Charter Chest.)

In Dei nomine Amen: Per presens publicum instrumentum cunctis pateat euidenter quod anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo *cccc*^{mo} mensis Augusti die decimo indicione septima pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini nostri domini Benedicti pape terciidecimi anno sexto in mei notarii publici et testium subscriptorum presencia personaliter constitutus circumspetus vir Nicholayus de Ledale mihi exhibuit et presentauit quandam cartam veterem non rasam non abolitam nec in aliqua sui parte viciatam sed omni prorsus suspicione carentem sicut prima facie apparebat sigillo Willelmi de Valoniis filii et heredis quondam Domini Willelmi de Valoniis domini de Dalgingh in Fiffe in cera alba sigillatam cuius tenor sequitur de uerbo ad uerbum et est talis: Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris uel auditoris Willelmus de Valoniis filius et heres quondam domini Willelmi de Valoniis militis domini de Dalgingh in Fiffe eternam in Domino salutem: Nouerit universitas uestra me dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Johanni de Ledale filio et heredi quondam Thome de Ledale totas terras meas de Panlathy Balbany et Petcouray: Quas quidem terras dictus Thomas de Ledale pater dicti Johannis de dicto domino Willelmo patre meo tenuit hereditarie: Tenendas et habendas dicto Johanni de Ledale et heredibus suis uel assignatis seu assignatorum heredibus de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate libere quiete plenarie pacifice et honorifice in pratis et pascuis in moris et marseis in viis et semitis in stagnis et molendinis in petariis bossis planis et bracinis atque in omnibus aliis aysiamendis ad dictas terras spectantibus seu imposterum aliquo

tempore de iure spectare valentibus: Faciendo inde forinsecum seruicium Scoticanum domini regis quantum pertinet ad dictas terras et faciendo sectam ad curiam domini comitis de Angouss pro eisdem terris: Reddendo inde dictus Johannes et heredes sui uel assignati seu assignatorum heredes michi et heredibus meis ad capitale dominium (*sic*) de Panlathy duos denarios sterlingorum nomine feodofirme annuatim scilicet vnum denarium ad festum Penticostes et vnum denarium ad festum Sancti Martini in yame pro omni consuetudine exaccione opere seruili et seculari demanda: Ego vero dictus Wilelmus et heredes mei predictas terras dicto Johanni et heredibus suis uel assignatis seu assignatorum heredibus contra omnes homines et feminas imperpetuum warandizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus: In cuius rei testimonium presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine roborau; hiis testibus domino Henrico tunc abbate de Abbirbroth domino Andrea tunc abbate de Cupro domino David de Betvn domino Roberto de Betvn domino Adam de Rettress militibus Henrico de Downy Laurencio Clerico Johanne Ruffo burgensibus de Dundee et multis alijs: Quam quidem cartam idem Nicholayus peciit et requesiuit per me notarium publicum infrascriptum transcribi et copiari ac signo meo muniri: Acta fuerunt hec apud Dundee in semiterio Sancti Clementis versus orientem hora diei quasi vndecima: Presentibus David de Anand scutifero Ade Clerico et Andrea Ade burgensibus de Dundee et multis aliis ad hoc specialiter vocatis et rogatis in testimonium omnium premissorum: anno die mense indicione loco et pontificatu quibus supra.

Et ego Simon de Lendores clericus Sancti Andree diocesis publicus apostolica et imperiali auctoritate notarius premissis omnibus et singulis dum ut sic agerentur et fierent vna cum prenomatis testibus presens fui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi publicau et in hanc formam publicam redeg; signoque meo consueto signavi et aliis curis implicitus per alium scribi feci et hii manu propria subscripsi in testimonium veritatis omnium premissorum.

(Abstract.)

ON 10 August 1400 at the east end of the cemetery of St. Clement in Dundee, Nicholays of Ledale presented to Simon of Lendores, clerk, of the diocese of St. Andrews, notary public by apostolic and imperial authority, an ancient charter not erased or abolished, nor in any part vitiated but altogether free from suspicion, to be transcribed and copied and fortified by his signum: The Charter makes known that William de Valoniis, son and heir of the late Sir William de Valoniis, knight, lord of Dalgingh in Fiffe, has granted to John de Ledale, son and heir of Thomas de Ledale, the lands of Paulathy, Balbany and Petcouray, which the said Thomas de Ledale held of Sir William heritably: To be held by the said John and his heirs and assignees of the granter and his heirs, rendering therefor the forinsec service due to the king for said lands and suit at the court of the Earl of Angus, and also to the granter at the chief lordship of Panlathy two pence sterling in name of feu farm.

(18)

CHARTER BY JOHN, EARL OF ATHOLE, TO SIR ALEXANDER DE MEYERS of the lands of Weem and others; undated, but *circa* 1300. (Original in 1874 *pene* Sir Robert Menzies of Weem.)

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes comes Atholye filius et heres domini Davyd comitis Atholye dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi domino Alexandro de Meyners filio et heredi quondam domini Roberti de Meyners et heredibus suis pro homagio et servicio suo totam terram meam del Weem et de Abyrfeally beg in Atholya videlicet duas dauatas et dimidiam dauatam del Weem et dimidiam dauatam de Abyrfeally beg cum omnibus suis pertinenciis libertatibus et aysiamentis ad dictas terras spectantibus vel de iure spectare valentibus in bosco in plano in moris in marisiis in pascuis et pratis in stagnis et molendinis in aquis et rivulis in saxis et rupellis in uiis et semitis in aibus et feris et piscariis et in omnibus aliis aysiamentis ad eadem terras pertinentibus vel pertinere valentibus sine aliquo retenemento; salua michi et heredibus meis aduocacione et donacione ecclesie del Weem: Tenendas et habendas eidem domino Alexandro et

heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in feodo et hereditate adeo libere quiete integre plenarie et honorifice bene et in pace sicut aliquis vauassurus aliquam terram de aliquo comite vel barone in vauassaria in toto regno Scocie tenet aut possidet : Reddendo inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui unum denarium sterlyngorum ad Penthecosten et faciendo forinsecum seruicium domini regis quantum ad tantam terram pertinet et unicum sectam curie mee et heredum meorum de Rath in Atholya pro dictis ambabus terris del Weem et de Abyrfeally beg pro omni alio seruicio exactione et demanda : Ego vero prefatus Johannes comes Atholye et heredes mei predicto domino Alexandro et heredibus suis dictam terram del Weem et de Abyrfeally beg cum omnibus suis pertinenciis libertatibus et aysiamendis ut predictum est contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus in perpetuum : In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum meum feci apponi : Hiis testibus dominis Johanne de Inchemertyn Johanne de Cambrun Archebaldo de Levyngistoun Roberto de Cambron de Balemelij Laurencio de Stratbolgyn Willelmo Olifard Henrico de Inchemertyn militibus et multis aliis.

(Abstract.)

JOHN, Earl of Atholye, son and heir of David, Earl of Atholye, makes known that he has granted to Sir Alexander de Meyners, son and heir of the late Sir Robert de Meyners, for his homage and service, the lands of Weem and Abyrfeally-beg in Atholya, viz. 2½ davachs of Weem and a half davach of Abyrfeally-beg, reserving to himself and his heirs the advocation and donation of the church of Weem : To be held by the said Sir Alexander and his heirs of the granter and his heirs as freely and quietly as any vassal holds and possesses any land in vassalage of an earl or baron in the kingdom of Scotland, for payment of one penny sterling, and rendering forinsec service to the king for said lands and one suit at the granter's court of Rath in Atholya.

NOTES

(1)

Willelmus Rex Scottorum. The Scottish kings, with the exception of John Balliol, almost invariably described themselves in their charters as 'King of Scots.' The absence of the words *Dei gratia* is peculiar to royal charters granted in the earlier years of William's reign, and also to those of the reign of Malcolm iv. and the later years of David I.

Francis et Anglis Scottis et Galweiensibus: See Cosmo Innes's *Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities* (pp. 30, 35) as to the usual manner of addressing the charters of the period. Galloway, in the reign of William the Lion, in addition to Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, included the district of Carrick in Ayrshire. It had its own laws by which it was governed and was largely independent of the King of Scots. He, however, was recognised as its overlord, and its army followed him to battle. See Skene's *Fordun* (ii. p. 425) as to the various distinct elements of the population of Scotland in the twelfth century.

Monialibus apud Manuel manentibus. The Nunnery of Manuel, of the Cistercian or Bernardine Order, was situated on the left bank of the river Avon, about a mile above Linlithgow Bridge, in the parish of Muiravonside and county of Stirling. It was founded by Malcolm iv., but in the absence of contemporary evidence it is impossible to determine the precise year, though it is probable that it was in the earlier rather than in the later years of his reign. In Spottiswood's *Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland at the Reformation* (printed in Keith's *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*, 1824, pp. 461, 462) the year is stated to be 1156, while Sir James Balfour (*Historical Works*, i. p. 18) affirms it was eight years later in 1164: neither cites any authority. The earliest reference to the matter is made by Bower (*J.* 1385-1449), who mentions that the Abbey of Cupar Angus was founded by Malcolm in 1164, and then adds 'et ante hoc cœnobium de Soltrey, ad viatores hospitandos, et sanctimoniales de Manuel' (*Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. cap. 7). It may be conjectured, therefore, that the earlier date, which is accepted by Hailes, is the correct one (*Annals of Scotland*, 1819, i. p. 130).

The Nunnery was dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Mackinlay's *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland—Scriptural Dedications*, p. 150). There was a tradition in the neighbourhood at the end of the eighteenth

century that none but ladies of rank and family were admitted into it (*Hutton's Collections, Linlithgow, Advocates' Library, p. 12; cf. Walcott's Scoti-Monasticon, p. 378*).

On 16 June 1506, following on a petition of James iv., Pope Julius II. issued a commission to the abbots of Cambuskenneth and Balmerino and the provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh, to convert the Nunnery, in which there were only five nuns, into a house of Augustinian Friars Observantines. The Nuns were to be transferred to another convent, but the change was not effected (*Transcripts from Vatican Archives, Reg. Ho., iii. No. 32*).

'Part of the south wall was to be seen till 1788, when a flood in the river swept it away along with a portion of the bank used as a cemetery. The ivy-clad western gable is all that now remains of the building' (Mackinlay, *ut supra cit.*).

Terram illam in Manuel, etc. Professor David Masson, writing on the 'History of the Scottish Church Lands and Revenues from the Reformation to the year 1625' (*Register of Privy Council, Second Series, i. pp. cxv-cxxvi*), states (p. cxxv) that 'the rights of the Nunnery of Manuel had passed before 1585 to William, Lord Livingston.' It was certainly a good many years before 1585, as on 9 March 1564, Dame Jane Levingstoun, the prioress, and the convent feued to him the lands of the Nunnery which lay in the barony of Manuel. These included the Mains of Manuel with the greens and haughs adjacent, the lands of Walkmylntoun with its mill, and the lands of Myreheid and Williamcraiggs. 'Their yearly value 'in males, gressumes and all utheris proffittis comptit togidder'—the 'auld maill'—amounted to £21, 13s. 4d. Scots, with 7 chalders, 12 bolls meal, 3 chalders bere, 12 bolls malt, 4 dozen capons, 22 loads of coals, 3 lbs. wax, and 'the leding of five dosane of coillis,' which Lord Livingstone bound himself to pay, together with 20s. of augmentation. Provision was made for commutation of the payments in kind, viz.: 6s. 8d. for each boll of oatmeal, 8s. 4d. for each boll of bere, 12s. 8d. for each boll of malt, £3 for the capons and coals and 50s. for the other duties 'in the optioun and chois' of the feuar and his heirs (*MS. Abbrev. Cartar. Feudifirme Terrarum Ecclesiasticarum, Treasurer's Office, Reg. Ho., i. p. 167; MS. Charge of the Temporalitie of Kirklands, South Side of the Forth, Reg. Ho., p. 15*).

G. de Malville: Galfrid Melville, the earliest known ancestor of the Earls of Leven and Melville: sheriff of Edinburgh Castle and afterwards justiciar, probably of the district south of the Forth: died *circa* 1178 (*Fraser's The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, i. pp. 3-8; The Scots Peerage, vi. pp. 75-78*).

Thore filius Swani: probably identical with Thor, the first known ancestor of the Ruthvens, Earls of Gowrie (*The Scots Peerage, iv. 254*): a witness to several charters of David I. (Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters, pp. 59, 72, 123*). He owned the lands of Tranent and, *circa* 1150,

conveyed the church thereof to the Abbey of Holyrood (*Ibid.*, p. 175; *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, Bannatyne Club, No. 11).

