

THE
CLANS
OF THE
HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND:
BEING AN
Account of their Annals, Separately & Collectively,
WITH
DELINEATIONS OF THEIR TARTANS,
AND FAMILY ARMS.

EDITED BY
THOMAS SMIBERT, Esq.



EDINBURGH:
PUBLISHED BY JAMES HOGG.
GLASGOW: DAVID ROBERTSON.
LONDON: R. GROOMBRIDGE & SONS.

CONTENTS.

| | Page |
|----------------------------------------------|------|
| INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF THE CELTS OF BRITAIN | 7 |
| Clan Buchanan | 34 |
| ... Cameron | 101 |
| ... Campbell | 49 |
| ... Chisholm | 220 |
| ... Colquhoun | 109 |
| ... Cumyn | 240 |
| ... Davidson | 184 |
| ... Donnachie (Robertson) | 76 |
| ... Douglas | 322 |
| ... Drummond | 247 |
| ... Farquharson | 222 |
| ... Ferguson | 281 |
| ... Forbes | 214 |
| ... Fraser | 173 |
| ... Gordon | 255 |
| ... Graham | 308 |
| ... Grant | 198 |
| ... Gunn | 170 |
| ... Innes (Macinnes) | 270 |
| ... Lamont | 33 |
| ... Leslie | 321 |
| ... Lindsay | 296 |
| ... Macdonald (Macdonell) | 16 |
| ... Macdougall | 44 |
| ... Macduff | 192 |
| ... Macfarlane | 69 |
| ... Macgregor | 134 |
| ... Macintosh | 86 |
| ... Mackay | 203 |
| ... Mackenzie | 120 |
| ... MacKinnon | 145 |
| ... MacLachlan | 31 |
| ... MacLaurin (MacLaren) | 224 |
| ... Maclean | 97 |
| ... Macleod | 72 |
| ... Macnab | 152 |
| ... Macnaughton | 117 |
| ... Macneil | 84 |

| | Page |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Clan Macpherson | 95 |
| ... Macquarrie | 113 |
| ... Macrae | 130 |
| ... Menzies | 191 |
| ... Monroe | 232 |
| ... Murray | 284 |
| ... Ogilvie | 274 |
| ... Robertson | 76 |
| ... Ross | 147 |
| ... Scott | 331 |
| ... Sinclair | 227 |
| ... Stewart (Stuart or Steuart) | 13 |
| ... Sutherland | 159 |
| ... Urquhart | 185 |

Plates of the Clans.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Clan Stewart. | 29. Clan Sutherland. |
| 2. ... Do. Royal. | 30. ... Gunn. |
| 3. ... Macdonald of the Isles. | 31. ... Fraser. |
| 4. ... Do. of Clanranald. | 32. ... Davidson. |
| 5. ... Macdonell (Glengarry). | 33. ... Urquhart. |
| 6. ... MacIachlan. | 34. ... Menzies. |
| 7. ... Lamont. | 35. ... Macduff. |
| 8. ... Buchanan (Macauselan). | 36. ... Grant. |
| 9. ... Macdougall. | 37. ... Mackay. |
| 10. ... Campbell (Argyle). | 38. ... Chisholm. |
| 11. ... Do. (Breadalbane). | 39. ... Forbes. |
| 12. ... Macfarlane. | 40. ... Farquharson. |
| 13. ... Macleod. | 41. ... MacLaurin (or MacLaren). |
| 14. ... Robertson (Donnachie.) | 42. ... Sinclair. |
| 15. ... Macniel. | 43. ... Monroe. |
| 16. ... Macpherson. | 44. ... Cumyn. |
| 17. ... Macintosh. | 45. ... Drummond. |
| 18. ... Maclean. | 46. ... Gordon. |
| 19. ... Cameron. | 47. ... Macinnea. |
| 20. ... Colquhoun. | 48. ... Ogilvie. |
| 21. ... Macquarrie. | 49. ... Ferguson. |
| 22. ... Macnaughton. | 50. ... Murray. |
| 23. ... Mackenzie. | 51. ... Lindsay. |
| 24. ... Macrae. | 52. ... Graham. |
| 25. ... Macgregor. | 53. ... Douglas. |
| 26. ... Mackinnon. | 54. ... Leslie. |
| 27. ... Ross. | 55. ... Scott. |
| 28. ... Macnab. | |

Armorial Bearings of the Clans.

THE ARMS ARE ARRANGED AT THE CLOSE OF THE WORK, WITH THE NAME PROPER TO EACH SET INDIVIDUALLY ATTACHED.

NOTICE.

The object of the present work is, to give to the GAEL, or HIGHLANDERS of SCOTLAND, a succinct history of their various CLANS, with representations of their respective TARTANS, correctly delineated and coloured, the whole being presented, at the same time, in such a shape as to place the publication within the reach of nearly all interested. The books hitherto issued on the subject have been for the few and the wealthy, not for the community at large. The numberless Highland families, moreover, who have long left the native region of their sires, and have disused its language, will find that the present publication has been expressly so drawn up as to merit their acceptance, and to be universally intelligible. The Backswoodsman of the far western world may recall through it the memory of his fathers, and the Canadian draw thence the means of reassuming the Tartans by his distant lakes.

The historical and heraldic portion of the work must necessarily be characterised as far as possible by brevity. As, in any case, it is but to be expected, from the difficult nature of the theme, that parties should differ considerably in opinion as to the accuracy both of the delineations of the Tartans, and the accounts given of the Clans, this indispensable brevity may impart to some of the observations and conclusions an appearance of assumption; but readers will for the most part find, it is believed, that the statements put forth, whether correct or erroneous, have at least been well weighed, and that the impartial truth has ever been aimed at, even where not attained.

With respect to the *Sets* of the *Clan-Tartans* here given, the work of Mr Logan has been held, after due consideration, to be preferable as a *general guide*. The *Vestiarium Scoticum* of Mr Stuart is certainly a publication of value in various respects, having plainly been prepared with much elaboration and care; and accordingly it would be unwise to reject its indications wholly, because of the doubts entertained as to its claims to antiquity and authenticity. The parties responsible for the present work, however, have had recourse to the best original sources of information, and trust by that means to maintain accuracy without blindly following any previous authority.

Simplicity of language will be a leading aim above all things, and especially as regards the use of proper names. Highlanders themselves differ here widely, and finical attempts to improve on the received system of orthography have merely the effect of confusing general readers in all such cases. Lowland writers also disagree similarly among themselves. Indeed, to justify

the adoption throughout of the most common and simple modes of spelling proper names of all descriptions, it is only necessary to cite a single case in which there is a choice given in old histories of variations. In putting down the word *Buchan*, ancient authorities ring the changes thereon amusingly, presenting in succession *Bochan*, *Bouchan*, *Bughan*, *Boughan*, *Boghan*, *Buhan*, *Buwan*, *Buwhan*, *Bowhan*, *Bowhan*—and, in short, a perfectly endless series of specimens of ingeniously varied orthography. Assuredly, it would be of not the slightest service to attempt to draw nice distinctions in spelling in such cases. On the contrary, it could but lead to needless confusion and obscurity; and, therefore, Angus will not be found set down here as Aonghas, nor Fraser as Fryzzele, but plainly as Angus and Fraser, saving where the etymologies may be preliminarily explained.

INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT

OF

THE CELTS OF BRITAIN.

The majority of writers who have treated of the GAEL or HIGHLANDERS of SCOTLAND, have entered introductorily into lengthened discussions, relative to the territorial divisions of the land in very early days, and to the tribes of many names located there, according to successive Roman writers, and native Gaelic or Erse manuscripts, Scottish and Irish. It may well be doubted, however, if any good end could be served by opening up anew so wide a field of speculation and controversy. The multitude of tomes already devoted to the subject have elicited but a few leading facts, and have left all else as much as ever in doubt and darkness. To these facts attention will be mainly confined, therefore, on the present occasion. And, firstly, a few words may be said on the general career in Britain of the people to whose stock the Scottish Highlanders belong.

The great and primitive CELTIC RACE, which occupied the whole or nearly the whole of Continental Europe in the very earliest ages of which any records remain, seems beyond all question to have likewise primarily peopled the entire British Islands. As we certainly cannot go beyond these British Celts, they may fairly be called the insular Aborigines. From the Roman account of the voyage of Hamilcar the Carthaginian, in the fifth century before Christ, it appears that the oldest known name of the occupants of Britain was the *Albiones*, and of those of Ireland the *Hiberni*. At this period, the entire inhabitants were almost unquestionably pure Celts of one family. In the course of the next two or three centuries, however, a series of important changes commenced. We find that in the time of Cæsar a fresh race, called the *Britanni*, or Britons, possessed a large proportion of the coast-lands of the island, from them named Britain permanently. At the same era, another people are first alluded to as inhabiting Ireland, to wit, the *Scotti* or Scots, destined ultimately to give a designation to all North Britain. Whence these Britons and Scots came, or of what stock they sprung, is a point not quite satisfactorily determined by old authors. Most of these have held that the former, at least, passed over from Belgium; though it has been disputed whether they were adventurers of the original and pure Celtic blood, or formed a branch, more or less mixed, of another great and primitive section of the human family, the Goths. The first conjecture is most probably the correct one, and indeed almost certainly so, as will appear afterwards. The Goths, who overran Europe from the shores of the Black and Caspian Seas, and became better known under the subsidiary denominations of the *Teutonic* and *Scandinavian* nations, took indeed, in the end, a most important share in subverting the ancient Celtic population of Britain. The Celts were at no period an ardent colonising race; but very differently stood the case with the wandering Gothic hordes from the Asiatic borders, who, two or three centuries before Christ, were led by their deified chief Odin through central Europe, and seized on all Scandinavia (Sweden, Denmark, and Norway), founding the existing races of these countries. The whole of the north of Germany was occupied by branches from the same stem, there termed the Teutonic. Holland also fell under their sway, as is seen in the name of *Teutsch* (or Dutch), durably borne by its people.

This mighty movement of the Scandinavian and Teutonic Goths, towards the shores of the

German Ocean, exerted a most important influence on the destinies of Britain and its Celtic population. The genius of the new settlers of the north and north-west of Europe was adventurous and enterprising in the highest degree; and no sooner did they become numerous in their acquired territories, than they began to cast off swarms of piratical rovers of the seas, who kept the western coasts of Europe in terror for many successive centuries. Plunder was their main or original object, but in the course of time they became the founders of settlements and nations. The position of Britain exposed it peculiarly to their assaults. There, from time to time, they made inroads, and in the end obtained fixed locations, under the various names of Norwegians, Danes, Saxons, Jutes, Angles, and other appellations either national or divisional. All of them received in common the title of *Norsemen*. The descents made by these predatory bands occasioned bloody and protracted struggles with the older inhabitants, the descendants of the Britanni and Albiones. The consequence of all was, that the remains of the pure Celtic tribes retired or became confined to the mountain-lands, seemingly best beloved by them at all times. This result followed gradually upon the decline and fall of the Roman power in Britain in the fourth and fifth centuries. Amid the numerous contests which they had with that power, the native population, though at times driven to their hilly fastnesses, had yet, even in the low countries, remained unchanged. The later successes of the Norsemen gave a distinctly novel character, however, to the occupants of nearly the whole of England, saving Wales, and in part, also, to those of the Scottish Lowlands. The successive periods of rule of the Danes and Saxons in England, and the final seizure of power by another originally Norse nation, the Normans, are well-known matters of history.