Cum aisiamenis nemoris, etc. In the twelfth century, Scotland south of the Forth was not a well-wooded country, and great care was taken to preserve the forests from destruction. A grant of such a scarce and valuable commodity was of course of great value and was sparingly bestowed.

Walteri Corbet: presumed to be a son of Robert Corbet who came from Shropshire, the original county of the Corbets, and settled in Teviotdale under Earl David about the beginning of the twelfth century (Jeffrey's *The History and Antiquities of Roxburghshire*, iii. p. 142; Chalmers' *Caledonia*, 1887-1902, ii. pp. 506, 507; Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 277). He owned the estates of Mackerston in Roxburghshire and Glendale in Northumberland (*Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, Bannatyne Club, i. No. 236; *Laing Charters*, No. 9) and, circa 1170, granted the church of Mackerston to the Abbey of Kelso (*Liber de Calchou*, i. No. 235). In 1174 he was one of the hostages for William the Lion for the observance of the treaty of Falaise (Rymer's *Fœdera*, 1816-69, vol. i. part i. pp. 30, 31). He witnessed numerous charters of Malcolm iv. and William the Lion (*MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*, Reg. Ho.).

Decimam molendini de Jhetham: Jhetham is Yetholm in Roxburghshire. As to the importance of mills in the rural economy of medieval Scotland, see *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores*, Scot. Hist. Soc., pp. lxxxiv-xc.

Rawenild de Jetham: perhaps Reginald de Yethame whose son Adam appears as a witness to a charter, circa 1220 (*Liber de Calchou*, p. 138).

Unam maisuram in Rokesburgo: grants of tofts in royal burghs to religious houses and prominent churchmen were of frequent occurrence. Cosmo Innes observes with regard to them that they 'were to enable the great Church lords to accompany the sovereign in his frequent changes of residence. They also secured responsible and improving tenants for the Crown property in the new burghs' (*Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 35 n).

A. comitissa matre mea: Ada, daughter of William, Earl of Warenne, second Earl of Surrey: married 1139: died 1178 (*The Scots Peerage*, i. p. 4).

Nicholao cancellario: one of the *clerici regis* of David I.: chamberlain circa 1159-64: chancellor 1164-71 (Crawford's *Officers of State*, p. 9; Lawrie's *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland*, pp. 121, 122; *Chronica de Mailros*, Ban. Club, pp. 76, 84).

Ricardo de Moreuille constabulario: constable 1162-89: son of Hugh de Moreville and Beatrice de Bello-Campo (*Chronica de Mailros*, pp. 78, 98; *Caledonia*, ii. p. 503).

Waltero filio Alani dupifero : founder of Paisley Abbey : created High Stewart of Scotland by David I. : died 1177 (*The Scots Peerage*, i. pp. 10-12).

DD. Olifer : David Olifard, ancestor of the Lords Oliphant : godson and namesake of David I. : the earliest known holder of the office of justiciar : a frequent witness to charters of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion : presumed to have died in 1170, as Robert Avenel succeeded him as justiciar before 1171 (*The Scots Peerage*, vi. pp. 524, 525 ; *MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*).

Philippo de Valoniis camerario : fifth son of Roger de Valoniis : came to Scotland at the end of the reign of Malcolm IV. : received a grant of the manors of Panmure and Benvie from William the Lion (*Registrum de Panmure*, i. p. xviii). Crawford (*Officers of State*, p. 257) states that he was appointed chamberlain about 1180, and the *Registrum de Panmure* (i. p. xviii) and the *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores* (p. 235) repeat his statement : in the list of chamberlains printed in *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland* (ii. pp. cxvii-cxxv) he is said to have held the office from 'before 1196 to 1215.' It is quite clear, however, that he held the office at a much earlier period, viz. from 1165 to about 1171. He was reappointed about 1190, and held the office till his death on 5 November 1215 (*MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters* ; *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cap. 27 ; *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 121).

It is unfortunate that there is no trustworthy list of the holders of the chief offices of state in Scotland. A considerable amount of data has accumulated since Crawford published his *Officers of State* in 1726, and a new edition incorporating the fresh material would be most helpful and save a great deal of unnecessary labour and worry to Scottish record scholars. Perhaps some scholar of leisure will take the matter up and produce a companion volume to Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*?

Alexandro de Sancto Martino : witnessed a number of charters of William the Lion : sheriff of Haddington (*Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle*, Bannatyne Club, No. 20). He had a grant from David I. of the lands of Alstaneford in East Lothian (Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 149), which was confirmed by Countess Ada, mother of William the Lion, who by the same charter conveyed to him other lands in East Lothian (*Laing Charters*, No. 2).

Jarwemes : this place has not been identified with certainty. Yarrow and Jarrow have been suggested, and the former, the earliest spelling of which was *Gierua*, is perhaps the more likely solution of the problem. The parish of Yarrow formed part of the district known as The Forest, and as the Scottish kings often hunted there, it is not unlikely they had a royal residence in the neighbourhood, perhaps, as suggested by the second half of the name—'meres' = lakes—on the neck of land between St. Mary's Loch and the Loch of the Lowes. There are other two

charters of King William granted at the same place (*Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree*, Bannatyne Club, p. 211).

Date. The limiting dates are 9 December 1165, the commencement of the King's reign, and 1171, in which year Nicolas the chancellor died. See *supra* regarding omission of words *Dei gratia*.

(2)

Waltero filio Philippi camerarii. Philip, the chamberlain, witnessed a charter, *circa* 1133, by David I. to the Abbey of Dunfermline (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, No. 27). Lawrie (*Early Scottish Charters*, p. 344) was of opinion that the monk who transcribed the charter in the reign of William the Lion, when Philip de Valoniis was chamberlain, wrote 'Philip' instead of 'Herbert,' but this charter confirms the view that there was an earlier Philip who held the office. The family, which took its surname from the lauds, ended in an heiress in the seventeenth century. 'She married a Maitland, and the heiress of the Maitlands of Lundin carried the estate to her husband, John Drummond, created Earl of Melfort' (*Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*, Scottish History Society, p. 270).

Lundin in Fif: in the parish of Largo.

In bosco et plano, etc. The meaning of these and other words which occur frequently in Scottish charters is discussed in Cosmo Innes's *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, i. pp. 42-61; Skene's *De verborum significatione*; Ross's *Lectures on the Law of Scotland*, vol. ii.

Sicut carta regis Malcolmi fratris mei testatur et confirmat. Sir James Dalrymple (*Collections*, 1705, p. 398) saw the charters of Malcolm and William in the hands of the Laird of Lundie.

Engelramo episcopo de Glasgu: bishop, 1164-74: chancellor, 1161-64 (*Dowden's The Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 297, 298).

Comite Waldevo: fourth Earl of Dunbar or Lothian, 1166-1182, 'though he himself uses neither title, calling himself Waldeve the Earl' (*The Scots Peerage*, iii. p. 251).

Comite Duncano: fifth Earl of Fife, 1154-1204 (*The Scots Peerage*, iv. pp. 6-8).

Roberto Auenel: an Englishman who was settled by David I. in the same vicinity with the Souleses in Upper Eskdale (*Caledonia*, ii. p. 513). He succeeded David Olifard as justiciar before 1171 (*The Scots Peerage*, vi. p. 525 n). 'He married Sibilla, by whom he had a son, Gervase, and a daughter, whose illicit love with King William produced a daughter, Isabel, who was given by her father in marriage to Robert Brus in 1183, and to Robert de Ros in 1191' (*Caledonia*, ii. p. 514; cf. *The Scots Peerage*, i. 5). He retired to the monastery of Melrose, where

he died on 8 March 1185 (*Chronica de Mailros*, p. 93). He granted the lands of Eskdale to the monastery (*Ibid.*; *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, Bannatyne Club, i. No. 39), and that part of Cramond called Bishop's Cramond to the Bishop of Dunkeld (*Dalrymple's Collections*, p. 397).

Willelmo de Mortemer: Nisbet (*A System of Heraldry*, 1816, i. p. 288) writes that 'some are of opinion' that the Mortimers came from England to Scotland in the reign of King Edgar, and he also states that Alan de Mortimer obtained the lands of Aberdour in Fife in 1126 by marrying the daughter of John de Vipont. It seems more probable that the family settled in Scotland during the reign of William the Lion, and that William de Mortimer acquired the lands of Aberdour from Earl David (*Caledonia*, ii. p. 589). His name frequently appears as a witness to royal charters. He was taken prisoner at Alnwick by Bernard de Balliol in 1174, and was a hostage for the king under the treaty of Falaise (*Lawrie's Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, pp. 177, 195).

Radalfo de Clere: an Englishman who settled in Scotland during the reign of Malcolm iv., from whom he obtained the lands of East Calder. He communicated his name to the district, which was thereafter called *Calder-Clere* in contradistinction to *Calder Comitis* (*Caledonia*, ii. p. 588; McCall's *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Mid-Calder*, p. 12). He was a benefactor of Kelso Abbey. His name appears as a witness in four other charters of King William (*MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*).

Waltero de Berkelai: lord of Reidcastle in Forfarshire: chamberlain of Scotland c. 1171-c. 1190. The Berkeleys, who came from Gloucestershire, settled in Scotland during the twelfth century (*Crawford's Officers of State*, p. 253; *Caledonia*, ii. p. 529; *MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*).

Ricardo clerico: in addition to this charter, he witnessed sixteen other charters of King William, in two of which he is designed 'clericus regis' (*MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*). Is he identical with Richard de Prebenda, 'clericus et cognatus domini regis,' who was bishop of Dunkeld 1203-10?

Castellum puellarum: Castle of Maidens, a name first applied to Edinburgh Castle in the reign of David I. According to the veracious Boece (Bellenden's translation), lib. i. cap. 12, Cruthneus, king of the Picts, 'biggit the town and castell of Edinburgh, namit sum time the Madin Castell; for al the nobil wemen of Pichtis war nurist within this castell, in crafty labouris of thair handis, quhil thay war reddy to mary.' Buchanan derives the name from French romances. Its earlier name was Dunedin, and it is more probable that it is a monkish version of the Celtic *May-din*, a fort (*Lawrie's Early Scottish Charters*, p. 403).

Date. The limiting dates are 1166, when Earl Waldeve succeeded his father, and 1171, the year of death of Nicolas the chancellor.

(3)

There can be no doubt that the original of this charter, though genuine, has been tampered with. Writing, under date 25 November 1913, to Sir Archibald Lawrie, Dr. Maitland Thomson makes the following observations on it: 'I don't know if you have got a transcript of the old King William charter to Roger de Haden of the lauds of "Frande in Glendevon" from the MS. in the Antiquaries' Library. The enclosed is a photo of a photo of the original (*penes* Lord Camperdown) and does not show, what the original shows very clearly, that *Frande* is written on an erasure. The indorsement not contemporary but old is "Carta de *Foulis* per regem W." Of "Glendevon" the photo shows only the first and last letters, and a plain indication that the word ended "-in." Preceding the "i" in the original (which I could only glance at) is what looks like the end of an "r"—in fact in all probability the charter originally read "*Foulis in Gouerin*." Of course *Foulis* in *Gowrie* belonged to the *Maules*, and passed about this time to the *Mortimers*. *Haden* looks all right, but I would dearly like to look at it under a very strong glass and make sure that it was not originally *Mortimer*. . . .

'One may add, that when one comes to think of it, it is not likely that *Frandie*, a sheep farm at the head of *Glendevon*, was reckoned a knight's fee in those days. *Foulis* in *Gowrie* may well have been so reckoned.

'Apart from the alteration, the charter is plainly genuine. I would date it 1190 to 1199—the three last witnesses all belong to that period at [the] earliest, and *Philip de Valoniis*, though he was chamberlain at the very beginning of *William's* reign, seems to have ceased to be so, and only to have been reappointed about 1590 (*sic lege* 1190). But you have no doubt gone deeper into this than I have.'

On 30 November 1913 he again wrote to Sir Archibald Lawrie on the subject: 'My original informant *re* the "*Frande*" charter has looked at the charter itself again, and says there is no doubt the word *Haden* is faked. It was originally *mortem*; the necessary strokes were erased, and three upstrokes added to make h, a, and d. These are in ink of a greenish tinge, the original being written with ink of a rich brown colour' (Lawrie's *MS. Scottish Historical Documents*, *Advocates' Library*, vol. i). There is a copy of the charter in an MS. preserved in the Library of the Antiquaries of Scotland entitled *Cartae Variæ*, p. 1.

Rogero de Haden. Apart from this charter, no reference has been found to his name in the Scottish records of the period.