Hitherto the remarks made on the career of the Celtic race in Britain have been of a general nature, and intended chiefly, indeed, to explain the causes of their ultimate deprivation of the southern and most extensive part of the island. The special annals of the Scottish Celts require now to be adverted to. It would appear that the Romans originally found the whole of Scotland, north of the Forth and the Clyde, in the possession of a people whom they called collectively the Caledonians. This name, however, was but one framed (probably out of some tribe-designation) by the invading visitors, the people themselves taking always the collective appellation of *Albanich*, or, in short, the Albiones; and there can be little doubt but that the Caledonians were the direct descendants of the pure Celtic race referred to in the voyage made by Hamilear five centuries before Christ. Unvarying tradition, native manuscripts, and numberless local names, tend to establish this fact; and it receives strong additional confirmation from the circumstance of the term Albion or Albyn being specifically applied to the north of Scotland by its inhabitants for many subsequent centuries. In the course of the occupation of the island by the Romans, successive describers among them apply new names to the Caledonians, but these appear to be merely local or sectional appellations, and certainly indicate no alteration in the body of the people. In the third and fourth centuries we hear of the Picts, Saxons, and Scots, as banded against the Romans. That the former were merely a portion of the Caledonians, under another name, is apparent from the notices given of them by the Latin writers. One of these, for example, speaks of the "*Caledonians and other Picts*." In reality, the people could not here have by possibility been changed, since they had neither as yet been conquered, nor expelled, nor exterminated. As to the Saxons mentioned, these may be presumed to have been simply bands of piratical rovers, taken in to give assistance against Rome. The Scots call for a much more extended notice. Numerous facts and authorities support the conclusion, that the Scots of North Britain came from Ireland, and that they were of unmixed Celtic blood. The simple statement of Bede, in the eighth century, when the two several and as yet distinct races of Picts and Scots were under his personal contemplation, goes far of itself to establish both suppositions. He says that the Scots spoke the same language as the Picts, but used a different dialect—exactly what they might have been supposed to have done, if of the Irish Celtic race. At what precise period they first arrived in Scotland is not known, but it appears a mere hallucination to suppose them a powerful individual people three centuries before the birth of our Saviour. Such is the date usually assigned to the reign of their first king, Fergus. The truth is, that, from the final adoption of the general Scottish name, early actions of note have been assigned to the yet weak Scots, which should assuredly have been attributed to the really powerful Picts. During several even of the early centuries of our era, the Scots in North Britain seem to have been comparatively few in number, and to have but held their place as secondaries or auxiliaries to the Picts. But, in the fifth or

sixth century, they received large accessions of numbers from Ireland, and became firmly and independently planted in the west of Scotland, or in Argyle and Islay. They are generally known about this point in their history, as the Dalriads or Dalriad-Scots.

It is probable that the growth of the power of the Dalriad-Scots excited at first little jealousy in the Picts, the two strong nations of whom held nearly all the land beyond the Forth, the northern and north-western branch of the race being called the Dicalledones, and the southern and eastern section the Vecturiones. Each of these nations, which were respectively subdivided into many tribes or clans, had originally its separate king; but, with the view of rendering the union more complete, Angus M'Fergus, king of the southern Picts, procured his election to the conjunct throne in the eighth century. In doing so, he sealed the fate of the entire Pictish monarchy. The jealousy of the northern Picts led them ere long to conjoin their power against their southern brethren with that of the Dalriadic Scots, to whose regal line they united their own by marriage alliances. The Scots, encouraged by their strengthened position, over-ran and appropriated Galloway. From Bede's account of their condition in the middle of the eighth century, it is also obvious that they had by that time acquired other portions of the Lowlands, then called by the common name of Britannia, and mainly occupied by the provincial Britons who had been under the Roman authority. When the rule of Rome ended, however, the Angli or Angles had poured in from the southern borders, or from the seas, and founded considerable settlements. At various future periods, they so increased in numbers as to give the country its existing language. To return, meanwhile, to the Scots. Such was their rapid increase of strength, that, about the year 840, their prince, Kenneth MacAlpine, led his forces against the southern Picts, and routed them in a battle described as the bloodiest of that age, and from which they never recovered, or even temporarily rallied. The overthrow was signally decisive.

The ordinary historians of Scotland, in fact, say that in this conflict the Pictish race was *annihilated*. Pinkerton, and others who examined authorities for themselves, perceived this conclusion to be so utterly ridiculous, that they, again, declared the Scots to have been vanquished, and absorbed in the larger Pictish race. The actual truth seems to be, however, that Kenneth did certainly break for ever the warlike strength of the southern Picts, and gained a large and rich territory for himself and his people. That he massacred all of the hostile blood, young and old, is not for a moment to be credited. But even had he done so, the race of the Picts would *not* have been extinguished. The great tribes of the northern Picts, his friends and not his enemies, still remained—they remain to this day—they hold and have ever held the very lands of their sires—they are the present Gael—the existing Highlanders of Scotland.

The present work, as has been already said, must deal mainly with results and facts, or what appear to be such on due examination. But it would not be difficult to state many strong reasons, direct and collateral, for holding the preceding conclusion to be undeniably the correct one—namely, that the modern Gael, or Gael-Albanich, are the lineal descendants of the ancient Picts and Caledonians, as these were of the Albiones, the first inhabitants of the land on record. Men were wont to marvel at the strange and anomalous disappearance of the Pictish language, but it was because they never looked for it where it was still to be found in actual use. The prolix and disputatious inquiries of Pinkerton and others on this subject put one much in mind of the personage who searched long and vainly for the spectacles that were upon his nose. Of all our historians, Chalmers alone had an inkling of the truth, seemingly. That the Picts spoke the Celtic tongue (or the Gaelic, as it has ever been called from the name borne by the Scottish Celts of the north) is proved by many circumstances, and particularly by numerous Gaelic names, given indubitably to different localities in the days of the Picts. The venerable Triads of Wales also refer directly to the "*Gaelic Picts*." The assertion that the present Highlanders are the lineal descendants of the Picts, is of course to be applied generally. That some of the Dalriad-Scots were left about the Western Isles, and even partly to the north of Argyle, seems undeniable, and to that branch of the main Celtic race, accordingly, various clans may owe at least a mixed descent. Undoubtedly, also, the Norwegian Sea-kings and Iarls (earls) not only seized and held the Orkney and Shetland Isles, as well as portions of the Hebrides, but conquered and reigned over Sutherland, Caithness, and the adjoining southern territories at various periods, and particularly under Thorfinn, earl of the Orkneys, in the eleventh century. But still, amid all such changes, the mass of the northern Pictish or Gaelic population remained wholly unmodified. Indeed, they seem at times to have flourished under

the Norwegian sovereignty, and to have preferred it rather than otherwise. The growth of the power of the Scots in the south and east had soon indeed alarmed them after the overthrow of the southern Picts, and they readily accepted the aid of the Sea-kings in erecting a proper counterbalance. Hence arose those dissensions, which only terminated in part in the reign of Malcolm Canmore. Macbeth, dramatically famous, appears then to have been the head of the Pictish or Gaelic party, and to have cut off the sovereign of the Scots, Duncan, either privately or in battle, mounting the throne afterwards in his stead. Malcolm, the son of Duncan, had recourse naturally to England, and, aid being thence received, he overturned and slew Macbeth. Undoubtedly, the Lowlands received large accessions of Saxon immigrants at this conjuncture. For a time the Highlanders were quieted, but, as their laws of succession preferred the right of a brother to that of a son, they soon found occasion to take up arms anew, in favour of Malcolm Canmore's collateral kindred. Again and again did the Scottish kings seek and receive southern assistance, both from Saxons and Normans, against the authors of these risings. Successive invitations of this nature Anglicised great part of the country, the auxiliaries being rewarded with honours and lands. The Gael, in their turn, usually looked for help to the Norwegians, still the holders of the Western Isles and the Orkades. But the Norwegians did not remain like the Angles. In the thirteenth century, the islands were ceded by them to the Scottish king, and the power of the great Gaelic chiefs sank thenceforth before that of the strongly-based Lowland monarchy. One by one, the principal ruling Gaelic houses were stripped of sway, and the feudal laws imposed, with, in many instances, Saxon and Norman lords. The lords or kings of the Isles made the longest resistance of all, but at last the directly continuous line of that house, before forfeited, failed at the close of the fifteenth century, and Scotland became truly ONE KINGDOM.

The general annals of the Celtic race in Britain having been thus glanced at, and the origin of the Scottish Highlanders concisely examined, any further remarks, of a more special nature, may be left to fall within the accounts to be given of Individual Clans.

On the TARTANS, and the custom of wearing them, a few words are necessary, and but a few may suffice. The origin of that custom is not very difficult of discovery. In the very first stages of human civilisation, the use of war-paint on the body, and the practice of tattooing, show that men began to ornament their persons with diversified and discriminative colours before they could even boast of any species of corporeal attire. Our southern British ancestors were so adorned personally in the time of Julius Cæsar; and, if the very name of the Picts was not derived from the Latin word *pictus*, signifying "painted," we know at all events that they did paint their bodies, seeing that the poet Claudian speaks of them as being *non falso nomine pictos*—that is, as not untruly called "painted men." That "Pict" came actually from "*pictus*" is rendered the more likely by the fact of the word being first found in Latin writers. After tinting the naked skin, what, then, would be the next step in advance? When clothes were really arrived at, gay though simple colourings of these would form the natural resource subsequently, wherever they were procurable. Both the first and the second stages of progress are observable in Africa and America at the present day; and the state of things was much the same, obviously, in the time of the early Jews, as witness Joseph's coat of many hues. In his case, such a coat was a mark of pre-eminence; so would it everywhere be originally. The arrangement of the colours systematically, so as to produce the best effects of variety and contrast, may be held to have been yet a farther and later movement onwards. Even the custom of *cross-gartering*, mentioned in the "*Twelfth Night*" of Shakspeare, may be pointed to as a very primitive mode of obtaining the effects mentioned; and, indeed, what are the Highland hose at this day but specimens of cross-gartering in one parti-coloured piece? Men having reached the point of wearing bodily attire, then, and having been moved by personal self-esteem to have them dyed gaudily, the ultimate step of adopting distinctive family colours would certainly if not quickly follow, in a state of society such as the Gaelic, where the people seem ever to have been divided into tribes, and to have lived under independent chiefs. Pride of house and name, and the necessity for displaying a recognisable exterior in the hour of battle, might be expected to suggest such a custom at a very early period. It would long be confined however, to the *chiefs*, and then would descend to their followers. It can scarcely be doubted that in this simple way has sprung up the habit of Tartan-wearing among the Gael of Scotland. Nor could it be at any time much more difficult to produce dresses of such varied tints, than it would have been to have wrought them more plainly. Every chief and clan in due

time had their weaver or weavers, who, labouring with the materials of the country, both in point of yarn or dyes, soon became expert in supplying the peculiar family attire in request. Fergus M'Ivor's household tailor, "James of the Needle," though a fictitious personage, is still a copy from the life. As to the weavers, we find Duncan Forbes of Culloden complaining bitterly, so late as the middle of last century, that the Frasers had harried and injured a weaver living near him, who was "a general blessing to the country." No doubt, his loom supplied all around Culloden with Tartans.