Matheo episcopo Aberdonensi: bishop of Aberdeen 1172-99: said to have died 20 August 1199: his surname is said to have been *Kyninmund* (*Dowden's The Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 99-101).

Comite Gilleberto: third Earl of *Strathearn*, 1171-1223: born *circa* 1150: justiciar *circa* 1190: founded *Inchaffray Abbey* 1200: died 1223 (*Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*, pp. lix-lxi; *The Scots Peerage*, viii. pp. 241-4).

Ricardo de Prebenda: 'clericus et cognatus domini regis': bishop of Dunkeld 1203-10 (Dowden's *The Bishops of Scotland*, p. 52).

Willelmo Cumin: son of Richard Comyn and Hextilda, his wife, daughter of Huctred of Tynedale: married, circa 1214, Marjory or Margaret, daughter and heiress of Fergus, Mormaer and Earl of Buchan, and became Earl of Buchan in her right: founded the Abbey of Deer in 1219: justiciar of Scotland from 1208 to 1231: died 1233 (*The Scots Peerage*, i. p. 504, ii. pp. 252-4; *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cap. 48; *MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*).

Johanne de Hastings: the Scottish Hastings were a branch of the English family of that name and settled in Scotland during the reign of William the Lion, from whom this witness obtained a grant of the lands of Dun in Forfarshire (*Caledonia*, ii. p. 592). He was sheriff and forester of the Mearns 1163-78 (Jervise's *Memorials of Angus and the Mearns*, p. 9; *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, v. p. 210).

Malisio fratre comitis Gilleberti: brother of Gilbert, third Earl of Strathearn *supra*: a benefactor to the Abbeys of Lindores and Arbroath: married Ada, an illegitimate daughter of Earl David: dead before 1214 (*The Scots Peerage*, viii. p. 241; *Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*, pp. lviii, lix).

Malcolmo filio comitis Dunecani: sixth Earl of Fife, 1204-28: granter of No. 4 *infra*.

Willelmo de Valoniis: eldest son of Philip de Valoniis *supra* (p. 329): succeeded his father as chamberlain in 1215: died at Kelso Abbey: buried beside his father in Melrose Abbey 1219: his only daughter married Peter de Maule and carried to his family the baronies of Panmure and Benvie (*Registrum de Panmure*, i. p. xix; *Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cap. 27; *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 135).

David de Haia: second of Erroll and ancestor of the Earls of Erroll: sheriff of Forfar, 1211-14: died between 1237 and 1241 (*The Scots Peerage*, iii. pp. 556, 557).

Alexandro filio Thor: witnessed several charters of William the Lion (*MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*).

Date: between 1190, when Philip de Valoniis was reappointed chamberlain, and 20 August 1199, the date of death of Matthew, bishop of Aberdeen.

(4)

Malcolmus filius comitis Dunecani: sixth Earl of Fife, 1204-28: founded Culross Abbey 1217: died 1228 (*The Scots Peerage*, iv. p. 8).

Monialibus de Nor Berwick. The Nunnery of North Berwick, of the Cistercian or Bernardine order, was founded by Duncan, fourth Earl of Fife (*Carte Monialium de Northberwic*, Bannatyne Club, No. 3), and is one of the earliest religious houses founded by a Scottish noble. It was dedicated

to the Virgin Mary (Mackinlay's *Ancient Church Dedications in Scotland—Scriptural Dedications*, pp. 150, 151). There is considerable diversity of opinion as to the date of foundation. Sir Archibald Lawrie (*Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, p. 15) says it was 'about 1136': the writer of the historical note on the convent which appears in the *Inventory of Monuments in East Lothian—Eighth Report of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments in Scotland* (p. 59) is of opinion that it was founded 'probably in the third quarter of the 12th century': Bower (*Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cap. 31) puts it as late as 1217, while in Spottiswood's *Account of the Religious Houses in Scotland at the Reformation* (printed in Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, 1824, p. 463), the date given on the authority (erroneously) of Sibbald's *History of Fife* is 1216. Fortunately Sir James Dalrymple has preserved a note of a charter which enables us to fix the date of foundation within a comparatively limited period. In his *Collections* (pp. 268, 269) he writes: 'I have seen a Charter by K. David confirming *Elemosinam illam quam Dunecanus Comes dedit Monialibus de North-berwick et terram quae dicitur Gillecameston. Testibus Waltero Cancellario Adam Capellano et Hugone de Morvill.*' It is, of course, impossible to determine from the names of those three witnesses the precise year in which the charter was granted, but as Walter de Bidun was appointed chancellor c. 1147-50, and King David died on 24 May 1153, it is probable the Nunnery was founded round about the year 1150.

Details of the revenue of the Nunnery in the thirteenth century and at the Reformation are printed in *Carte Monialium de Northberwic*, pp. xxi-xxvi: see also *MS. Book of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices*, Reg. Ho. On 20 March 1587-8, certain of its lands were erected into a temporal lordship in favour of Alexander Home of North Berwick (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1580-1593, No. 1492).

Ecclesiam de Norberwich: dedicated to St. Andrew: as to the value of this benefice in 1561 see *MS. Book of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices*, Reg. Ho.; *Carte Monialium de Northberwic*, pp. xxv, xxvi.

Gillecolmestun: granted by Duncan, fourth Earl of Fife, the founder of the Nunnery: Sir James Dalrymple (*Collections*, p. 269) expresses the opinion that the Nunnery had originally been 'the Cell or Kirk of a Religious Person called Campston, which was then dedicate to the Blessed Mary.' In the Introduction to the *Inventory of Monuments in East Lothian* (p. xviii), evidence is adduced to show that after the incorporation of Lothian with the Scottish kingdom, Gaelic-speaking inhabitants were settled in some parts of it, and it is pointed out that 'Gaelic personages are suggested by "fossil" names like *Gillecamestone* or *Gillesalmestun*, the original designation of the land granted for the foundation of the Cistercian nunnery at North Berwick.'

Terram hospitalem de Norberwich et terram hospitalem de Ardrois. These two hospitals for pilgrims were situated at the south and north

ends respectively of the ancient ferry over the Firth of Forth between North Berwick and Earlsferry (*passagiū comitis*). They were granted to the nuns by Duncan, fifth Earl of Fife, before 1177, and it appears from the terms of his charter (*Carte Monialium de Northberwic*, No. 3) that they were erected and endowed by his father, the fourth Earl, for the reception and entertainment of poor people and travellers who used the ferry: *Preterea do et concedo illis duo hospitalia unum iuxta portum maris australem alterum iuxta portum eiusdem transitus aquilonalem que pater meus statuit in suscepcionem pauperum et peregrinorum ut teneant et possideant predicta hospitalia cum terris et redditibus et cum omnibus pertinentibus eisdem hospitalibus ita ut et pauperes et peregrini iuxta facultatem hospitalium suscipiantur.*

At the time when these two hospitals were built and endowed, the miracle-working relics of the patron saint of Scotland attracted numerous pilgrims to St. Andrews, and it was, no doubt, for the relief of pilgrims from the south of the Forth who had to use the ferry that they were erected. About the same time Robert, bishop of St. Andrews, built and endowed a hospital in St. Andrews for the reception of the pilgrims (*Reg. Priorat. Sancti Andree*, p. 122).

Walcott's *Scoti-Monasticon* (p. 385) erroneously states that Ardros was given to South Berwick. In his Preface to *Carte Monialium de Northberwic* (p. xx) Cosmo Innes observes that 'on a little promontory which defends the harbour of North Berwick on the west are the remains of a vaulted building, perhaps one of the two Hospitals for the reception of poor wayfarers crossing the Firth, given by Earl Duncan of Fife to the nuns.' Cf. contribution by Mr. George Law on 'The Earl's Ferry' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, ii, pp. 14-29.

Ecclesiam de Largach: Largo in Fife: details of the value of this church at the Reformation are given in *MS. Book of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices*; *Carte Monial. de Northberwic*, pp. xxii, xxiii.

Ecclesiam de Login cum Drumnath: Logie in Stirlingshire: at the Reformation it was 'set in assedatioun . . . to Patrik Home of Polwart, Patrik, his sone and appeirand air, Patrik, his oo, for lvij li.' (*MS. Book of Assumption*).

'Drumnach—the field on the ridge—which is supposed to comprise the fertile land north of the church, extended from the Sheriffmuir Road on the west to Fossoquhie on the east, within which is the "Holy Well"' (*Menzies Fergusson's Logie: a Parish History*, i. p. 12, note 1).

Aderin: Aithernie in the parish of Scoonie, Fife (Wood's *The East Neuk of Fife*, 1887, p. 39). In the transcript it is written 'ad Ernin': it also appears as Aderne and Athernin in the cartulary of the Nunnery. It is mentioned first in the charter of Duncan, fifth Earl of Fife, c. 1177, and circa 1220, Thomas Lundin granted to the Nuns 12 acres in the north part of Adherenin (*Carte Mon. de Northberwic*, Nos. 3 and 10). At the Reformation the lands were held in feu by John Carmichell for a duty of £11 (*MS. Book of Assumption*).

Machrive: Monthryf now Montrave in the parish of Scoonie, Fife: granted by Duncan, fifth Earl of Fife (*Carte Monial.*, No. 3): at the Reformation it was held in feu for a duty of £24 by Henry Kempt (*MS. Book of Assumption*).

Dimidietatem terre de Brech. In 1588 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1580-1593, No. 1492) these lands are said to be in the parish of Calder: they are now in the parish of Livingston. 'Set to Thomas Hammiltoun the Grange of Brecht for the sowme of iiij li.' (*MS. Book of Assumption*).

Domina mea comitissa Ela matre mea:—'She was . . . the niece of King Malcolm, but it has been objected that Malcolm, who was born in 1142, could scarcely have had a niece marriageable in 1160. Yet it is possible that Ada or Ela might be the child of an illegitimate son or daughter born to Malcolm's father, Earl Henry, in his youth, as he had at least one illegitimate child, and may have had others' (*The Scots Peerage*, iv. p. 7).

Adam patruo meo. He married, c. 1172, Orabile, daughter of Nes, son of William, the wife of Robert de Quincy, from whom she was divorced. She afterwards married as her third husband, before 1199, Gilchrist, Earl of Mar, and was dead before June 1203 (*The Scots Peerage*, iv. p. 6, v. pp. 571-2).

Duncano David Willelmo Johanne fratribus meis. David, who acquired from his father the lands of Strathbogie, was the father of John de Strathbogie, who became Earl of Atholl through his marriage with Ada, Countess of Atholl (*The Scots Peerage*, iv. p. 8). *The Scots Peerage* omits William and John from its account of the children of the fifth Earl.

Merlesuano: witnessed several charters of Malcolm iv. and William the Lion: c. 1172-84, he had a charter from William the Lion of the lands of Ardros (*MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters; Transcripts of royal charters*, Reg. Ho.). Cf. Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*, p. 238; *Caledonia*, ii. p. 500.

Domino Jacobo magistro predictarum monialium: in *Carte Mon. de Northberwic*, No. 7, he is designed 'priere de Noberwic.'

Cistercian Nunneries in the early years of the order were ruled jointly by a prior and prioress, and in some cases a few canons are found holding the temporalities jointly with the nuns. The joint rule of the prior and prioress had died out in England by the end of the thirteenth century, and even the canons and lay brothers had disappeared before the following century. Thereafter the 'magister' was usually the vicar or rector of a neighbouring parish or a monk from a religious house in the vicinity appointed by the bishop, partly to remedy the financial incompetence of the nuns and partly to facilitate the maintenance of a stricter enclosure. Other orders had also their male guardians called variously 'masters,' 'wardens,' 'priors' or 'custodes' to supervise their financial and temporal affairs (*Power's Medieval English Nunneries*, pp. 228-36).

Magistro Simone de Torfekin: a territorial surname from Torphichen in Linlithgowshire.

Roberto de Upsetclintun: this surname is from Upsetlington, Berwickshire: a witness also to No. 8 of *Carte Mon. de Northberwic*. A branch of the English family of Bisset acquired the manor of Upsetlington and founded there the hospital of St. Leonard which Robert Bisset of Upsetlington, circa 1240, conveyed to Kelso Abbey (*Lib. de Calchou*, i. No. 240).

Siluestro filio Willelmi de Siclinhale: another territorial surname: Siclinhale may be a misreading of Sicklinhale in Yorkshire. Cf. *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, i. No. 1833.

Waltero capellano comitis: a witness to four charters to the Convent and also to No. 8 *infra*: as to private chapels and chaplains see *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores*, pp. lxviii-lxxiii. John Major, writing in 1521, observes that 'even the meanest lord keeps one household chaplain, and more, if his wealth and other provision allow it' (*John Major's Greater Britain*, Scot. Hist. Soc., p. 30).

Cospatricio de Rereis: appears as a witness to two writs in *Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree* (pp. 135, 353). Rereis is in Fifeshire.

Merlesuaino filio Merlesuain. A son of Merlesvain *supra*: witnessed two charters to the priory of St. Andrews (*Ibid.*, pp. 135, 259).

Laurencio de Abernithie: ancestor of the Lords Saltoun of Abernethy (*The Scots Peerage*, vii. pp. 398, 399; *The Frasers of Philorth*, ii. pp. 10-17): witnessed several charters of Alexander II.

Waltero de Lundin: the grantee of No. 2 *supra*.

Date: before 1199 when the widow of Adam, uncle of the granter, was married to Gilchrist, Earl of Mar.

(5)

Rogerus Musculus et Godit eius sponsa: ancestor of the Maules, Earls of Panmure: the parentage of his wife is unknown (*The Scots Peerage*, vii. p. 4, ix. p. 148).

Beato Cuthberto de Carram. The church of Carham, which was dedicated to St. Cuthbert, was granted, c. 1131, by Walter Espec to the priory of Kirkham, and the grant was confirmed by Henry I. and Henry II. The monks of Durham also claimed to have received a gift of it from Matilda, wife of Henry I., who died in 1118, and they do not seem to have renounced their claims to it till 1253. In the life of St. Cuthbert, written in the first quarter of the twelfth century, it is stated that they had received a grant of the vill of Carham in the seventh century, but the statement is probably an attempt to substantiate their claim (*A History of Northumberland*, xi. pp. 12, 13).

Insulam que est ad caput de Hiliuespedberna: not identified. There is a tradition that the Tweed at one time divided at Carham and ran in two streams towards Cornhill.

Ricardo le Neim: witnessed several charters to Melrose Abbey *temp.* William the Lion (*Lib. de Melros*, i.).

Henrico de Seincler: Henry de St. Clair, sheriff of Richard de Moreville, and the earliest known ancestor of the Sinclairs of Herdmanston: witnessed a charter by Alan, the second High Stewart, to the Abbey of Melrose (*Ibid.*, i. p. 85; *The Scots Peerage*, vii. p. 577).

Petro et Thoma filiis Willelmi de Essebi: there is no record of an Essebi (Ashby) in Northumberland, so the surname may be from Ashby in Northamptonshire or a place of that name in other counties.

Willelmo de Palestun, Ranulpho de Carrum, Ricardo de Kisebi, Petro de Killum, Roberto de Achild: territorial surnames. Palestun is Paston, Killum is Kilham, and Achild is Akeld, all townships in the parish of Kirk Newton. The first-named witnessed a charter to Melrose Abbey (*Lib. de Melros*, i. p. 266).

Thoma filio Ricardi de Gordon: ancestor of the Earls of Huntly: the father is the earliest of the name who has been found on record in Scotland: the son was knighted (*The Scots Peerage*, iv. p. 507).

Date: there is very little data from which to date this charter, but probably *circa* 1200.

(6)

Galfrido filio Ricardi senescalli de Kingor. Richard of Kinnaird granted to him land in Kinbrichtorn and Logiis of Kinbrichtorn which King William confirmed at the same time as this grant (*Laing Charters*, No. 3). Dunfermline Abbey received from David I. the part of Kinghorn which lay near Dunfermline (*Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, Bannatyne Club, No. 1), and Richard may have been their steward of these lands.

Villa de Kinnard: in the parish of Abdie, Fife.

Ricardus de Kinnard nepos Radulfi Ruffi: ancestor of the Kinnairds, Lords Kinnaird. Ralph had a grant (1172-3) from William the Lion of Kinnaird, with the exception of Pitmeodhell (*Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections*, Scot. Hist. Soc., i. p. 52). He was succeeded by his grandson, who died before 1249 (*The Scots Peerage*, v. pp. 202, 203).

Saluo seruicio nostro: See note by Mr. J. R. N. Macphail, K.C., in *Highland Papers*, Scot. Hist. Soc., ii. pp. 230-3, where the subject is fully discussed.

Philippo de Mubray: second son of Nigel de Moubray: married Galiena, daughter of Waldeve, son of Gospatric, through whom he acquired the baronies of Inverkeithing and Dalmeny: a witness to

several charters of Alexander II. : died between 1233 and 1240 (*Stephen's History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth*, 1921, p. 53).

Willelmo de Bosco clerico meo : archdeacon of St. Andrews : chancellor 1211-26 : died 1231 (*Crawford's Officers of State*, p. 11 ; *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 110 ; *Scotichronicon*, lib. viii. cap. 77, ix. caps. xlvi., xlviii.).

Ricardo filio Hugonis. See note by Dr. Maitland Thomson in *Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*, p. 269.

Ricardo Reuel : probably Richard, nephew of Henry Revel (*Ibid.*, p. 265).

Adamo filio Herberti : a witness to three other charters of William the Lion (*MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*).

Uchtermukethin : Auchtermuchty in Fife.

Date : between 1204, when Malcolm, Earl of Fife, succeeded to the title, and 28 June 1211, the date of William de Bosco's appointment as chancellor.

(7)

An abstract of this charter is printed in the *Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 503.

Alexandro de Blar : the earliest known ancestor of the family of Blair of Balthoek in Perthshire. He married Ela, daughter of Hugh of Nidin, with whom he got one half of the lands of Konakin (*Douglas's Baronage*, p. 186 ; cf. No. 8 *infra*).

Thases : Teasses in the parish of Ceres, Fife. These lands afterwards passed into the hands of the Earls of Rothes through Norino Leslie, their ancestor, who is said to have married the heiress of Teasses (*Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*, i. p. 14).

Kintases et de Ballendureth : these names do not appear on the Ordnance Survey map of Ceres parish. Ballendureth may be Ballenderran, now Baudirran. There are also a Hill Teasses and a Hall Teasses in the parish.

Johanne filio Michaelis : Michael, also called Michael of Methil and Michael of Wemyss, is the first proved ancestor of the Earls of Wemyss. He was dead before 1202, when his son John was in possession of his lands. John, who died in 1263, was a generous benefactor to the Priory of the Isle of May and to Melrose Abbey (*The Scots Peerage*, viii pp. 475-7 ; *Fraser's Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss*, i. pp. 1-17).

Thoma de Kilmaron, Malcolmo de Kilmaron, Willelmo de Kalmaron : a local or territorial surname from Kilmaron in the parish of Cupar, Fife. Thomas de Kilmaron witnessed a charter by Earl Malcolm to Dunfermline Abbey (*Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, No. 144), and as *Dominus Thomas de Kilmaron* is a witness to a charter (*circa* 1239) by the previous witness

to the Hospital of Soltre (*Charters of the Collegiate Churches of Mid Lothian*, Bannatyne Club, p. 13). Cf. *Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree*, pp. 245, 260.

Willelmo de Wiuilla: witness to charters by Earl Malcolm to Scone and Dunfermline Abbeys (*Laing Charters*, No. 6; *Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, No. 144); also to two Compositions entered into between the Abbeys of Dunfermline and Culross (1227), where he is *dominus* and is described, with three others, as 'socii' of the Earl of Fife (*Ibid.*, Nos. 213, 214). Cf. *Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree*, where his name appears several times as a witness.

Malcolmo de Mala Uilla, Danecano de Pert, David de Atun, Willelmo Norensi, Waltero et Gregorio capellanis: witnesses to charter by Earl Malcolm to Dunfermline Abbey (*Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, Nos. 144, 145).

Henrico de Abernid: a witness to charters by Earl Malcolm to Dunfermline and Scone Abbeys and also to charters by John, son of Michael, to Melrose Abbey (c. 1227), and to the Hospital of Soltre (c. 1230): in the last charter he is styled *dominus* (*Ibid.*, No. 145; *Laing Charters*, No. 6; *Lib. de Melros*, i. No. 215; *Charters of the Coll. Churches of Mid Lothian*, p. 13).

Michacle filio Mallotheni: Duncan, son of Michael, son of Malotheuy, granted to the Priory of St. Andrews his land and mill of Kernes for the salvation of his own soul, his parents' and that of Earl Malcolm, his lord (*Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree*, p. 309).

Date: the limiting dates are 1204, when Earl Malcolm succeeded his father, and 1228, when he died.

(8)

Hago de Nidin: a territorial surname from Nidin (now Nydie) in the parish of St. Andrews. He appears as a witness to two writs (c. 1220) in *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (pp. 67, 142). Hugh of Nidin, son of Hugh Nidin, sold (c. 1240) to the prior and convent of St. Andrews his land in St. Andrews which he held of them (*Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree*, p. 284). There is an interesting charter printed in *Liber Sancte Marie de Balmorinach*, Abbotsford Club, p. 35, by which Hugh of Nidy granted to the Abbey of Balmerinoch his quarry of Nidy, with a free road thereto through his lands. Dr. James Campbell thinks it was granted about 1286 (*Balmerino and its Abbey*, 1899, p. 182), but in view of the fact that Adam, archdeacon of St. Andrews, the first witness, held office c. 1240-53, a much earlier date must be assigned to it, and it is not improbable that the donor was the grantor of this charter.

Konakin: Kennoway in Fife. It appears as *Kenaken* and *Kennakin* in *Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree* (*vide* Index Locorum).

Faciendo forinsecam servitium domini regis: see memorandum by Mr. J. R. N. Macphail, K.C., in *Highland Papers*, ii. pp. 227-41, where the import of these words and the incidence of the service is fully and lucidly discussed.

Alano de Laceles. The family of Laceles were of Anglo-Norman extraction and possessed the estate of Forgrund in Fife. This witness may be a son of Alan de Lascelles, who was taken prisoner with William the Lion at the siege of Alnwick, 13 July 1174. He granted (1198-1202) the church of Forgrund, which was the mother church of his lands, with the chapel of Adhenachthen (Naughton) to the Priory of St. Andrews. His wife's name was Amable, and they had a daughter, Marjory (*Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree*, pp. 260, 106, 108, 109).

Thoma de Kenmake: a local or territorial surname, probably from Kemback, which is locally pronounced Kemmak.

Ricardo de Laceles: witnessed several grants to the Priory of St. Andrews. A person of that name granted 3 acres of land on the east side of Frereton to the Priory (*Ibid.*, p. 274).

Magistro Symone de Sancto Andrea. The name of *Magister Simon* occurs twice as a witness in *Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree* (pp. 316, 329), but it is impossible to identify him with this witness, or with Symon, who, with Laurence, is styled *prepositus de uilla Sancti Andree* (*Ibid.*, pp. 263, 277, 284). Cf. *Lib. S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, Reg. Vetus*, Ban. Club, pp. 52, 106, etc.

Waltero capellano comitis Malcolmi de Fif: witness to No. 4 *supra*.

Philippo Vuieth: Ouviaeth now Eviot. This surname has been wrongly transcribed in many of the printed chartularies, where it frequently appears as *Uniet, Vinet*, etc. He may be Philip, son of David Huniet (*lege Huviet*), who, *temp.* Alexander II., witnessed a grant by his father to the bishop of Dunkeld of the church of Melginge (*Lib. Cartar Sancte Crucis*, p. 52). See also *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, Bannatyne Club, p. 18.

Philippo de Scughale: a territorial surname from Scoughall in the parish of Whitekirk, East Lothian.

Ada de Ardist (? Ardift): another territorial surname: see Campbell's *Balmerino and its Abbey* (p. 58) as to the identity of the place. He was a witness to a charter by Henry Reuel to the Priory of St. Andrews (*Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree*, p. 271).

Willelmo et Andrea filiis Laudini: see *Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree*, (p. 316), where the father's name is Lambinus. He was a burgher of St. Andrews (*Ibid.*, p. 281).

Date: same as No. 7.

(9)

Monialibus de Mannel: see p. 326 *supra*.

Celdrum et dimidiam salis de decima salinarum nostrarum quas Radulfus Baretus tenuit. This quantity of salt may have been due to the nuns from saltpans in the Carse of Stirling, which were afterwards the property of the Abbey of Neubottle. In a charter by Alexander II. to the monks

of that Abbey (12 March 1232-3), it is stated that at the dedication of the church of St. Mary of Neubottle, he had granted to them his salt pans in the Carse and the land pertaining thereto, and had relieved them from the payments due therefrom to the brethren of Torphichen and the nuns of Manuel: Nos autem et heredes nostri soluemus fratribus de Torphephyn et monialibus de Manuel pro predictis monachis elemosinas quas dicti fratres et moniales percipere consueverunt de firmis dictarum salinarum (*Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle*, Ban. Club, No. 164). Ralph Baret was probably the king's tenant of these particular salt pans at the time of the grant to the nuns. The value of a chalder of salt (16 bolls) in 1288 was six shillings (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. p. 44; cf. *Caledonia*, ii. p. 805).