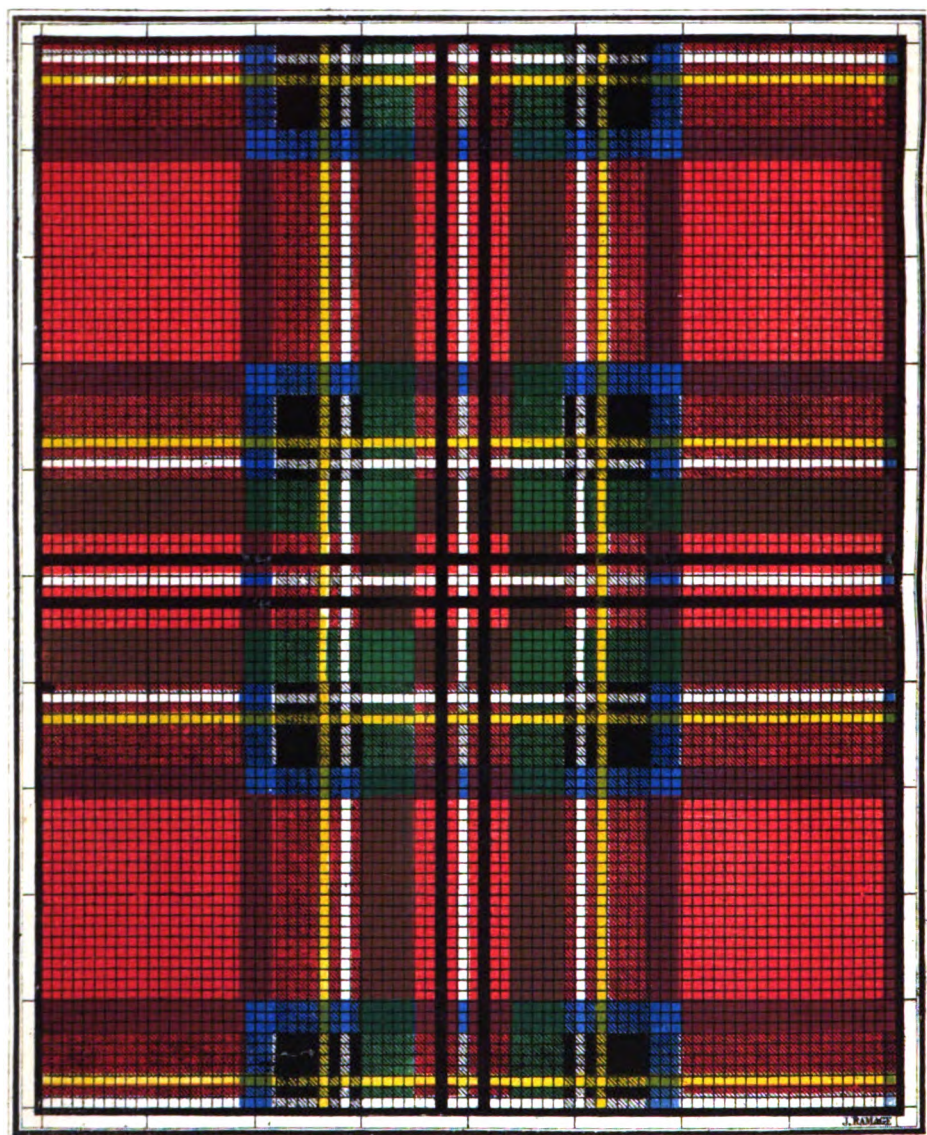
The period at which *regular Clan-Tartans* were first used over the Highlands has been the subject of frequent controversy. It seems probable, that, while the wearing of garments of diversified colours is to be viewed as a custom of great antiquity among the Gael, the adoption of formal family or tribe Tartans is at least not of equally distant origin. Lindsay of Pitscottie, in 1573, alluding to the dress of all the Highlanders generally, speaks only of "a mantle and a shirt, *saffroned* after the Irish manner." In like manner, a French traveller, in 1583, tells us of "a large and full shirt, *coloured with saffron*, and over this a garment hanging to the knee." By these and other old writers, the use of the *kilt* in their times is established beyond all doubt; and indeed the custom was even much more ancient, the nakedness of the Gael below the knees being noticed in the Norse Sagas eight centuries ago. To the kilt, the common people seem to have added the *plaid*, which, worn over the shoulders, probably constituted nearly the whole of their primitive attire. The mantles of the rich, in truth, were but large plaids. With regard to the colours, it may be remarked that Taylor, the water-poet, describes the Highlanders of 1618 as all wearing, without distinction, "stockings (which they call short hose) made of a warm stuff of divers colours called Tartan," with "a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours." The plaid and hose seem certainly to have been the first articles tinged as Tartans. In 1716, Martin relates that the plaid of the Islanders "consisted of divers colours," and that there was "a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours, so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy." It must be owned that he does not leave to us here a perfectly distinct account of the use of established Clan-Tartans by the generality, though from another remark, to the effect that a connoisseur could tell the district where a plaid came from by its appearance, it may be presumed that some formal arrangements were usual at this time as regarded plaids. Some few years later, distinct notices appear of what must be understood as regular Clan-Tartans. When Lady Grange was carried away to St Kilda, the agents in her abduction, according to her own account, were several "Highlanders in Lord Lovat's livery." This can only be interpreted as meaning the Fraser Tartans. In 1745, again, the clans were to a large extent attired in Tartans peculiar to or adopted by their septs respectively. It seems very likely, indeed, that the Scottish Civil Wars, from those of Montrose down to the rising under Prince Charles, would be largely instrumental in causing a closer adherence to fixed forms of the Tartans by the Clans. Each, in all probability, would select or be made to select that set which its chiefs had used, perhaps long before, as a means of distinction from other chiefs. In that light, Clan-Tartans may be viewed as things of high antiquity. At all events, the form—the plaid and the kilt—and the general variegation of hues, are peculiarities of the Gaelic garb which in all likelihood originated even with their most remote Pictish sires.

The actual use in daily life of the Tartans has naturally fallen into at least comparative desuetude, the causes which rendered it even necessary at an earlier day having ceased to exist. The subject is now one chiefly of historical and family interest. Nor is it at all to be wondered at, that, as a mark of their race and descent, as reminding them of their forefathers, and as cementing the bonds of brotherhood and friendship, the love and respect of the Gaelic people for their Tartans should yet be strong and enduring.

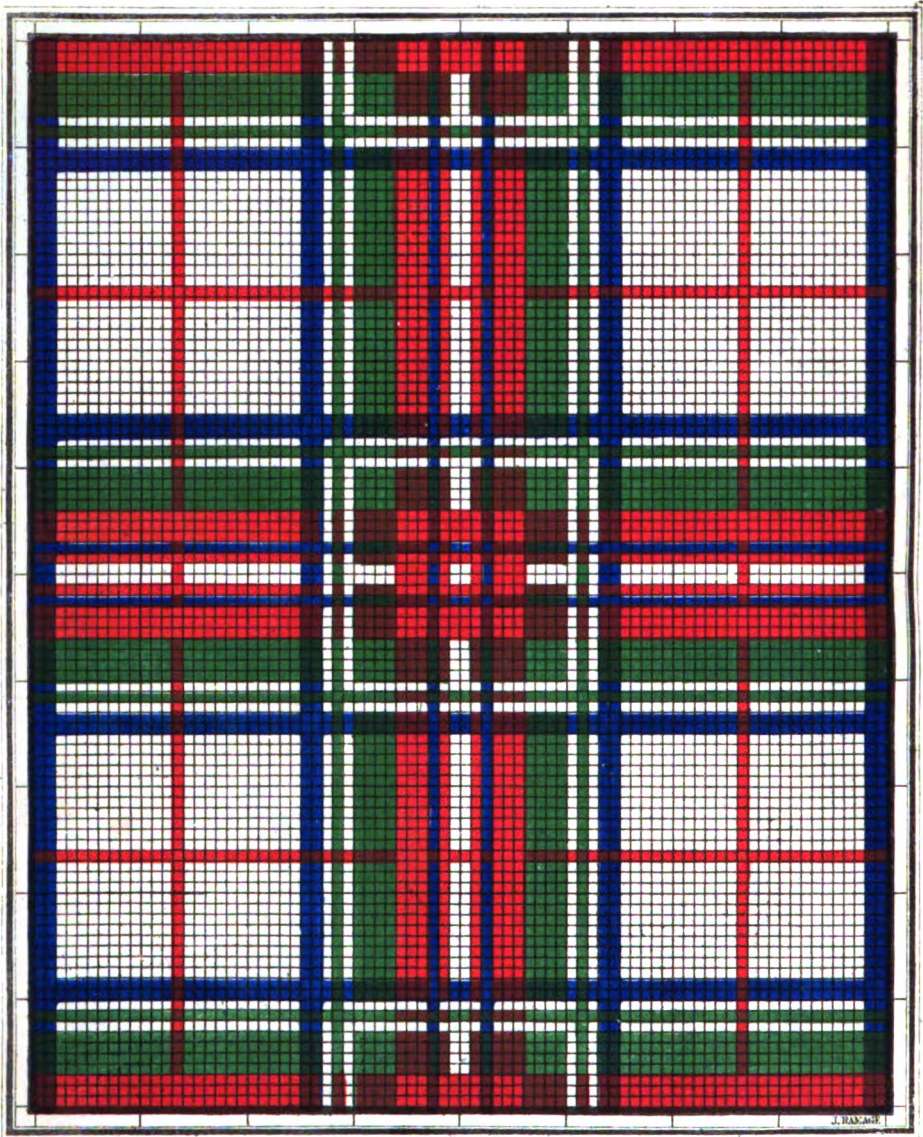
Many Lowland houses bordering on the Highlands, though not of Gaelic descent, adopted peculiar Tartans, with other clan-customs, and these families must necessarily be noticed, many of them having attained to great prominence in the national annals of the north. There is no impropriety in this proceeding, though the names may not be Gaelic, nor the chiefs purely of that race. Of the very Clan-Royal of Stewart, it may be observed, that, while historians doubt whether its founder was Norman or Saxon, not one writer, we believe, represents the family as originally Gaelic. But this fact alters the case very little, since the various chiefs of the house soon commingled *blood*, at least in most instances, with the clans over which they ruled, or with other families of the Gaelic race. The origin of the family and the

patronymic of the Stewarts, will be explained in the subsequent opening pages, precedence being given to them as the Clan-Royal of Scotland. As respects the order of the other clans, the arrangement (with some exceptions) proposed by Mr W. F. SKENE, F.S.A., in his original and excellent essay on the "Highlanders of Scotland," will be adhered to. Mr Skene traces in history six great *Maormorships* or *Earldoms*, held by the Pictish and Scottish Gael, namely, those of the GALLGAEL, of MORAY, ROSS, GARMORAN (Morvern ?), CAITHNESS, and NESS (part of Sutherland.) In the population of these northern and western earldoms, which existed at the fall of the southern Picts, eighteen great and radical Tribes appear to be discoverable; and these, again, have been subdivided in the essay mentioned into Thirty Clans, small and large. The clans of each section being for the most part connected by origin and blood, it is desirable that their annals should not be disjoined; but to confine attention exclusively to the purely Gaelic families as Mr Skene has done, would render a work like the present markedly incomplete. Though the chiefs of such houses as the Frasers and the Gordons may not have sprung from a Gaelic source, their blood, as already observed, must have been extensively Gaelicised by time, and their clans must ever have been almost entirely of that race. Mr Logan, in his able work on the "Scottish Gael," by including such clans as these, raises the total number to above Fifty. The purely Gaelic Clans, in so far as these can be distinguished, will be noticed in a separate and FIRST SECTION of the present work. The mixed septs will be treated of in a SECOND SECTION, after due space has been accorded to the pure Gaelic tribes. As several Lowland and Border houses have also adopted special family Tartans in modern days, a few of these may be given, to please peculiar fancies, in a THIRD SECTION. At the same time, it is scarcely necessary to express here the conviction that the Scotts and Douglasses of old used no other Tartans than the dark grey *maud*, or shepherd's plaid.

Whatever the descent of such tribes as the Gallant Grahames and the Light Lindsays, located as they were to the north of the Forth and Clyde, and brought into frequent contact with the true Gaelic clans, they may be reasonably supposed to have become in time more or less assimilated to them in customs; but there has nowhere been adduced any solid evidence of the use even of the general Highland dress among the families of the Scottish Borders and the central Lowlands, much less of the use of specific sets of Clan-Tartans. Their attire, on the contrary, is described as of a totally different character by multitudinous authorities. But the modern adoption of family Tartans by chiefs of rank in the southern Lowlands is not only harmless in any point of view, but in some respects may be productive of much good, increasing the interest taken by such influential parties in those Celtic Societies to which the Highlands owe so many recent improvements. It is upon this principle, mainly, that the presentation here of a Third Section of Tartans is to be justified.



Clan Stuart



Royal Stuart

CLANS OF SCOTLAND.

THE CLAN STEWART (STUART OR STEUART).

THE family of Stewart is one numerous beyond computation in Scotland, as might have been expected from the long pre-eminence it has there enjoyed. Its many branches vary even in name, though that the true and original form was *Steward* cannot be doubted, from the fact of its resting on the tenure of the high national office of Lord-Steward. Yet, though the form of *Stewart* will here be preserved throughout for the sake of simplicity, there is nothing reasonably to be said against the adoption of the spelling of *Stuart*. If but a fancy, it was, at least, one sanctioned by royal usage. According to the most authentic accounts, the house of Stewart drew its direct descent from a noble family of high standing in England, in the time of Henry I. Some genealogists consider this English house to have been decidedly Saxon, because the head of it, at that period, was an Alan, and founded what has usually been viewed as the Saxon house of Fitz-Alan, represented by the present Dukes of Norfolk. There is strong collateral support for such a conjecture. Alan, however, if not really of Norman blood, certainly was a partaker, at all events, in those bounteous assignments of honours and favours which fell to the Normans in the days succeeding the conquest. The second son of this Alan, whose existence is certified by unextinct deeds, appears to have been the first of the race who settled in Scotland, where he held the office of High-Steward in the reign of David I. How he attained at once to that eminent position is not very clear; but it was the policy of the Scottish kings of the age to invite warlike southern barons into the country, and reward them with lands and vassals, without much regard to previously existing rights. Walter, second son of Alanus, son of Flaaldus, upon some such principle, is found to have been made Steward of Scotland about 1120 or 1130. He was destined to be the father of many kings. His birth and position are proved by deeds yet examinable; and, in truth, it is stated in the Clause-Roll, of the date of 1335, or in the time of Edward III., that the elder and English scion of the paternal stock of Alan, which had inherited the southern properties, had the impudence, even at that late period, to claim the Stewardship of Scotland from the monarch in question, and actually received one thousand merks in compensation for the cession of his assumed rights. Edward, it is to be observed, was then renewing his grandsire's pretensions to rule in the north. The connection of the Stewarts and Fitz-Alans is thus proved satisfactorily. By another charter from Malcolm IV., grandson of David I., we find that the Lord-Steward, Walter, son of Alan, had continued in the highest favour at the Scottish court, being confirmed in his previously acquired possessions of "Renfrew, Paisley, Pollock, Cathcart, Eglisbam, Innerwick," and various other baronies in the western Lowlands. Thus, though we know not exactly wherefore the family got a footing so quickly in the north of Britain, and on such elevated ground, their origin may be said, as remarked, to be almost decisively settled.

The general history of the family would occupy, and has often occupied, volumes. In the beginning of the year 1371, Robert, Steward of Scotland, seventh holder of the office in the direct male line, succeeded to the throne, as son of Marjory Bruce, daughter of King Robert I. From this period the Stewart annals become the national ones of Scotland, and also latterly of England. Their proper rule extended down to 1688, thus covering the long term

of three centuries. Reckoning the reigns of (William and) Mary and Anne, they ruled till 1714. Up to 1688 not one breach occurred in the royal male lineage, save in the case of Queen Mary, though her marriage with a scion of her own house, and a near blood relation, may almost be said to have left the masculine succession uninterrupted.

The different peerages held at various times by the house of Stewart have been numerous almost beyond computation; and there are yet five Scottish noblemen of distinction of the name, to wit, the heads of the families of Blantyre, Bute, Galloway, Moray, and Traquair. To these should properly be added the Dukes of Buccleugh and Richmond (Lennox in Scotland), seeing that both spring in the male line from Charles II., King of Great Britain. The Extinct, Forfeited, and Dormant Stewart Peerages are reckoned at a very moderate amount when stated at between thirty and forty. It is to be observed, however, that the lines in these cases did not always come to a close, or lose station and wealth, though they might be deprived of their titles by the failure of direct male heirs or the vicissitudes of fortune. The Dukes of Grafton and St Albans in England, again, are likewise Stewarts, strictly speaking, having the same descent as the Dukes of Buccleugh and Richmond. Lords Londonderry and Castlestewart are also peers of this name, and we may add, at the least, Lord Wharnccliffe, an offshoot of the house of Bute in the male line. Various Baronets also bear the old Scottish patronymic, both English, Irish, and Scottish. To enumerate the multitude of wealthy and estated Gentlemen-commoners, to whom it has descended, is next to impossible; and still more difficult would it be to calculate the amount of those bearing it among the generality. In short, the name of Stewart has spread very widely, not only in its birthplace of Scotland, but wherever the British have effected settlements on the face of the globe.

Very natural it is that the name, so long regal in the British Islands, should have been disseminated far and wide, and have become highly distinguished. The facilities for its attaining to distinction, at all events, must have been largely increased by the lengthened pre-eminence of the main stock. The various sovereigns of the house call here for no detailed individual notice. They were, reckoning from Robert the Steward, first king of the family, down to James VII., twelve in number; two Roberts, seven of the name of James, two bearing that of Charles, and one Mary. The two daughters of James VII., Mary and Anne, make the number of fourteen. Of all the members of this long line, both before and after their regalisation, it is singular how few have left distinctly legitimate *male* branches. We say *distinctly legitimate*, because legitimacy is claimed in various cases, and no doubt in some with justice, though time has rendered the proof difficult. This point will be noticed more fully in the sequel.

Our present Most Gracious Sovereign, Queen Victoria, in one sense the head of the Stewart house, holds her throne as a descendant by the female side. Her connection with the line may be simply explained. The houses of Este and Guelph, which Her Majesty represents in the paternal line, were long illustrious in Italy and Germany, and held there large possessions. Their lineal successor, Ernest, Elector of Hanover, and representative of the great houses of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, Wolfenbittel, Zell, and others, wedded Sophia, daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, and King of Bohemia, by his wife, *Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of James VI. of Scotland and I. of England*. When the Protestant succession failed, at the death of Queen Anne, the son of Ernest and Sophia was called to the British throne, and became George I. Thus is Queen Victoria, sixth sovereign of her line, allied to the Stewarts, whom she has heired in the order of the Protestant succession. Her Gracious Majesty, with Prince Albert and the Royal Family, have ever shown that they honour the Tartans. Of these, several kinds are called specially royal. It may be added, for the satisfaction of the curious, that the nearest heir of the Stewarts, by direct descent, is Francis, son of the Duke of Modena by his Duchess Mary Beatrice, of the royal Sardinian family. Charles II. having left no legal heirs, and those of James VII. terminating in the Cardinal of York, the line of the

sister of these princes certainly became the next in succession. She had married the Duke of Orleans, and left two daughters. One died issueless, and the other wedded the King of Sardinia. Her race ended in twin-daughters, the eldest of whom married the existing Duke of Modena. The lineal heir of the Stewarts is their son, Francis, born in 1819, whose sister, singularly enough, has married the heir of another deposed royal house, Henry of Bourbon, Duke of Bordeaux. The ducal family of Modena has itself also been of late (1848) dethroned and expatriated.

We now return to the branches of the Stewarts yet located in Scotland. Alexander, fourth Lord Steward in succession, and great-grandfather of Robert II., seems to have left one indubitably legitimate son, Sir John Stewart, styled of Bonkyl and Jedworth, from whom sprung the Dukes of Lennox, the Earls of Angus, and the Earls of Galloway. The direct Lennox offshoot, to which belonged Henry Darnley, ceased in the time of Charles II.; and, as the succession then fell to the crown, that prince gave the dukedom to one of his natural sons, ancestor of the present house of Lennox. The Angus branch is extinct in the male line, and the Earl of Galloway thus appears to represent legitimately the old Stewarts of Bonkyl, a branch of the house ere it became royal. From the same Galloway branch sprung the Blantyre family and various others. The whole family of the Stewarts of Bute are descended from a natural son of Robert II., whom he gifted with estates in Bute and the west of Scotland. The Stewarts of Traquair, as appears from the Great Seal Records, derive their origin from James, Earl of Buchan, son of a Stewart of Lorn, by the widow of James I., Jane of Somerset. The first of the Lords of Traquair of this line is said to have been legitimated after birth, his mother, a daughter of the house of Murray of Philiphaugh, having born him seemingly before the first wife of the Earl of Buchan died or was divorced. It is curious that Jane of Somerset belonged to a branch of the English royal family similarly legitimated. Her spouse, termed commonly the Black Knight of Lorn, pertained to the Bonkyl house. The Traquair lineage is thus high in all respects, the Stewart blood being mingled with that of Plantagenet. The Earls of Moray spring, on the male side, from Murdach, Duke of Albany, cousin of James I., and so partake, by a collateral branch, of the legitimate blood-royal. On the female side they are derived from the famous Regent Murray, natural son of James V., through a marriage with his daughter and heiress. From "the bonnie Earl of Moray," so famous in song and legend, the present family descend in the unbroken male line.

From these noble Stewart houses, through younger branches, have flowed many of the most respectable families of the name now in existence. The legitimate younger sons of the Stewart monarchs held, in their time, numerous peerages of note, as those of Albany, Mar, Atholl, and Buchan, but their representatives either died without issue, or left only female heirs. From the Wolfe of Badenoch, son of Robert II., and from natural branches of the line of Albany, came the Garth line and most of the Perthshire Stewarts. Many Scottish nobles, however, and indeed foreign potentates also, are related to the ancient regal stock by intermarriages with princesses or legally connected parties.