Waltero filio Alani senescallo: third High Stewart of Scotland, 1204-1241: second son of Alan, second High Stewart: the first to adopt the name of his office as a surname (*The Scots Peerage*, i. p. 12).

Waltero Olifurd iusticiario Laodonie: ancestor of the Oliphants, Lords Oliphant, and the greatest of his line: justiciar of Lothian from about 1221, with a short break in 1239, till 1242, the year of his death (*The Scots Peerage*, vi. pp. 527, 528).

Thomu de Striueline archidiacono Glusgaensi. He must have been appointed archdeacon shortly before the date of this charter, as on 10 February 1223-4 he was still 'clericus' (*Lib. de Calchou*, Nos. 6 and 393). Crawford's statement that he was a younger brother of Alexander de Strivelyn, knight, and also rector of Morbottle, are not borne out by the authorities he quotes (*Officers of State*, p. 12). He succeeded William de Boscho, to whom he had been clerk, as chancellor in 1226, and died the following year (*Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cap. 46; *Chronica de Mailros*, p. 141).

Roberto capellano nostro: a witness to numerous charters of Alexander II.

Roberto filio Roberti de Rose: father and son witnessed several charters of Alexander II. Is the father identical with Robert de Ros, who in 1191 married Isabel, natural daughter of William the Lion? A great-grandson of that marriage was a competitor for the Crown in 1291.

Waltero Cumine: second son of William Comyn, Earl of Buchan: became Earl of Menteith through his marriage with Isabella, Countess of Menteith: died November 1258 (*The Scots Peerage*, vi. pp. 127-30).

Thoma Hostiario: Thomas Lundin, the Ostiarius or Doorward: the father of the celebrated Alan, who held the office of Doorward, 1233-1275: died in 1231 (*The Scots Peerage*, i. p. 418, v. p. 573). Dr. Maitland Thomson (*Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*, p. 270) states he was a son of Walter de Lundin, but see *Lib. Ecclesie de Scou*, No. 91, and *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Capur-Angus*, Grampian Club, i. p. 341.

Lillidqu: Linlithgow.

Date: 22 June 1224.

(10)

Rogerus de Quenci : second Earl of Winchester : succeeded his father, 1219, but not recognised as Earl till 1236. He married, as his first wife, Helen, daughter and co-heir of Alan, Lord of Galloway, through whom he became, in 1235, owner of a large part of Galloway and Constable of Scotland (*Complete Peerage*, 1887-98, viii. p. 169). He owned the estate of Leuchars in Fife, which came into his family through the marriage of his grandfather, Robert de Quincy, with Orabile, daughter and heir of Nes of Leuchars (*Caledonia*, ii. 522 ; *Chartulary of Lindores*, p. lviii). He died *s.p.m.* on 25 April 1264, when the earldom lapsed to the Crown (*Complete Peerage*, viii. p. 170).

Roderico filio Gillecris : probably an ancestor of the Strathenries of that ilk.

Strathanret : Strathenry in the parish of Leslie, Fife.

Thoma de Strivelin cancellario : see p. 342 *supra*.

Henrico de Ballioll camerario : chamberlain 1223 (or earlier) to 1230 and 1241-6 (*MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*). Crawford states that he was a son of Ingelram de Balliol of Bernard Castle (*Officers of State*, p. 260), and it was apparently through his mother, a daughter of Sir Walter Berkeley of Reidcastle, a former chamberlain, that he acquired the barony of Reidcastle. He married Lora, daughter of Philip de Valoniis, a predecessor in office (*Reg. de Panmure*, ii. pp. 86, 135-7). On his death in 1246 he was buried in the chapter of Melrose Abbey (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 176).

Johanne Biset : owner of the lauds of Lovat and Aird in Inverness-shire : founded the priory of Beaully in 1230 (*The Charters of the Priory of Beaully*, Grampian Club, pp. 6, 7, 17-48).

Jordano Cumin : witnessed several charters of Alexander 11.

Willelmo Biset : a brother of John Bisset, *supra* (*Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26) : witnessed a number of charters of Alexander 11.

Alexandro filio Patricii de Strivelin : Sir William Fraser identifies him on rather insufficient grounds with Sir Alexander de Striueling of Cawder, sheriff of Stirling, who was a son of Sir Peter de Striueling of Cambusbarrow (*The Stirlings of Keir*, pp. 4-6). He witnessed other three charters of Alexander 11.

Kincardin : in the parish of Fordun, Kincardineshire, where there was a royal palace.

Date : 14 April 1226.

(11)

Johannes de Kinros filius Heruici de Kiuros : the father is a witness to charters of King William, and both father and son to charters of Alexander 11. The son was sheriff of Kinross in 1252 (*Chalmers' Caledonia*, vii. p. 101). Cf. *Exchequer Rolls*, i.

Alexandro de Oggohin: an early ancestor of the Ogilvies, Earls of Airlie. He was present at a court held at Forfar on 17 February 1250 (*The Scots Peerage*, i. p. 107; Wilson's *The House of Airlie*, i. p. 15).

In liberum maritugium. Regiam Majestatem (Skene's translation), lib. ii. cap. 57, defines free marriage as 'quhen ane frie man giues ane parte or portion of his lands with ane woman in tocher gude swa that the samine sall be frie fra all service to be done be him or be his heires to his over-lord. And that land sall remaine in that friedome vntill his thrid heire. And in the meane time his heirs sall not be oblissed to make anie homage therefore. After the thrid heire that land sall make service vsed and wont and homage sall be vsed therefore.'

Terram de Belauht Clunoc et de Hauht Nahauete. Belauht is Balloch in the parish of Alyth: Clunoc is Craig-Cluny in the parish of Glenisla: Hauht Nahauete, which may be a form of Auchnahauete, has not been identified. The editor is indebted to the Rev. William Wilson, Airlie, author of *The House of Airlie*, for above identifications.

Domino Malcolmno persona de Luntrethin: Luntrethin, now Lintrathen, a parish in the north-west of Forfarshire.

Domino Hugone persona de Essi: Essi, now Eassie, is a parish in Forfarshire.

Johanne filio Johannis de Kinros: appears as a witness in *Reg. Prior. Sancti Andree*, p. 337.

Mugno filio comitis de Catenesse: the difficulties regarding the parentage of this witness are fully discussed in *The Scots Peerage* (i. pp. 162-5), where the conclusion reached is that he was a son of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, and the grandson of Earl Gillebride, first Earl of Angus. He succeeded to the title in 1232 and died in 1239 (*Ibid.*, ii. p. 317).

Wilelmo filio Anegus de Neucubir: a territorial surname from Newtiber, now represented, it is thought, by the hamlet of Newbigging in the parish of Newtyle (Jervise's *Memorials of Angus and the Meurns*, p. 332). The name of Angos de Neucober, probably a descendant, appears in the Ragman Roll, 28 August 1296 (Bain's *Cal. of Documents*, ii. p. 205).

Date: before 1232, when Magnus succeeded to the Earldom of Caithness.

(12)

After the text of this charter was in type, it was discovered that it is printed in the *Registrum de Panmure*, where it appears as a footnote to p. cliv, vol. i. There is a reference to the charter on p. cliii, but the Index does not disclose that the text is printed on the following page.

Morgundus filius Abbe. John Abbe, son of Malise, with consent of Morgund, his son, granted (c. 1198-1210) to the monks of Arbroath the right to take charcoal (*licenciam capiendi carbones*) from his wood of Edale (Edzell). The right was confirmed by William the Lion, and

renewed by Morgund (*Lib. S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, Nos. 72, 73, 74). On 23 September 1219, John, abbot of Brechin, and Morgund, his son, were present at a perambulation of the barony of Kyublathmund and other lands (*Ibid.*, No. 228). See also note on granter's seal, *infra*, as to the Christian name of his father.

'We have charter evidence of a college of Culdees at Brechin existing before, and remaining for some time after, the erection of the Episcopal see. There is proof, indeed, that upon its erection, the old Culdee convent and its Prior (submitting, it may be, to stricter rule of discipline) became, as perhaps in other cases, the electoral Chapter of the new Bishoprick. But the head of the Culdee convent, the Abbot of Brechin, had already become secularised, and had appropriated to himself, and transmitted to his family, the territories which his predecessors had administered for the church' (*Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, Ban. Club, p. iv). During the reign of William the Lion the family had adopted the family office as a surname, and with Morgund the race of the Culdee abbots of Brechin disappeared (*Ibid.*, p. v; cf. Jervise's *The Land of the Lindsays*, 1882, pp. 27-30).

Unam dauocam terre mee de Carrecros per omnes rectas divisas suas inter Tarfe et Turruchd. 'These lands, which form a large portion of the lower part of Glenesk, are now known as Carucross. They lie, as described in the charter, between the waters of Tarf and Turret, and their recognised boundaries at the present day are the heath-covered hills on the north, the North Esk on the south, the burn of Mangy on the east, and the river of Turret on the west. Within this district is comprehended the greater part of the cultivated ground between the Tarf and the Turret; and the whole had doubtless formed part of the territory of St. Drostan's monastery' (*Registrum de Panmure*, i. p. cliii).

Forinsecum domini regis seruicium: see note p. 340 *supra*.

G. episcopo Brechinensi: bishop, 1219 to c. 1246: formerly archdeacon of Brechin (Dowden's *The Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 174, 175).

Magistro Laurencio archidiacono Sancti Andree: official of St. Andrews, c. 1204-9: succeeded as archdeacon on the death of Mr. Randolph in 1209: also Ferlanus (lector or teacher) of St. Andrews. He was archdeacon in 1238, perhaps as late as 1240. His brother Guy is also a witness (*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 108; *Reg. Priorat. Sancti Andree*, pp. 317, 318; *Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores*, pp. lv, lvi).

Domino Alano Hostiario: Alan Durward, son of Thomas Durward or de Lundin: Doorward, 1233-75: justiciar, 1244-52 and 1255-75. He married Marjory, an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II.: after her death he is said, by one authority, to have married as his second wife, Isabella, Countess of Atholl, through whom he became Earl until her death in 1236. He was the most famous of the Durwards. Bower, who mentions that he was reputed *flos militiæ*, eulogised him as *vir dapsilis et*

strenuissimus in armis ac regi et regno fidelissimus. He died in 1275, and was buried at Cupar Abbey (*Scotichronicon*, lib. ix. cap. 61, lib. x. caps. 1, 4, 9 and 35; *The Scots Peerage*, i. pp. 6, 422).

Domino David de Hastings: a son of John de Hastings, p. 333 *supra*. He married Forflissa or Fernelith, Countess of Atholl, and succeeded in her right to the Earldom in 1242, after the death of Earl Patrick (*The Scots Peerage*, i. pp. 423, 424).

Domino Johanne de Vallibus: of Dirleton and Gullane, East Lothian. A branch of the English family of Vaus or Vallibus settled in Scotland during the twelfth century, and Sir John was a son of William de Vallibus, the founder of the Scottish branch. His name appears frequently as a witness to charters of William the Lion and Alexander II. He was sheriff of Edinburgh (*Caledonia*, ii. p. 586, iii. p. 436, iv. p. 574; *Reg. de Neubottle*, Nos. 89, 121).

Domino Johanne Cambrun. The surname Cambrun or Cameron is found during the thirteenth century in the counties of Fife, Forfar, and Perth. This witness may be Sir John de Cambrun, who was sheriff of Perth in the reign of Alexander III., and who witnessed two charters of Alexander II. and several charters to the Abbey of Cupar-Angus. A Sir John Cameron of Baledgarno also witnessed charters to the Abbey, but he is probably identical with the previous Sir John (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. pp. 17, 26; *Reg. of Cupar Abbey*, i. 332-50; *MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*).

Domino Rogero de Lorenger: *lege* Loreng (Lorrain): in the script of the period there was often a flourish over final *g*, which the copyist of this charter has taken for the conventional sign for *er*. He witnessed a charter by Thomas, Earl of Atholl (1210-31) to the monks of Neubottle (*Reg. de Neubottle*, No. 32).

Domino Hugoni Flandres: this surname is a form of Flandrensis or Fleming. A Sir Hugh Flamang is a witness to a charter (3 March 1233) of Alan Durward, which is also witnessed by two of the previous witnesses, Sir John de Vallibus and Sir John de Cambrun (*Reg. Episcopat. Aberdonensis*, Spalding Club, ii. p. 268).