If the royal house left few legitimate male descendants whose issue was fated to continue, it left, at least, abundance of successors through natural offspring. About *forty* illegitimate children are mentioned, in authentic genealogic works, as having sprung from the kings alone. Robert II. left eight, the ancestors of the Stewarts of Bute, Donally, and Cardneys, if not also of other branches of the house. From Robert III. descended similarly the Shaw-Stewarts of Greenock and the family of Kilbryde (represented by Shawton). James II. had one illegitimate son, from whom came the house of Ballechin. James IV. left four natural daughters and one son. James V. was the father of eight children of the same description, of whom the Regent Murray was one who left a clearly continuous line. Charles II. left a large family by different mothers. His sons he created, severally, Dukes of Monmouth (and Buccleugh), Richmond (and Lennox), Grafton, St Albans, Cleveland, and Northumberland. An-

other son was made Earl of Plymouth. The four first peerages are still represented in the male line by his descendants. The natural children of James VII. were four in number, of whom the Duke of Berwick was the only individual of note. Besides the spread of the Stewart name or blood through all these parties, the younger scions of royalty dispersed it yet more widely in a similar mode, and the females born in the same manner carried it into many of the most distinguished families of the kingdom.

Even were it necessary, we could not, without the risk of apparent partiality or invidiousness, take detailed notice of any of the numberless distinguished families of commoners or gentry who have long borne and yet bear the name. It may only be repeated that Renfrewshire was the original seat of the family, but that they penetrated into the western Highlands and Perthshire, and there founded the Lorn, Atholl, and Balquidder branches. The Stewarts of Appin deserve particular mention, as having sprung (illegitimately) from the old Lorn house, and having long been, with the Atholl branches, looked upon in the Highlands as THE CLAN. The Invernahyle Stewarts had the same origin. The Perthshire house of Grandtully springs also from a younger son of the Lords of Lorn. It is unnecessary to point to their various actions in general history. This work is, indeed, to be viewed as more properly genealogical and heraldic; and though a share of historical matter may be necessary with other clans, the annals of the Stewarts are intrinsically the annals of their country. The Atholl possessions of the family lay mainly on the north-east of Loch Tay, and Appin forms the north-western corner of Argyshire. [On account of the prominence of the house, two varieties of the Stewart Tartans are given, though one of them, it is probable, may be chiefly founded on fancy. As far as possible, however, those Tartans only which are acknowledged and used by the clans generally and their heads will be adhered to, as the many existing variations of these will usually be found to have been dictated by mere caprice, either on the part of the manufacturers or of secondary branches of the clans. The Macdonald and Campbell Tartans will be illustrated by variations similarly; but these are important cases, and, in such, the letter-press portion of the work may also be varied in extent.]

ARMS OF THE STEWARTS.

The ARMS of the various branches of the Stewart family differ in almost every instance, each ennobled or marked section of the house having assumed or been endowed with its own armorial bearings. Their total number is positively innumerable. In Nisbet's "Heraldry" nearly fifty varieties are described. Before ascending the throne, the family of Stewarts certainly carried as their armorial sign, Or, a fess chequy of three tracts, azure and argent; and their oldest motto seems to have been *Virescit* (He flourishes). The whole is still the basis of the Galloway arms. The Royal Stewart arms are here given: Or, a lion rampant, gules, armed and tongued azure, within a double tressure, counterflory with *fleurs de lis* of the second, encircled with the order of Scotland, composed of rue and thistles, with the image of St Andrew pendent, having on his breast a cross.

CREST. Above the shield a sovereign's helmet, adorned with an imperial crown, and surmounted with a lion holding in the dexter paw a sword, and in the sinister a sceptre.

SUPPORTERS. Two unicorns argent, crowned imperial.

MOTTO. In a scroll above all, *In Defence*; and under, *Nemo me impune lacessit* (None harms me with impunity).

BADGE. (Original Stewart) Oak; (National) Thistle; (Later) White Rose.

The Stewarts of Galloway take the Motto of *Virescit vulnere virtus* (Virtue strengthens by a wound); and those of Blantyre, *Sola jurat virtus* (Virtue alone avails). The succeeding three branches, who all use the form of *Stuarts*, have—of Bute, *Arto virtutem honore* (He grows with ancestral honours); of Traquair, *Judge Nought*; of Moray, *Salus per Christum* (Safety through Christ); while the English and Irish Stewarts have adopted arms different from all these, and which it is unnecessary to include here.

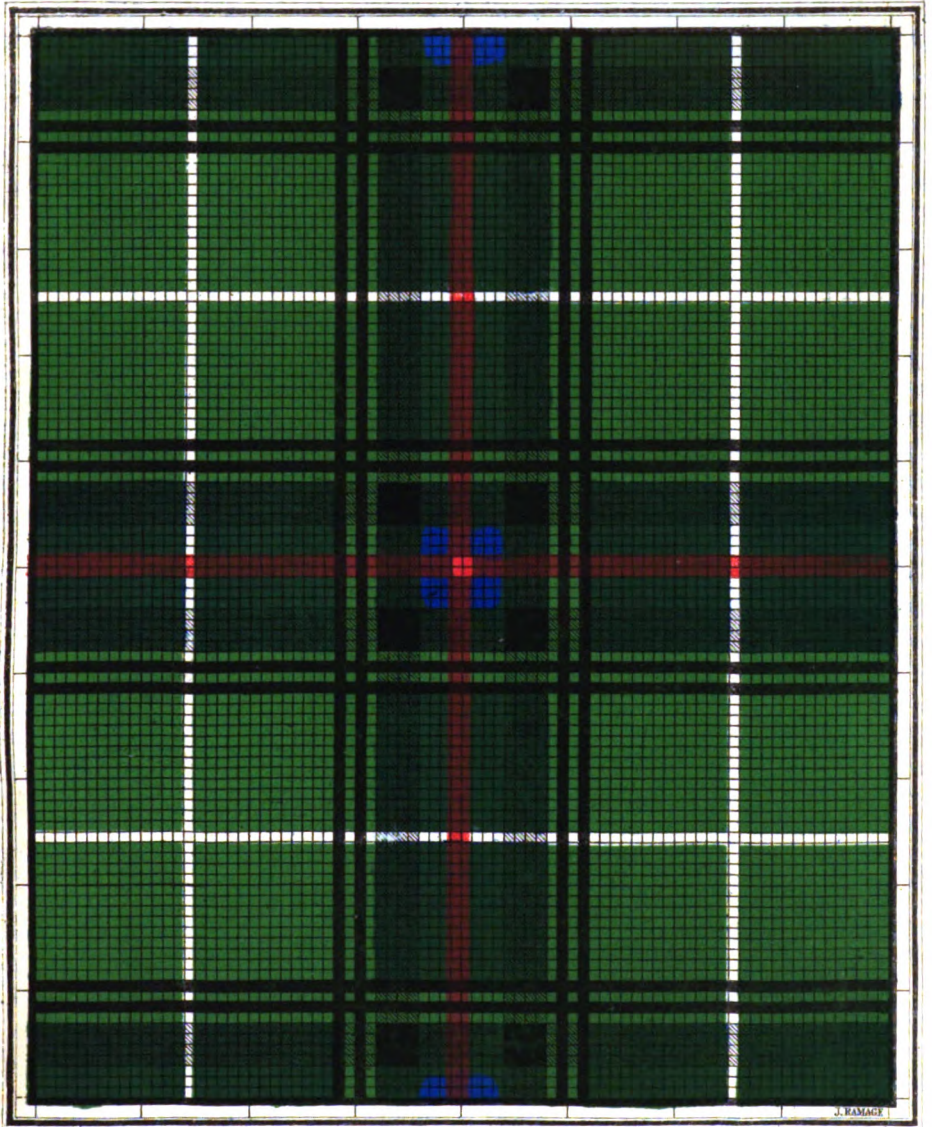
The Appin Stewarts produced, in 1715, 400 men, able for the field.



THE CLAN MACDONALD (MACDONELL).

THE CLAN of the MACDONALDS is one of the most ancient, as also the most extensive and illustrious, of all that have ever flourished in the Highlands of Scotland. The Isles and Coasts of the West and North-West have long formed

III

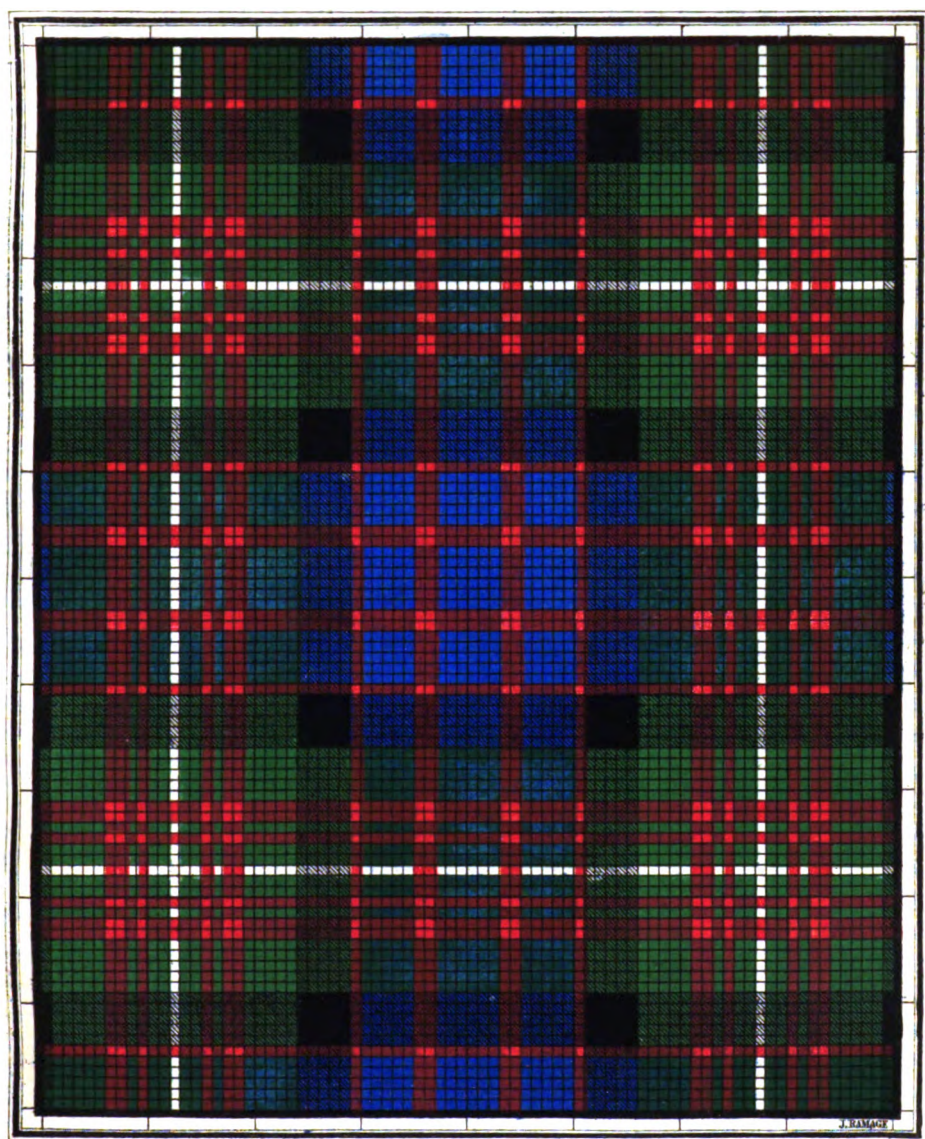


Macdonald of the Isles

IV



Macdonald of Clanranald



Macdonell of Macdonell
(Glengarry)

the chief seats of the family. Of what stock they sprung has not been definitely determined; but it appears probable, from many concurrent circumstances, that, while wholly of the *Celtic* race fundamentally, they had the blood of the Irish Celts commingled in their veins with that of the Pictish Celts. The term of Gall-Gael, understood to be applied to them by early annalists, has been interpreted variously, but is properly an Irish term, signifying Strangers or Piratical Gaels, and seems mainly to prove that they dwelt from the first about the coasts or isles. It severs them broadly from the Norse Rovers, who repeatedly visited, in the like character, the western shores of Scotland. At the same time, the Gall-Gael appear to be as clearly distinguishable from the primitive or Dalriad-Scots, who have been introductorily mentioned as issuing from Ireland, and as having originally peopled a considerable portion of Argyre, then termed Dalriada. The sires of the Macdonalds arrived, in all likelihood, at somewhat later epochs, fixing themselves more peculiarly in the Isles of the western coasts; though when the Scots overturned the kingdom of the southern and eastern Picts in the ninth century, and shifted more or less extensively to the richer territories then acquired, the Gall-Gael seem to have also become the main occupants of Argyre and the surrounding mainland. From that period they are closely identified with the proper northern and north-western Gaelic Picts, with whom they beyond doubt formed connections freely. The interests of both were henceforth nearly the same; and for many successive centuries they struggled conjointly against the growing and adverse power of the Scottish monarchy of the Lowlands.