Gregorio de Maleuill. It is more probable that this witness is a priest than that he is Gregory de Melvill, an ancestor of the Earls of Melville, who flourished c. 1242-70 (*Fraser's The Melvilles*, i. p. 13).

Johanne Clugestoun, *Villelmo de Sandfor clerico*: two territorial surnames. The former occurs several times in the *Register of Cupar Abbey*, so it may be derived from a place in the vicinity: the latter is probably from Sandford (now St. Fort), in the parish of Forgan, Fife.

Seal. There is a reproduction of the seal in the *Registrum de Panmure* (i. cliv). The legend, some letters of which have been chipped off, is as follows: + SIGILL MO[RGUNDI FIL]II IOHIS. The missing letters are shown within the brackets.

Date: the *Registrum de Panmure* dates it 'about the year 1239': certainly not later than 1240, the last year in which Mr. Laurence can be said to have held office as archdeacon of St. Andrews.

(13)

Constantinus de Louchor: son of Philip de Lochor (*Reg. de Dunfermelyn*, Nos. 171, 176). Lochorshire 'comprehended of old the parish of Balingry and Auchterdiran, which was the estate of the Lochors of that ilk' (Sibbald's *History of Fife and Kinross*, 1803, pp. 373, 374); and it is also said to have included much of what is now Kinglassie and Portmoak (Houston's *Auchterderran, Fife*, p. 49). There was a perambulation of the lands of Kirknes and Lochore in 1395 (*Reg. Priorat. de Sancti Andree*, pp. 2-5).

Adamo filio suo. Sibbald mentions an Adam de Lochor who was sheriff of Perth during the reign of Alexander II. (*Hist. of Fife and Kinross*, p. 374).

Lumfilan: Lumphinnan in the parish of Balingry. 'Philip Halkett, Lord of Lumphinan and Balmagall, was sister's son and heir to Philip of Lochore, late lord of one-third part of Pitfirrane (4 May 1435)' (Gibson's *The Wardlaws in Scotland*, p. 35).

Alexandro Cumyn: Earl of Buchan, c. 1242-89 (*The Scots Peerage*, ii. pp. 254, 255).

Willelmo de Mar: Earl of Mar, 1244-81 (*Ibid.*, v. pp. 574-7).

Roberto de Meyners: ancestor of the Weem family: chamberlain from the accession of Alexander III. (8 July 1249) to 1253, when Sir David Lindsay was appointed to the office: died 1267 (*Scotichronicon*, lib. x. caps. 9, 21). The year of his death is erroneously given as 1266 in Crawford's *Officers of State* (p. 262), and in *Exchequer Rolls*, ii. (p. cxxi).

Roberto Bysset: of Upsetlington. He granted, c. 1240, the hospital of St. Leonard on his lands of Upsetlington to the monastery of Kelso (*Lib. de Culchou*, i. p. 195).

Roberto Cumyn: a witness to several charters of Alexander II. between 1235 and 1242. He was one of the jurors for Walter Cumyn, Earl of Menteith, when he gave oath to Henry III., c. 1244, that he was not a party to laying waste the King's lands in Ireland (Bain's *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i. Nos. 2671, 2672).

Date: 9 April 1242.

(14)

Walterus de Lundyn: of the Lundins of that ilk.

Philippo de Fedarg cognato meo: the founder of the family of Meldrum of Meldrum: said to have been knighted by Alexander II. The surname 'de Fedarg' was relinquished in the reign of Alexander III. His son, Sir Philip de Fedarg or Meldrum, married Agnes Cumin,

sister of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, the first witness (Temple's *The Thanage of Fermartyn*, p. 685; *The Scots Peerage*, ii. p. 254). The relationship between the granter and grantee has not been ascertained.

Terram de Balcormoch: in the parish of Largo, Fife. Lundin is also in the same parish.

Exceptis quantuor bouatis terre quas canonici de Cambyskynel in ea habent. The grant to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth was made (c. 1178) by Walter, son of Philip of Lundin (No. 2 *supra*), who gifted to them four oxgates of land with a full toft in the vill of Balcormok and common pasturage of his whole land, whoever might hold it, wherever his own animals or those of his men pastured, viz.: for 500 sheep, 20 cows, and one yoke of oxen and horses and others which pertained to the same, and the proper culture of the lordship, and three acres of meadow as the granter had perambulated them. The grant was renewed by Thomas, son of Walter, and confirmed by William the Lion (1190-5) (*Reg. Monast. S. Marie de Cambuskenneth*, Grampian Club, Nos. 36, 37, 38).

The Abbey of Cambuskenneth, which was of the order of St. Augustine, was founded by David I., c. 1147 (*Ibid.*, p. xix).

Forinsecum seruicium domini regis: see note, p. 340 *supra*.

Domino Alexandro Cumyn comite de Buchan: Earl of Buchan, c. 1242-1289.

Domino Willelmo de Brechyn: ancestor of the Lords of Brechin: succeeded his father, c. 1245: died before 10 December 1292 (*The Scots Peerage*, ii. pp. 216-18).

Domino Willelmo Cumyn persona: brother of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, *supra*: see *Reg. Priorat. Sancti Andree* (p. 283), where Sir William, *clerico fratre nostro*, is a witness to a charter by Alexander, Earl of Buchan. *The Scots Peerage* (ii. p. 256) erroneously applies this entry to a son of the Earl.

Domino Philippo de Maleuile. His name appears frequently as a witness in charters granted during the first half of the thirteenth century (*Lib. S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, *Reg. Vetus*, vide *Index Nominum*): justiciar, 1241-2: sheriff of Aberdeen and afterwards sheriff of the Mearns (*Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire*, New Spalding Club, iii. pp. 393, 394; *MS. Lists of Witnesses to royal charters*; *Jervise's Mem. of Angus and the Mearns*, pp. 9, 93, 94).

Domino Sibaldo milite, Hugone Scott, Umfredo de Mideltun. 'Dominus Sybaldus miles de Meornes,' with Scott and Mideltun, witnessed a charter in *Reg. Priorat. Sancti Andree*, p. 286. The last witness is said to be the earliest known ancestor of the Earls of Middleton (*The Scots Peerage*, vi. p. 170).

Domino Simone de Garentayle: a territorial surname from Grantuly or Garntuly, now Gartly in Strathbogie. He was bailie of John, Earl of Chester and Huntingdon (*Chartulary of Lindores Abbey*, p. 241).

Domino Hugone Gray. He is the first of that surname whose name is met with in Scottish records, and is supposed to be an ancestor of the Lords Gray (*The Scots Peerage*, iv. p. 269): appears as a witness in a charter of 1245 (*Lib. S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, Reg. Vet.*, p. 205).

Jacobo de Ouen: is a witness to two charters in the *Chartulary of Lindores Abbey*, pp. 86, 146.

Hugone Blund: 'Hugh de Aberbothenoth, commonly designed Hugo Blundus or le Blond, from the flaxen colour of his hair,' was an ancestor of the Viscounts of Arbutnott (*The Scots Peerage*, i. pp. 274, 275).

Alano de Denham: a territorial surname. Cf. *Reg. Episcopatus Glasguensis*, Ban. Club, i. p. 214.

Date: after the Earl of Buchan succeeded to the title (c. 1242) and before the end of Alexander II.'s reign (8 July 1249), by whom the grantee is said to have been knighted.

(15)

There is a copy of this charter in *Hutton's Collections, Perth*, vii. fol. 32, Advocates' Library.

Symon de Lenna burgensis de Perth. The surname of Len, Lene or Lenna (now Liu) occurs several times in the *Liber de Scon* (*vide Index Nominum*), but Symon de Lenna is not mentioned.

In ligia potestate mea: *Scoticè*, 'Liege poustie': 'A phrase used in the Scotch law (which, although not a Latin phrase, is said to be derived from the Latin *legitima potestas*) to signify that state of health in which a person might legally and effectually dispose, *mortis causa* or otherwise, of his heritable property, as contradistinguished from the term "death-bed"' (*Trayner's Latin Maxims and Phrases*, 1883, *sub voce* Liege poustie).

Johannis filii mei: John de Lenna, burgess of Perth, swore fealty to Edward I. on 24 July 1291 (*Fœdera*, i. p. 773).

Cristino de Insula: sheriff of Perth, c. 1279. His family is supposed to have taken its name from the *Inch* of Perth (*Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*, pp. 291, 292). Thomas de Lyn, burgess of Perth, c. 1420, granted his croft at Clayhill to the Friars Preachers of Perth, on condition that they celebrated three masses weekly for the repose of his soul at the altar of the Blessed Mary, 'ubi quondam Christinus de Insula jacet sub tumulo' (*Milnes' The Blackfriars of Perth*, p. 44).

Vico aquatico de Perth: the Watergate, which connects High Street and South Street. It runs parallel with the Tay.

Terram meam . . . quam tenui de domino Abbate de Lundors. The Abbey of Lindores had several tofts within the burgh of Perth. One which was gifted by Malcolm Kinspinithin and Margery, his wife, is described as 'proximum tofto Johannis filii Leue' (*Chartulary of Lindores*

Abbey, p. 80). It may be suggested that *Lene* should be read *Jene* and that he is the 'Johannes filius Lene' whose name occurs several times in *Liber de Scon* (*vide* Index Nominum). On 8 April 1559 John, abbot of Lindores, and the convent thereof, granted a charter to John Hay, son of George, Earl of Erroll, of 'ane tenement and lugeing liand in the burgh of Perth in the Wattergait therof, betuix the land of Johnne Crystesoun at the south, the Watter of Taye at the eist, and the foirland quhilk Alexander Ray hes of the saids abbat and convent in few ferme on the west, and the foirland quhilk the said Alexander Ray hes of thaim in few ferme and the land of the priour and convent of the Charterhous on the north, with the hail clos of the said lugeing betuix the boundis forsadis fra the foirzet of the said lugeing, togidder with the stable under the galrie of the said foirland within the said clos with the pertinentis occupiit be the said Erl: to be haldin of the saidis abbat and convent and their successouris in few ferme and heretage: paying therfore zeirlie the soume of ten pundis money of this realme for mail and augmentatioun of the rentall, extending the augmentatioun to fyve merkis . . . and to sustene and repair the houssis and biggingis of the said lugeing inwith and outwith in all partis' (*Abbrev. Cartar. Feudifirme Terrar. Eccles., Treasurer's Office, Reg. Ho., i. p. 290*). The following entries relating to the Abbey of Lindores are from the *MS. Book of Assumption* (*sub voce* Fife):—'The greit ludgeing in Perth set in few for mail zeirlie, x li.: The ludgeing in the Watergait set in few for mail zeirlie, v li.: The ludgeing in the foirgait set in few for mail zeirlie, v merkis.'

Huberti de Scartheburt: this surname is from Scarborough, Yorkshire (*Charters of Inchaffray Abbey*, p. 284).

Andree Teket: witnessed two charters to Inchaffray Abbey (*Ibid.*, p. 63; *Lib. Insule Missarum*, Ban. Club, Nos. 39, 40).

Ad Assumpcionem Beate Marie Virginis: 15 August.

Servicium domini regis. See note, p. 338 *supra*.

Donino Philippo Oliphard tunc tempore ballivo de Perth: see *The Scots Peerage*, vi. p. 531.

Johanne Aylbot: along with other burgesses of Perth he swore fealty to Edward I. in the cemetery of the Black Friars on 24 July 1291 (*Fœdera*, i. p. 773; *Bain's Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. p. 124). It is interesting to note that 'Bruce's declining years were probably spent in part at Perth, then virtually the capital. His physician, "Magister Marvinus," resided there in the house of John Aylebot; and Aylebot, after the King's death, got compensation from the Chamberlain for his dwelling having been occupied in this way for two years' (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. pp. cxxi, cxxii n).

Johanne de Pert: swore fealty, *ut supra*, in 1291: in the Ragman Roll he is designed burgess and alderman of the town of St. John of Perth (*Bain's Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. pp. 186, 197). He had a son William (*Ibid.*).

Alexandro de Muncur: possibly Alexander de Mautcor who swore fealty, *ut supra*.

Willelmo Redberd. There was a family of that name burgesses of Perth, *temp.* Alexander II. and David II. (*Lib. de Scon*, pp. 52, 126).

Date: c. 1270-80.

(16)

Jacobus Senescallus Scocie: fifth High Stewart, 1283-1309: born c. 1243: grandfather of Robert II. (*The Scots Peerage*, i. p. 13).