Of this view of the descent of the *SIOL CUINN* (the special name given from an early chief, named Conn of the Hundred Battles, to the ancestors of the Macdonalds), it may, at all events, be said that there would be some difficulty in offering a more rational and intelligible one. It may be justified by various arguments. The early and long-continued hostility which they displayed, as observed, towards the Scots, will not admit of their being ranked as a pure or proper Scoto-Dalriadic tribe. Their constant community of feelings and interests, again, with the Gaelic Picts of the north and north-west, while it goes far to prove a close connection with these, and at least a liberal intermixture of blood, does not, however, justify us in ascribing their descent wholly and primarily to that native source. Other facts, indeed, point strongly to an Irish original. Among such facts may be reckoned the repeated references of the Macdonald race to Ireland for aid, in all times of peril and difficulty, for many consecutive centuries. From the Somerleds of the eleventh down to Donald (called The Bastard) in the sixteenth century, the kings and chiefs of the house are again and again recorded as having visited that island, and sought assistance as from undoubted relatives. Nor did they do so vainly, the Macquarries, for example, being almost certainly among such introduced auxiliaries. Moreover, the line and range of their early possessions lead us directly towards Ireland. The Isle of Man was long one of their chief holdings, while Bute, Arran, and Islay, with Cantire, were among their first Scottish seats, all being in the track of Irish rovers or emigrants. Again, the heads of the Macdonalds themselves seem to have entertained opinions as to their descent only explicable on the same supposition. Sir James Macdonald, writing in 1615, speaks of his family as having been "ten hundred years kindly Scotsmen under the kings of Scotland." This term carries us back exactly to the sixth century, when there occurred, indubitably and historically, a large influx of new comers from Ireland; and when neither the northern nor the southern Picts, most assuredly, nor even any one great sept of them, could be called kindly Scotsmen under the kings of Scotland. On the whole, the conclusion reasonably to be drawn from these and similar circumstances is, that the direct founders of the Macdonald race came primarily from Ireland at some very early period of the annals of the Dalriad-Scots; and that they were left (or made themselves) the successors of that people in place and power in the west of Scotland, at the precise time when the overthrow of the southern Picts drew their Dalriadic conquerors further inland. That the *Siol Cuinn*, or Race of Conn, then became deeply and inseparably blended, in regard of blood as well as of interests, with the native

northern Gael, is a further conclusion equally consistent with facts and probability. The almost natural division betwixt the Highlands and the Lowlands, conjoined with the remembrances which must long have existed of Pictish greatness, ever urged the inhabitants of the former region, of all sections and descriptions, to unite for the maintenance of its independence against the encroaching Lowlanders. Besides, the ties betwixt the Scots and the Gaelic Picts of the north were broken up at a very early period. The former entirely lost their Pictish dialect, spoken in Bede's time, and became otherwise thoroughly *Saxonised*. On the contrary, the Highlanders, whether natives or immigrants, Gaelic or Erse, were, from first to last, of the same primary Celtic stock; and, accordingly, it was but natural that all of them should have combined against the Lowlanders as against a common foe, and should, in short, have been blended, in the course of time, into ONE PEOPLE, and that people the GAEL of SCOTLAND.

Many clans of no slight note, besides the Macdonalds, are implicated in the question now discussed—and for that reason discussed at some length. It is one enveloped certainly in difficulties; but the apparent truth has here been stated impartially. There are writers who seem to view an Irish origin as degrading to those traced thereto; but such parties appear to forget that, whatever the land of Erin may since have been, it was the very cradle of religion and nursery of civilisation to the ancient western world; and that undoubted evidences exist of the advanced state of its people, at a time when all the Celts of Britain were comparatively barbarous. To pertain to a race which sent forth Columba, and through him originated an Iona with all its concomitant blessings, might satisfy the pride of birth of even the haughtiest of human families. The visit of Columba, it may be added, shows strikingly how free and open was the early intercourse with Ireland. As he came to the Western Isles in the sixth century, and, though a priest, was by birth a prince, it is more than probable that he was a member, and an important one, of the very same colonising expedition to which the origin of the Siol Cuinn at that epoch has in part been traced. The settlement of the Saint in Iona, moreover, strongly confirms the supposition that the immigrants only obtained at first some of the smaller isles, and held little of the mainland till the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, after the fitting of the Dalriad-Scots.

But, in reality, the fact that the original race from which the Macdonalds spring were of such long standing in Scotland as to imply a purely Celtic or Gaelic descent, whether Irish, Scoto-Irish, or Pictish, is the principal one to be attended to in considering the times preceding the commencement of authentic history. That epoch, as far as the Siol Cuinn are concerned, certainly lies in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a circumstance which confirms all the preceding conclusions. It was chiefly through and in the person of SOMERLED, usually styled THANE (or LORD) of ARGYLE, and who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, that the chiefs of the house became truly famous in the general annals of Scotland. This chieftain originally found the possessions of his immediate sires in an unhappy state, probably in consequence of the disturbing conquest, just before that period, of all the north of Scotland, including the Western Isles, by Thorfinn, Norwegian Earl of Orkney, and again by Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway. But, by his activity of character and prudent conduct, Somerled re-instated himself in the rule of the greater portion of Argyleshire; and he also obtained or recovered the lordship of the Isles of Man, Arran, and Bute, from King David I., who had taken them from the Norwegians. Still it was no part of the policy of Somerled to quarrel with the Norsemen, then lords of at least all the principal Hebridean isles. On the contrary, he took as his second wife the daughter of Olav, king or chief of the Norwegians of the Isles, foreseeing, most probably, that the heads of that race, *which at no period advanced in Scotland much beyond the position of a warlike garrison in a conquered country*, could never maintain their high place permanently. He lived to see his matrimonial alliance produce the very fruits expected, his eldest son Dugall, or Dougal, obtaining the Isle of Mull and the others that lay south of the northern boundary-line of Argyle. This accession of power proved

fatal to the family. The jealousy of the Scottish sovereign Malcolm IV. was excited, and he summoned the Thane of Argyle to do homage as a crown-vassal for his possessions. The only reply of the daring chieftain consisted in an immediate invasion of the west of Scotland. Landing in Renfrewshire, Somerled was met by a Scottish army under the newly endowed Lord of that district, Walter the Steward, founder of the Stewart family, and was there vanquished and slain, about A.D. 1163 or 1164.

It has never been disputed that the Somerled here mentioned, Lord of Argyle, Man, and the *Sudereys* or southern portion of the Western Isles, was the immediate fountain-head of the Macdonald family. A good deal of obscurity rests on the period immediately succeeding his decease. A second SOMERLED is found apparently holding his place, and many of his possessions, during the first twenty years of the succeeding or thirteenth century. This must either have been a son or a grandson of the other—most probably the latter, since Gillecolum, apparently the son of the elder Somerled by a first marriage, fell with him at Renfrew, and in all likelihood left the offspring which bore the grandsire's name. This is the most feasible way in which the existence and the period of rule of the second Somerled can well be explained. The sons of the first of the name, by his *second* marriage with Elfrica (or Rachel), daughter of Olav the Swarthy, are said to have been Dougal and Reginald; and he had also (according to the Chronicle of Man) sons called Angus and Olav or Olaus, who make no figure in history.

DOUGAL and his descendants succeeded to the rule of the southern isles of the west (or the *Sudereys*) and part of Argyle, if the Norse Sagas and some native writers are to be credited; and it is also said that he left two or three generations in turn behind him, who held the same seat or throne. But the annals of the time are confused by the struggles of the Scots and Norwegians. Whatever chief supported either party was called by that party King of the Isles. The title, indeed, *De Insulis* (or of the Isles), was given to all the pettiest even of the chiefs of the Somerled race; and the true position of Dougal remains doubtful. Even those genealogists, however, who maintain the existence and reign of the Dougal MacSomerleds, represent the main or direct line as closing in the latter portion of the thirteenth century.

REGINALD (a name otherwise promiscuously set down as RONALD or RANALD) was a son of Somerled about whose existence there is no dispute. Reginald seems to have generally assumed the title of King of the Isles, or to have received it from the parties whom he supported. A charter under the Great Seal of date 1507, while confirming one of his deeds, and calling him the son of Somerled, also says, *qui se nominavit Regem Insularum* (who styled himself the King of the Isles). A most important change in the position and fortunes of the house took place in the days of Alexander II., or about A.D. 1220. That active monarch led an army into the district of Argyle, and for the first time annexed it decisively to the crown of Scotland, expelling the second Somerled, who died soon afterwards. The country in question had been generally named *Ergadia*, and occasionally *Argathela*. Both words might be, and probably were framed from *Oirer-Gael* (whence *Argyle*), a Celtic compound signifying *Coast-Gael*, or the region of the Gael of the Coasts (in short, the Gall-Gael). Following up his general scheme, which was to break to pieces the independent kingdom of the western shores, Alexander confirmed in their possessions in Argyle such families as chose to submit to him, and to hold their lands from the crown, while he called in and planted new parties, chiefly from among the adjoining tribes, in the room of all who proved recusants. It is at this period that several important origins or subdivisions of clans are mentioned as having taken place. Some able chief gave the name in most cases to each sept. The Macgregors, the Macnaughtons, the Macneils, the Clan Chattan, and the Lamonts are heard of at the date of this partition of the Argyle territory—which was considerably larger, it should be observed, and ran farther inland than the present county. Argyle was moreover erected into a Sheriffdom by Alexander II. The hereditary Sheriff appointed was the ancestor of the illustrious house of the CAMPBELLS.

The Macdougals, another influential Argyleshire sept, have usually been held to derive their descent, legitimately or otherwise, from Dougal, son of Somerled, who, it is said, inherited Lorn from his father, as well as the Isles maternally; though other authorities state that they sprung from one of the *three sons* of Reginald MacSomerled, who were named severally **RODERICK** (Rory), **DONALD**, and **DOUGAL**. Whether the Macdougals came from a son or grandson of Somerled matters little; they at all events obtained or were confirmed in the district of Lorn on the partition of Argyle, and founded, or perhaps rather collected, a clan of no ordinary strength in a very brief period of time.

The seniority of **RODERICK**, son of Reginald, has not been universally admitted, some authors making Donald the elder by birth. But the point is of little moment, seeing that the direct and legitimate line of Roderick, who, with his immediate progeny, held a large portion of the Isles, terminated in a female in the third generation, when the succession of the house of Somerled fell indisputably to the descendants of **DONALD**, second grandson of Somerled, and head of the entire and potent **CLAN OF THE MACDONALDS**.

A period of great importance in the history of this distinguished Highland family has now been reached. Though their ancient autocratic authority over other clans was never recovered fully by the race of Somerled after the politic partition of Argyle by Alexander II., the ultimate union of all the claims of the house in the line of Donald raised its heads anew to a high pitch of power and eminence, both in the Western Isles and on the mainland of Scotland. **ANGUS** and **ALEXANDER**, Donald's son and grandson, were his immediate successors, and were styled, from their share of the Sudereys or their descent, according to the embarrassing custom mentioned, *De Insulis* or "Of the Isles." A second **ANGUS**, son (or brother) and successor of Alexander, is mentioned with high honour in the time of Robert Bruce. He fought valiantly at Bannockburn in 1314, and is termed by Barbour "Syr Anguss of Ile and But" (Islay and Bute). From King Robert Bruce and his son King David, Angus received charters of new and old lands. Lochaber, Ardnamurchan, Kintyre, and the islands of Islay and Colonsay, are named among these possessions. The son and successor of Angus, who died in 1342, was John, who became by undeniable right the Lord of the Isles, and chief of his entire race, by the death of Ranald, the last male heir of the line of Roderick, eldest grandson of Somerled. Ranald was assassinated at Perth in 1346, by the agency of the Earl of Ross. He left one sister, Amy, of whom more will necessarily be said in the sequel.

JOHN, who may be styled John I., Lord of the Isles (from there being a second of the name), was among the most able and sagacious chieftains of his time. He managed his affairs with great address in the troubled days of the second Bruce and Baliol controversies, his object being clearly, at all times, to recover the regal independence and ancient possessions of his family. He made a compact with Edward Baliol in 1335, by which that claimant of the throne confirmed or granted, "as far as in him lay," to John, Lord of the Isles, the territories of Mull, Sky, Islay, and Gigha, with Kintyre, Knapdale, and various other possessions. For these favours, John bound himself and his heirs to be liegemen to the Baliols; and, as such, he was well received by Edward III., on visiting the south of Britain in the year 1338. It may here be observed, that it was but the natural policy of the Lords of the Isles to stand independent of the Lowland kings; and it would be harsh to view their consequent doings as unpatriotic.

John, Lord of the Isles, seems to have found it necessary, however, to enter into treaty subsequently with King David II., on the recall of that prince from France in 1342; and John received from him in turn (in 1344) confirmations, if not new grants of lands, as Geday, Jura, Colonsay, Tiree, Coll, and Lewis, with "Morimare, Lochabyr, Durdomon, Glenchomyr," and other dependencies, both on the mainland and among the islands. But when Ranald MacRoderick (or MacRory) was slain at Perth in 1346, John, as grandson and heir of Donald brother of Roderick, seems to have claimed from the throne much more of that succession than it was willing to grant. At all events, he was again led tem-

porarily to attach himself to the Baliol cause, or rather to the English interest by which it was supported. John was one of the four great barons of Scotland named as securities for the observance of the treaty of Newcastle, in the year 1354; and as his co-warranties were the Steward of Scotland, the Lord of Douglas, and Thomas of Murrev, or Moray, it is plain that he had been selected as one of the most powerful chiefs of the time in the entire kingdom. When King David returned in 1357 from his English captivity, and returned, moreover, in amity with England, John made peace with the Scottish sovereign, and, further, now entered into terms of intimate alliance with the heir of the crown, the Lord Steward, nephew of David, and afterwards king by the title of Robert II. Anxious to secure his own peaceable succession, and that of his family, to the seat of royalty, the Steward gave Margaret, his fourth daughter by Elizabeth Mure of Rowallan, to the Lord of the Isles in marriage. But King David, becoming jealous of his nephew's power and popularity, threw him into confinement; whereupon the Highland son-in-law was placed once more in an attitude of opposition to the throne. He became in the course of time so alarming to David, indeed, that the latter in person led an army against him in 1369, and compelled him to make submission at Inverness. Every point in dispute was there, however, amicably arranged. John of the Isles bound himself and his people, by an instrument, dated at Inverness on the 13th November, 1369, to pay the common burdens and obey the common laws of the kingdom of Scotland. He gave as hostages for his good faith, his son Donald, by the daughter of the Steward; his grandson Angus (the offspring of a deceased son John); and a natural son of his own named Donald. This deed is one of importance, as will be seen, in the annals of the Macdonalds.

When Robert II. ascended the throne, one of his first acts in parliament assembled was formally to confirm his "beloved son, John of the Isles," in the possession of the greater part of the Scottish heritage of the house of Somerled, save Argyre. The properties of Moidart, Arisaig, Moror, and Knoidart on the mainland, and the isles of Uist, Barra, Rum, Egg, and Harris, were assigned or confirmed to him and his heirs by charter dated at Scone, March 9, 1371-2. Several succeeding charters are also extant, similarly making or renewing grants of mainland properties for various reasons. John, Lord of the Isles, survived up to the year 1386 or 1387. The decease of this politic chieftain, who made himself second only in power to the sovereign, had the effect of once more dissevering, to a large extent, the Macdonald possessions.

The marriage of John I. of the Isles with Margaret, daughter of the Lord Steward, afterwards Robert II., has been mentioned. From that marriage sprung the line of his successors in the Lordship of the Isles. But, according to rather weighty authorities, John had been previously wedded to AMY MACRORY, sole sister of the last male of the line of Roderick, elder grandson of Somerled. On the reality and authenticity of this marriage, with its sequences, the much disputed claim to the honours of the chiefship of the Macdonalds in a great measure depends. The Macdonalds and (Glenarry) Macdonells of Clanranald both refer their descent and generic name to RANALD, by them held to have been a legitimate son of John by this first marriage with Amy MacRory, and the oldest who left a line of surviving issue. This point will be noticed at some length at the close of the annals of the actual Lords of the Isles. It is but necessary to mention here, that Ranald, as one of the sons of John, was very largely endowed at all events on the mainland of the Western Highlands, and also obtained various island properties; so that the proper or titular Lords of the Isles were shorn of a great part of their possessions at the death of John, and more than ever merited thenceforth their specific island designation.

DONALD, son of John by Margaret Stewart, and his indubitable successor in the Lordship of the Isles, possessed no slight share of his father's spirit and capacity. Notwithstanding his relationship to the throne, he soon gave evidence, also, of a similar guiding resolve to attain a condition of complete independence. He could only effect this end at the period by forming alliances with the English; and, as observed, the sole plea justificatory of such conduct is, that he and his race deemed themselves the true sovereigns of at least the north-west of

Scotland. At all events, in the year 1388, after the death of his sire, Donald is found negotiating with Richard II. in the character of an absolute prince. Twelve years later, Donald visited England under a safe-conduct from Henry IV., and treaties are extant, betwixt the same parties, of the dates of 1405 and 1408 A.D.

A tempting opportunity to enlarge his demesnes led Donald at length into a position of serious and avowed hostility to the Scottish government, then headed by the Regent Duke of Albany. The Lord of the Isles had wedded Lady Margaret Leslie, only daughter of the Countess of Ross; and Alexander, Earl of Ross, sole brother of the said Lady Margaret, having left at his decease but one child, Euphemia, who chose to take the veil, Donald came forward, claimed, and seized the Ross earldom in right of his wife. But to permit of this acquisition would have rendered him far too formidable, and the Earl of Mar, on the part of government, moved against him with a strong army. The Islesmen mustered in still greater force, numbering about ten thousand men in all. A battle took place at Harlaw, ten miles from Aberdeen, into which district Donald had penetrated either for the purpose of plundering, or more probably with the ulterior hope of re-conquering for the Gael the whole of the north of Scotland. The famous fight of Harlaw, which occurred in 1411, was most obstinately contested, each party claiming the victory. It so far broke the strength of both of them, however, that the Lord of the Isles was obliged to retreat, and the others had no power to pursue him. But the Regent Albany, whose daughter Isabel was mother to Euphemia the Nun of Ross, came afterwards to the north in person, and compelled the chief for the time to resign his claims to Ross. Albany obtained from his grand-daughter a resignation of her right in favour of himself and his direct male line. Donald died about the year 1427, and was succeeded by his son Alexander.

ALEXANDER, Lord of the Isles, was a man of spirit and ability like his sire and grandsire, and was deeply imbued with the same wish to restore a Gaelic monarchy of the north in his own person and house. But in his day the throne of Scotland was occupied by James I., then relieved from his long English captivity, a sovereign of very superior talents, and both willing and able to bend to submission his most powerful vassals. So Alexander soon found by bitter experience. James summoned him to a parliament at Inverness; and reprimanded him sharply, but pardoned him finally. The haughty chief of the Isles and Lord of Ross was so little sensible of any act of favour being done to him, that, after burning and razing Inverness, he was audacious enough to meet James in a pitched battle in Lochaber. His mainland supporters in that region, however, and particularly the Camerons and Clan-Chattan, would not stand by him against the monarch in person; and, being utterly defeated, he fled to the recesses of his Isles. Forced by the king's active pursuit to lower his crest, he made various subsequent attempts at reconciliation with James, through friends; but the answering demand of the king was ever for an *unconditional and personal submission*. Driven to yield by necessity, Alexander, galling to his pride as it must have been, at length not only took the step required, but took it singularly and effectively. He repaired privately to Edinburgh, and, on Easter Monday (A.D. 1429) presented himself before the king during the service of the day in Holyrood Chapel, attired in a linen vest and drawers merely. He knelt down thus before all the court as spectators, and, placing his life in the hands of the sovereign, delivered up his sword, and besought mercy. The queen, Jane of Somerset, deeply moved by the spectacle of such a reverse of fortune, entreated forgiveness for the suppliant; and James spared his life, but sent him to durance in the Castle of Tantallon. The Countess of Ross, his mother and supposed instigator to rebellious measures, was also confined to the isle of Inchcolm. By her death immediately afterwards, Alexander became Earl of Ross by descent and right, and not simply in name. The scaffold had extinguished the claims of the house of Albany.

The imprisonment of Alexander formed but a plea for fresh risings among his clan and friends. The party originally heading them was Donald Balloch, son or grandson probably of Ruald, and cousin of the Lord of the Isles. The

mainland raids committed by this personage forced the king to hunt him out of Scotland into Ireland, whence his head was ultimately sent to James. He and his abettors seem to have deserved even so hard a fate. Buchanan relates a story of a poor widow of this epoch, who, being harried of all her little property, threatened to carry her complaints to the throne. The leader of her assailants caused ordinary horse-shoes to be actually nailed to her feet, and then tauntingly told her, that "she was now fitted for the roughest road." The woman recovered, nevertheless, and did at last reach the royal presence; when James caused the man who had injured her to be similarly shod, and made him promenade thus in public, as a monument of regal justice, previously to his capital execution. Alexander of the Isles received from the Scottish monarch (in 1431) a free pardon, and his liberty; and though he subsequently joined the secret Douglas confederacy against the crown, he never again embroiled himself with it directly. He died in the year 1447 or 1448, leaving by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of the Lord of Gordon, two sons John and Hugh, and, as some writers say, a third named Celestine. Alexander had also two daughters, Margaret (Countess of Sutherland), and Florence (wedded to Macintosh of Macintosh).