Stephano filio Nicholai burgensi de Reynfru. 'From Stephen, the family of de Aula or Hall is believed to have descended. . . . Thomas de Aula, surgeon (*sirurgicus*), in 1377 had a charter of the lands formerly granted to Stephen, and of the island called the King's Inch' (*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Ban. Club, i. p. 77).

Patricii de Seluinisland: a territorial surname from Selvenland now Selvieland in the parish of Kilbarchan. He did homage to Edward I. at Berwick on 28 August 1296 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. pp. 186, 204).

Burgum de Reynfru. In a bull of Pope Urban III. (c. 1186) the burgh of Renfrew is said to have been set up (*construxisset*) by David I. (*Reg. Episcopat. Glasguensis*, i. p. 60). He afterwards granted it to Walter, the first High Stewart, who in the foundation charter of the monastery of Paisley refers to it as 'burgo meo de Renfru' (*Reg. Monast. de Passelet*, Maitland Club, p. 2). It continued as a burgh of barony until the accession of the Stewarts to the Crown, when by a charter of Robert III., dated 10 November 1397, it was erected into a royal burgh (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1306-1424, Ap. ii. No. 1761; *Caledonia*, vi. pp. 801-3).

Le nese del Ren: in the transcript this has been glossed *Reynfield*, a name applied to the angular point which was formed by the junction of the rivers Clyde and Cart (*Caledonia*, vi. p. 761).

Vhi aqua de Gryfe descendit in aquam de Clide. The Gryfe Water, which takes its rise in the parish of Innerkip, flows 16 miles in an east-south-easterly direction till it joins the Black Cart at Walkinshaw House 2 miles from Paisley. The Ordnance Survey map and the *Ordnance Gazetteer* give the name of Black Cart to that portion of the river between Walkinshaw House and its junction with the White Cart: Crawford, on the other hand, sometimes calls it the Cart and sometimes the Gryffe (*History of Renfrewshire*, 1818, pp. 10, 11, 64, 342).

Baronie nostre de Reynfru. When the Stewarts had acquired the lands which now comprise Renfrewshire, they were erected into the barony of Renfrew and formed part of the sheriffdom of Lanark. After their accession to the Crown, probably towards the end of the reign of

Robert III., the barony was erected into a sheriffdom and dissolved from Lanarkshire (*Caledonia*, vi. pp. 771-3).

Manerium nostrum de Reynfrū. Walter, the first High Stewart, built a castle at Renfrew which was the principal manor-place of the barony of Renfrew. It was situated on a small height called Castle-hill 'on the margin of that branch of the Clyde which formerly approached to the burgh of Renfrew, and it was surrounded by a large fosse' (*Caledonia*, vi. p. 802; Crawford's *Hist. of Renfrewshire*, p. 65).

Sigilli nostri. For a description of the granter's seal see Laing's *Ancient Scottish Seals*, Maitland Club, i. Nos. 777-9; Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, Nos. 2540-2; *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, iv. No. 15734.

Thoma Randalf: father of Thomas Randolph, first Earl of Moray: chamberlain 1269-78: dead before 1306. Bower describes him as *uir magnæ mansuetudinis et sapientiæ* (*The Scots Peerage*, vi. pp. 289-91; *Scotichronicon*, lib. x. cap. 26; Crawford's *Officers of State*, p. 264).

Roberto Boyde: probably an ancestor of the Boyds, Earls of Kilmarnock: as one of the 'tenantz le Roi du Counte de Are,' he swore fealty to Edward I. on 28 August 1296 (*The Scots Peerage*, v. p. 138; *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. p. 202).

Willielmo Fleming de Baruchan: the earliest known ancestor of the Flemings of Barochan: swore fealty to Edward I. *ut supra* (*Hist. of Renfrewshire*, p. 102; *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. p. 203).

Finlao de Huwistoun: ancestor of the Houstons of that Ilk: witnessed many charters of James, the fifth High Stewart: swore fealty to Edward I. *ut supra* (*Hist. of Renfrewshire*, pp. 99; *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. p. 203).

Gilberto de Coningsburgh patre. In 1278 Gilbert de Cuningburg and three others were outlawed for the slaughter, at the instigation of Alan de Lascelles, of Richard Bullok in the field of Cambok. They are described as of 'bad repute.' Gilbert de Conynburke of the county of Ayr swore fealty to Edward I. *ut supra* (*Ibid.*, pp. 34, 205).

Gillisio del Estwod: swore fealty to Edward I. *ut supra* (*Ibid.*, pp. 186, 204).

Roberto Sampil tunc senescallo baronie de Reynfrū: the earliest known ancestor of the Lords Sempill (*The Scots Peerage*, vii. p. 526). The office of sheriff of Renfrew became afterwards hereditary in the family. Prior to the erection of the barony into a sheriffdom, the Stewarts exercised their jurisdiction through their baron-bailie, the duties of the Stewart being to collect and administer the revenue and manage the lands of the barony (*Caledonia*, vi. pp. 771, 773).

Date: between 1283, when the granter became High Stewart, and before 1306, when Thomas Randolph was dead.

(17)

Nicholayus de Ledale: there was a person of that name in Aberdeen about the date of the transumpt (*Extracts from the Burgh Records of Aberdeen, 1398-1570, Spalding Club, p. 3.*)

Willelmus de Valoniis filius et heres quondam domini Willelmi de Valoniis militis domini de Dalgingh in Fiffe. Several descendants of the ancient Anglo-Norman family of Valoniis settled in Fife (Stephen's *History of Inverkeithing and Rosyth, p. 179*). In 1284 William de Valoniis, son of Sir William de Valoniis, with consent of Margaret, his mother, granted to the priory of St. Andrews a meadow lying to the south of the curtilage of the priory at Markinch (*Reg. Priorat. Sancti Andree, p. 420*). William de Valoynes 'del counte de Fyfe' swore fealty to Edward I. on 28 August 1296 (*Cal. Doc. Scot., ii. p. 209*). Dalgingh is in the parish of Kennoway near Markinch and was the principal place to which parties were to come in early times to warrant goods challenged in Fife (*Acts of Parliament, i. pp. 373, 604*).

Johanni de Ledale filio et heredi quondam Thome de Ledale. Christiana de Valoniis, widow of Peter de Maule, granted, c. 1256, to John de Lydel the lands of Balbanein and Panlathyn which she and her husband had granted to Thomas de Lydel, father of John. She had received the lands in excambion from Sir Henry Balyoll, and her charter to Lydel contains the curious provision that they might be sold or bequeathed to any one except religious men and Jews (*exceptis viris religiosis et Judeis*) (*Reg. de Panmure, ii. pp. 140, 141*). The connection between Christiana and Sir William de Valoniis has not been ascertained.

Terras meas de Panlathy Balbany et Petcouray: in the parish of Arbirlot, Forfarshire: Pitcouray, afterwards Pitconra (*Reg. Mag. Sig., 1634-1651, No. 286*), seems to be Pitcundrum in that parish.

Forinsecum servitium Scoticanum domini regis: see note on p. 340 *supra*.

Faciendo sectam ad curiam domini comitis de Angouss. The Earls of Angus had extensive possessions in the county of Forfar or Angus from which they took their title. The lands conveyed by this charter lay within the regality of Kirriemuir. There is no record of the erection of the regality, but in a charter (1214-26) by Earl Malcolm to the Abbey of Arbroath certain lands are described as lying within the *territory* of Kerimour (*Lib. S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, Reg. Vet., p. 80*).

Henrico tunc abbate de Abbirbroth: abbot, c. 1288-c. 1299 (*Ibid., p. xiv*).

Domino Andrea tunc abbate de Cupro: Andrew of Buchan, abbot of Cupar, 1272-96: bishop of Caithness, 1297-1304 (*Reg. of Cupar Abbey, i. p. xlix*; Dowden's *The Bishops of Scotland, p. 240*).

Domino David de Betvn: of Ethiebeaton, sheriff of Forfar: swore fealty to Edward I. 28 August 1296: on his forfeiture for adhering to the English cause, Robert I. granted his estate to Alexander Stewart (*Jervise's Mem. of Angus and the Mearns*, p. 275; *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. pp. 137, 213; *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, 1306-1424, Ap. ii. No. 13). He witnessed the charter by Christiana de Valoniis to John Lydel, referred to *supra*, and his name also appears in an Inquest held in 1286 regarding the pasture of the barony of Panmure (*Lib. S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, Reg. Vet.*, p. 333).

Domino Roberto de Betvn: swore fealty to Edward I. on 22 July 1291 and 28 August 1296 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. pp. 124, 199, 207): witnessed charter to Lydel and on Inquest of 1286, referred to *supra*.

Domino Adam de Rettress: lege Rettreff (Ratray): witnessed the charter to Lydel and also swore fealty to Edward I. 22 July 1291.

Heurico de Downy: a territorial surname from Downy in the parish of Monikie, Forfarshire. Warden (*History of Angus or Forfarshire*, iv. p. 419) mentions that the barony of Downy was the property of the Celtic Earls of Angus, and he was of opinion that the Downies may have been vassals of that family.

Johanne Ruffo: witnessed a charter c. 1281, of a tenement in the Seagate of Dundee (*Highland Papers*, ii. p. 223).

In semiterio Sancti Clementis: St. Clement's Church stood on the site of the present Town-house and the burying-ground connected with it 'extended downwards by St. Clement's Lane to the sea-shore and thence westward to Crichton Street' (Thomson's *History of Dundee*, 1874, pp. 226, 227). At the Reformation it was 'the only burying-ground used in the burgh, and its limited space—hemmed in by houses on the side of the Market Gait—made it a most unsuitable and indecorous place of sepulture.' Queen Mary, therefore, when she visited the town in 1564, granted the site of the Grey Friar's house and garden for a church yard (Maxwell's *History of Old Dundee*, pp. 14, 206, 207).

David de Anand scutifero: in 1391 David de Anand paid £10 for the relief of his lands of Melgond in the parish of Aberlemno (*Exchequer Rolls*, iii. p. 269).

Ade Clerico: this name occurs several times in the *Exchequer Rolls*: as baillie of Dundee, 1391, alderman, 1406, provost, 1406, and customar, 1402-20 (see Index Vols. ii. and iii., *sub voce* Clerk). It is not clear, however, that they are all one and the same person.

Simon de Lendores: no trace has been found of any other Instruments under his hand. A person of that name was tronar of Dundee c. 1410-1422 (*Exchequer Rolls*, iv. pp. 135, 360).

Date: between 1288, when Henry became abbot of Arbroath, and 17 December 1296, when Andrew, abbot of Cupar, was provided to the see of Caithness.

(18)

An abstract of this charter is printed in the *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 690.

Johannes comes Atholye: ninth Celtic Earl of Atholl, 1270-1306: hanged at London, 7 November 1306 (*The Scots Peerage*, i. pp. 425-7).

Davyd comitis Atholye: eighth Celtic Earl of Atholl, c. 1264-70: died of the Plague at Carthage near Tunis, 6 August 1270 (*Ibid.*, i. p. 425).

Domino Alexandro de Meyners: son of the chamberlain: was taken prisoner at Dunbar Castle on 28 April 1296 and sent to the Tower of London: released 16 August 1297 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. Nos. 742, 939; *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, i. 275).

Domini Roberti de Meyners: see p. 347 *supra*.

Totam terram meam del Weem et de Abyrfeally beg in Atholya: the lauds of Weem are in the parish of that name: Abyrfeallybeg, now Wester Aberfeldy, is in the parish of Dull (Christie's *The Lairds and Lands of Loch Tayside*, 1892, pp. 20, 89). As to the bounds of the earldom of Atholl see Robertson's *The Earldom of Atholl: Its boundaries stated*.

Duas dauatas, etc. The davach was 'an ancient Scottish measure of land, consisting in the east of Scotland of 4 ploughgates, each of 8 oxgangs: in the west divided into twenty penny lands. It is said to have averaged 416 acres, but its extent probably varied with the quality of the land' (*New English Dictionary, sub voce Davach*).

Salua michi et heredibus meis aduocacione et donacione ecclesie del Weem. The patronage of the church of Weem in pre-Reformation times was a frequent subject of dispute between successive Earls of Atholl and Lairds of Weem, as the following abstracts of a series of writs, formerly in the charter room of Castle Menzies, now in the Record Office, H.M. General Register House, show:—

- (1) Letters of Presentation under the great seal in favour of David Menyhes of the rectory of the parish church of Weme: at Edinburgh, 13 October 1440.
- (2) Instrument narrating an Appeal to Pope Pius II. by John Menzais of Veyme and Sir Maurice McKnachtane, chaplain, his presentee to the church of Veyme, against the presentation of Thomas Yrlande, the nominee of John, Earl of Atholl, thereto: 11 January 1461-2.
- (3) Transumpt of (a) Charter (dated at Edinburgh, 24 February 1463-4) by John, Earl of Atholl, granting to John Mengzeis of Weme the patronage of the church of Weme with the glebe, etc.; (b) Charter of Confirmation under the great seal (dated at Edinburgh the last day of February 1463-4) confirming the preceding charter; (c) Letters of Obligation (dated at Edinburgh

the penult day of February 1463-4) by John, Earl of Atholl, binding himself to obtain from Thomas, bishop of Dunkeld, a charter of confirmation of (a) *supra*: the transumpt was made on 9 April 1500.

- (4) Transumpt of an Instrument narrating that John, Earl of Atholl, granted to John Menzeis of Ennach his whole right in the patronage of the kirk of Weyme: 18 March 1463-4: the transumpt was made on 2 January 1497-8.
- (5) Transumpt of an Instrument narrating an agreement arrived at between John, Earl of Atholl, and John Menzes of Weyme regarding the right of patronage of the kirk of Weyme: 8 November 1474: transumpt made on 8 April 1503.
- (6) Instrument narrating that John, Earl of Atholl, in presence of Thomas, bishop of Dunkeld, protested that the contract he entered into with John Mengzeis of Enok regarding the right of patronage of the kirk of Weme should not prejudice the king and his successors: 8 November 1474.
- (7) Instrument narrating that Mr. Edward Cokburne, rector of Ellem, ordained procurators to accept possession of any benefice on his behalf, and especially the rectory of the parish church of Weym presented to him by Robert Menzeis of Ennoch: 26 October 1497.
- (8) Instrument narrating an Appeal to Pope Alexander vi. by Robert Menzes of Weyme, patron of the parish church of Weyme, against the action of John, prior of St. Andrews, vicar general of the see, in collating Mr. Hugh Mertyne, the presentee of John, Earl of Atholl, to the said church, while an appeal was pending at Rome: 8 June 1498.
- (9) Letters of Presentation by Robert Menzheis of Weyme presenting Mr. Gilbert Strathachin, clerk, of the diocese of St. Andrews, to the rectory of the parish church of Weyme: 27 January 1498-9.
- (10) Instrument of Requisition narrating the preceding Letters of Presentation in virtue of which the said Mr. Gilbert compeared in presence of George, bishop of Dunkeld, and desired to be collated to the said kirk, which request the bishop refused in terms of letters apostolic: 15 February 1498-9.
- (11) Instrument narrating an Appeal to Pope Leo x. by Mr. Roger Menzeis, clerk, of the diocese of Glasgow, presented to the rectory of the parish church of Weym by Robert Menzeis of Weym, against the intrusion of Sir Henry Walcar in the said parish: 8 December 1513.
- (12) Instrument narrating an Appeal to Pope Leo x. by John, Earl of Atholl, and Sir Henry Walcar, rector of the parish church of Weyme, against Sir John Duncanson, who had procured the said church in the court of Rome without the Earl's presentation: 4 July 1517.

- (13) Letters of Collation by Robert, bishop of Dunkeld, in favour of Sir Archibald Bruis, chaplain, presented to the kirk of Weyme by Robert Menzes of that ilk, knight: at Edinburgh, 19 June 1556. *In dorso*: Instrument narrating that Sir William Lumisdane, vicar pensioner of Inschechadding, inducted the said Sir Archibald Bruis to the said kirk: 2 July 1556.

Rath in Atholya: 'now Logierait, the site of the castle of the ancient Earls of Athole and where they held their court' (*Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 690 n). It was the place in Athole to which warrants for goods challenged as having been stolen were appointed to come (*Acts of Parliament*, i. pp. 373, 604).

Sigillum meum. For a description of the granter's seal see Laing's *Ancient Scottish Seals*, i. No. 761; Macdonald's *Scottish Armorial Seals*, No. 2729; *Cat. of Seals, MSS. Dep., British Museum*, iv. No. 16914; *Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. p. 538 (No. 19).

Johanne de Inchemertyn: a territorial surname from Inchmartine in the parish of Errol: son of Sir John de Inchmartyne and Jean, his wife (*Reg. of Cupar Abbey*, i. p. 350). He was taken prisoner by the English at Dunbar Castle on 28 April 1296 and committed to the Tower of London with the Earl of Atholl and Sir Alexander Menzies: released on the mainprize of the Earl of Atholl in August 1297 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. Nos. 742, 940; *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, i. p. 275). He was sheriff of Perth, 1305-28 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. No. 1691 (3); *Exchequer Rolls*, i. p. 102).

Johanne de Cambrun: taken prisoner at Dunbar Castle *ut supra* and committed to Gloucester Castle: order given for his release on 6 September 1297 on the mainprize of the Earl of Atholl, Sir Alexander Meygners and John de Inchmartin (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. Nos. 742, 938, 942; *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i. p. 49): on 20 September he arrived at Sandwich to embark for Flanders (*Stevenson's Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland, 1286-1306*, ii. p. 140).

Archebaldo de Levyngistoan: on 24 May 1297 he was invited with others 'qui citra mare Scotiæ morantur' to accompany Edward I. to Flanders (*Ibid.*, pp. 167, 168). He was appointed sheriff of Linlithgow 1302, and afterwards sheriff of Stirling. At Cluny, 28 June 1296, he swore fealty to Edward I. (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. p. 194, Nos. 1321 (3), 1457).

Roberto de Cambron de Balenelij: Sir Robert Cameron of Balnely, knight, swore fealty to Edward I. at Perth on 25 June 1296: on 28 August following he swore fealty at Berwick-on-Tweed as one of the king's tenants of the county of Perth, and also on the same date when he is described as of the county of Forfar (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. pp. 194, 202, 209). In 1290 he was one of the auditors of Exchequer, and in 1296 he is designed sheriff of the county of Atholl (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. p. 49; *Stevenson's Documents ut supra*, ii. p. 34). Jervise (*Mem. of Angus and the Mearns*, pp. 292, 293) was of opinion that his connection with

Forfarshire was purely official and that his estate was in Fifeshire, but it seems probable from the available evidence that his domicile was in Perthshire rather than in Fifeshire. In 1266 Robert de Cambrun, perhaps an ancestor, was forester of Cluny in Perthshire (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. p. 19), and the suggestion is made that Balemelli and Balnely may be Balmyle in the parish of Kirkmichael adjoining the Forest of Clunie.

Laurencio de Strathbolgyn. He was taken prisoner at Dunbar Castle on 28 April 1296 and sent to Windsor Castle (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, ii. No. 742): on 28 August 1297, order was given for his liberation (*Rot. Scot.*, i. p. 46), and on 20 September he arrived at Sandwich to embark for Flanders (Stevenson's *Documents ut supra*, ii. p. 140). In 1306 Cristyn del Arde demanded the lands of 'Monsieur Lourenz de Strathbolgy' in Sutherland and Caithness (Palgrave's *Documents and Records illustrating the History of Scotland*, p. 314).

Willelmo Olifard: an ancestor of the Lords Oliphant (*The Scots Peerage*, vi. pp. 531-3).

Henrico de Inchemertyn: brother of Sir John de Inchemertyn *supra* (*Reg. of Cupar Abbey*, i. p. 352): taken prisoner, released and embarked for Flanders as in note on Laurence de Strathbolgyn *supra*.

Date: circa 1300: probably after the granter, grantee, and several of the witnesses were released in 1297 from prison in England and before 7 November 1306, when the granter was hanged at London.

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REPORT OF THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

THE THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on Saturday, 5th December 1925, in Dowell's Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh,—Sir Robert Bruce, LL.D., in the Chair.

The Report of the Council was as follows:—

The Membership of the Society now stands at 413, with 112 libraries in addition. Twenty-six members have died or resigned during the past year and fifteen new members have joined.

Since the last General Meeting the second volume of the *Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine, 1548-1557*, edited by Miss Marguerite Wood, has been issued to Members for the year 1924-25. It is proposed to issue to Members for 1925-26 Dr. Maitland Anderson's *St. Andrews Graduation and Matriculation Roll, 1413-1579*, and a fourth *Miscellany Volume*.

As complementary to the two volumes of *Balcarres Papers* the Council have decided to issue a volume of correspondence during the regencies of the Earl of Arran and Queen Mary of Lorraine, selected from original papers preserved in the Register House. It will be edited by Miss A. I. Cameron, Ph.D. They also propose to print the earliest Sheriff Court Book of Fife covering the years 1514-1522, under the editorship of Mr. W. C. Dickinson.

The establishment of a National Library for Scotland has given great satisfaction to every student of Scottish

history. While appreciating also the recent addition to the Staff in the Historical Department of the Record Office, and the appointment by the Secretary for Scotland of a Committee to consider the condition of the Sheriff Court Records, the Council must again draw attention to the persistent delay in filling up the vacant office of Deputy Clerk Register, or otherwise providing for the proper administrative control of the Public Records of Scotland. The whole position was so fully explained by Lord Sands at the last Meeting of the Society (the Report of which is appended to *Balcarres Papers*, Volume II.) that it is unnecessary to go into details. The Council content themselves with the suggestion that the Society should once more invite the attention of the Secretary for Scotland to the matter.

The Council, in view of their representations to the Town Council of Edinburgh, are glad to report that steps have now been taken to prepare for the publication of the valuable Burgh Records.

The Members of Council retiring by rotation are Dr. William Mackay, Sir Philip J. Hamilton Grierson, and Sir G. M. Paul. It is recommended that the first two be re-elected and that Sir Bruce Seton, C.B., be elected to fill the remaining vacancy.

The accounts of the Treasurer, appended in abstract, show a credit balance of £507, 5s. 5d. on 11th November 1925.

Sir Hugh Arthur Rose seconded the motion for the adoption of the Report.

A vote of thanks to the Council and Office-bearers was proposed by Brigadier-General R. G. Gordon-Gilmour, C.V.O., and seconded by the Hon. Hew H. Dalrymple. Lord Sands moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

ABSTRACT ACCOUNT CHARGE and DISCHARGE
of the INTROMISSIONS of the HONORARY
TREASURER for the year from 12th November
1924 to 11th November 1925.

CHARGE.

I. Funds as at close of last Account—	
1. Sums on Deposit Receipt with Bank of Scotland, George Street, Edinburgh,	£300 0 0
2. Balance on Account Current with Do.,	36 12 6
	<hr/> £336 12 6
II. Subscriptions received—	
1. Members,	£443 2 0
2. Libraries,	116 11 0
	<hr/> 559 13 0
III. Publications sold,	49 17 6
IV. Interest on Deposit Receipts,	16 13 8
	<hr/>
Amount of the Charge equal to the Discharge	<u>£962 16 8</u>

DISCHARGE.

I. Cost of Publications, including Printing, Binding, Parcelling, Issuing, and Carriage—	
1. <i>The Fraser Papers</i> —parcelling and postage,	£25 15 0
2. <i>The Darien Shipping Papers</i> —editing,	10 10 0
	<hr/>
Carry forward,	£36 5 0

	Brought forward,	£36	5	0	
3.	<i>The Balcarres Papers</i> , Volume II.—preparation of Index and clerical work,	£21	0	0	
	Composition,	192	7	0	
			213	7	0
4.	<i>Early Records of the University of St. Andrews</i> —composition,	32	17	0	
5.	<i>Miscellany Volume</i> —composition,	128	18	11	
			£411	7	11
II.	General Printing and Stationery,	29	6	8	
III.	Miscellaneous Payments,	14	16	8	
IV.	Funds at the close of this Account—				
1.	Balance on Deposit Receipt with Bank of Scotland, George Street, Edinburgh,	£590	0	0	
2.	Balance on Account Current with Do.,	93	4	10	
		£683	4	10	
	Less—Balance due to Messrs. T. & A. Constable Ltd.,	175	19	5	
			507	5	5
	Amount of the Discharge equal to the Charge,		£962	16	8

EDINBURGH, 26th November 1925.—Having examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer of the Scottish History Society for the period from 12th November 1924 to 11th November 1925, of which the foregoing is an Abstract, I find the same to be correctly stated and sufficiently vouched, closing with a Balance on Deposit Receipt with the Bank of Scotland, George Street, Edinburgh, of Five hundred and ninety pounds, and a Balance at the credit of the Society's Account Current with the said Bank of Ninety-three pounds four shillings and tenpence, less Balance due to Messrs. T. & A. Constable Ltd. of One hundred and seventy-five pounds nineteen shillings and fivepence.

PHILIP J. HAMILTON GRIERSON.

Scottish History Society



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1925-1926

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