His successor, JOHN II., Lord of the Isles, and also Earl of Ross, pursued the paternal policy of forming unions with the adversaries of the Lowland or Scottish throne, but displayed little of that activity of spirit which had rendered his predecessors so formidable. The power of the Scottish monarchs, besides, had for several reigns been gradually on the increase, that of the Island lords continuing as certainly on the decline. John II. is to be found treating with England in 1462 in the old fashion, as an absolute prince. The proposition of Edward IV. was, to give to the Lords of the Isles all Scotland north of the Frith of Forth, himself, in case of a successful invasion, receiving the sovereignty of the Lowlands. Edward, however, soon found the Wars of the Roses at home quite enough to occupy his hands; and he executed a treaty of peace with James III. of Scotland in 1474, when the secret dealings of John of the Isles were unscrupulously made public by his southern ally. The chief of the Macdonalds then found himself underlying a charge of high treason, as well as charges of tampering with the Douglasses, and of pillaging Bute and other regions. The Records of Parliament show him to have been forfeited and outlawed in 1475. He only prevented an armed invasion of the Isles by making his full submission, and ceding formally the Ross Earldom, with the hereditary Sheriffships of Inverness and Nairn. He was then rehabilitated, and, as a compensation for his large cessions, was created a Peer of Parliament by the old local, though hitherto unsenatorial, title of LORD OF THE ISLES. The earldom of Ross was annexed to the crown.

The latter third and more of the life of John II. is involved in obscurity. The authority of Mr Skene is usually to be received as of no common weight, but the account given by him of this portion of the Macdonald annals does not consist with unquestionable facts. As such, the statements in the national collections of *Fœdera* (Treaties), and the *Records of Parliament*, ought certainly to be regarded; and a preference must be given to their testimony over the counter-assertions of ancient private annalists. Some of the latter parties seem to assert that John II., who had no children by Elizabeth Livingston (daughter of Lord Livingston), had yet "a natural son begotten of Macduffie of Colonsay's daughter, and Angus Og, his legitimate son, by the Earl of Angus's daughter." No mention of this Angus marriage occurs in any one public document relating to the Lords of the Isles, or to the Douglasses, then Earls of Angus. On the other hand, the acknowledged wife of John of the Isles, Elizabeth Livingston, was certainly alive in 1475, at which date he, among other charges, is accused of making "his bastard son" a lieutenant to him in "insurrectionary convocations of the lieges;" and Angus could therefore come of no second marriage. He indubitably is the same party still more distinctly named in subsequent Parliamentary Records as "Angus of the Isles, *bastard son* to umquhile John of the Isles." The attribution of noble and legitimate birth to Angus, took its origin, without doubt, in the circumstance of John's want of

children by marriage having raised his natural son to a high degree of power in the clan, which the active character of Angus well fitted him to use as he willed. That power was still further established by his being named in 1476 as principal heir of entail to his father, when the latter submitted to the crown and obtained his seat in Parliament; but in that very deed of entail his illegitimacy is stated once more with equal clearness, and he was only to succeed failing other heirs of the body of John. However, in the absence of any such legal issue, Angus wielded all the authority of an heir-apparent, and appears, by his violence, to have involved the tribe in perpetual disturbances. When his father resisted him, he even fought with his parent. An unnatural naval contest between the two, near to the isle of Coll, holds a place in Highland traditions, and is called the "Battle of the Bloody Bay." The son overcame the sire, but died soon afterwards. John, Lord of the Isles, went also to the grave in 1498; but in that very year he had been again outlawed and forfeited by Parliament, chiefly for English negotiations. The independent rule of the Lords of the Isles now truly came to a close permanently and decisively. It was at this period that various chiefs who had hitherto held of the island-lords were gifted with new and distinct charters under the crown, and, more peculiarly, the *Macranalds* (Clanranald), the *Macleods* of Harris, and the *Duart Macleans*, all of them already numerous clans.

HUGH, full brother of John II., Lord of the Isles, died nearly about the same time with him, but left a line which indubitably had the clearest direct claims, as legitimate descendants, to the family honours and inheritance. Here, however, the paction of John II. with the crown in 1476 stood in the way of a peaceable settlement. Angus, there nominated heir in case of the failure of legitimate issue, had received from the first Earl of Argyre the hand of his fifth daughter Lady Mary, the contract styling the bridegroom Angus Macdonald, "*natural son and heir of tailzie*" to John of the Isles,—and thus giving another proof of his birth. The ordinary, if not the best, authorities say that he had no children by this lady; but he left one son, named DONALD, at all events, and whether that son did or not merit his common name of The Bastard is of no actual consequence. Donald was the offspring of Angus, and Angus was heir of tailzie to John of the Isles; and this was ground enough for serious disturbances. The seizure of the youthful object of these followed, and he lay in Inchconnel castle for forty years. When released, his claims were renewed; but the clans related or attached to the Macdonalds would not support a cause at best so doubtful. Donald, finding it necessary to revert to Ireland for succours, is understood to have died in that country about A.D. 1545.

The legitimate line of the race of DONALD, son of John I. by Margaret Stewart, was now represented, beyond all question, by the descendants of John's brother Hugh; and through Donald, of course, the line went directly back to the great founder, SOMERLED. Hugh wedded, firstly, Fynvola, daughter of Alexander Macian of Ardnamurchan, and, secondly, Mary, daughter of the chief of the clan Gun, leaving by the latter at least one son, Donald. By a charter confirmed under the Great Seal in 1495, John, Lord of the Isles, had granted to his brother Hugh, "Lord of Sleat," in the Isle of Skye, a variety of merk-lands in that and the adjacent isles of North Uist, Benbecula, Scalpa, and others. DONALD, son of Hugh, called usually Hucheson's-son, or Huchesonson, died in 1506, and was succeeded by a second DONALD, whose younger brother James was ancestor of the Macdonalds of Kingsborough. The second Donald of Sleat took to wife a daughter of the house of Moidart, and had by her a third DONALD, his heir.

As the claim by entail of Angus (son of John II.) and his son Donald ceased with the death of the latter in Ireland, as mentioned, the Sleat family now asserted their right to the Lordship of the Isles, as lawful heirs-male of John II. But James V. thought it prudent to keep that great family power dissevered, as it had been left by circumstances; and Donald of Sleat, while besieging Elandounan Castle in 1537, in an attempt to recover his rights by arms, was shot dead by an arrow. He was forfeited in consequence of his rising, but his

lands were restored to his son and heir, usually named **DONALD GORME MACDONALD**, by Margaret Macleod of the Lewis family. Donald Gorme was a man of superior abilities, and favoured highly by James VI., to whom he did important service in maintaining the peace of the Isles. From this period, it may be observed, the family were loyal to the crown, and firm supporters of the national constitution and laws; and it is also worthy of notice that nearly all the clans attached to the old Lords of the Isles, on the failure of the more direct line in the person of John, transferred their warmest affections to those royal Stewarts whose throne they had before so often and so alarmingly shaken. This circumstance, as all men know, became strikingly apparent when misfortunes fell heavily in turn on the Stewarts. Warmth of feeling and imagination, however, has ever markedly characterised all branches of the Celtic family. In their highly excitable temperaments Idealism predominates, and has always predominated, since "Fingal fought and Ossian sung." The appeal of distress has at all times moved them more than the command of authority; and hence, in part, arose that ardent loyalty to the down-stricken Stewarts, which had been for ages denied to their enthroned ancestors.

Donald Gorme was succeeded in 1616 by his nephew, also named **DONALD GORME MACDONALD**, who, being much in grace with Charles I., was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, with the precedency of second on the roll. He performed considerable services to royalty during the Civil Wars, and died in 1643. He had several sons and daughters. His heir, **SIR JAMES MACDONALD**, is mentioned as a man of excellent abilities and great northern influence; adhering to the royal cause, he joined Montrose, and afterwards, was indebted to his distant position for his safety. His son **SIR DONALD** succeeded him in 1678, and was followed by another **SIR DONALD** in 1695, who joined the rebellion of 1715. The estates were forfeited in consequence, but only for a brief period. A third **SIR DONALD**, his son, deceasing without issue two years afterwards, his uncle became **SIR JAMES MACDONALD** of Sleat. In 1723, the baronetcy fell to his son **SIR ALEXANDER**, who, by supporting the cause of the Established Government in 1745, was held to have done it most important service, and received the warm thanks of the reigning family. At his decease in 1746, he left two sons James and Alexander, successively baronets of Sleat; and a third son, Archibald, was born posthumously. Archibald entered at the English Bar, filled successively the offices of Solicitor and Attorney General, and finally became Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in England in 1793. The Right Honourable Sir Archibald Macdonald, Baronet (so created in 1813), married Lady Louisa Leveson Gower, by whom he had several children. His grandson now holds the Baronetcy.

SIR JAMES of Sleat died in 1766, at the age of twenty-five. From the testimonies given by Lord Lyttelton and others, his early death seems to have been viewed as almost a national loss, as far at least as the Highlands were concerned. Possessed of a highly cultivated mind, and endowed with the most amiable dispositions, Sir James had formed noble schemes, it is said, for the improvement of his own people and country, which, unhappily, he lived only to commence and not to complete. His brother, **SIR ALEXANDER**, succeeded, and in 1776 was elevated to the Irish peerage by the title of **LORD MACDONALD OF SLEAT**. He wedded in 1768 Elizabeth Diana, elder daughter of Godfrey-Bosville of Gunthwaite in Yorkshire, head of the English branch of the Boswells. Alexander, his eldest son by this lady, became the second Lord in 1795; but on his decease without issue, his brother **GODFREY-BOSVILLE**, heir of his maternal grandsire, succeeded as the third Baron. He died in 1832, and his eldest surviving son, **GODFREY WENTWORTH-BOSVILLE MACDONALD** inherited the family honours. He is the present and fourth Lord Macdonald of Sleat, and twelfth Baronet of his house.

The **CLAN RANALD** or **MACRANALD** branch of the **MACDONALDS** has long disputed the chieftainship of the entire clan, as already stated, with the family of Sleat, now traced down to its existing representation. The founder of the Clanranald line was indubitably **RANALD**, son of John I. of the Isles, who lived in the fourteenth century. John married, as all authorities admit, **MARGARET**

STEWART, by whom he had one son DONALD, his actual successor in the Lordship of the Isles. He had also several other children, as is likewise universally allowed. These were named John, Ranald, Alexander, and Godfrey; and there was also a second John. In this order, and after Donald, are they set down in the common and most valuable genealogical works. According to the views of the favourers of the Clanranald claims, however, three of them should be ranked before Donald, as the fruits of a marriage of John, before his Stewart alliance, with AMY MACRORY, sister of Ranald, the last male of the line of Roderick, eldest grandson of Somerled. The main proof of this marriage consists in a Papal Dispensation, rendered necessary by the relationship of the parties, and obtained in 1337. The existence of this document may be assumed, on the direct authority of Mr Skene, though he does not state where it has been preserved. The second piece of testimony founded on is the deed or treaty executed at Inverness in 1369, betwixt John of the Isles and David II., in which the former names, as hostages, his son Donald by Margaret Stewart, Angus (son of his deceased son John), and Donald, a natural son of his own. The terms in which these hostages are named lead Mr Skene to conclude that the deceased John was legitimate, and consequently that Ranald was so likewise, as being his brother of the full blood. But the Latin words of the deed are at best ambiguous. They run thus:—“*Donaldum filium meum ex filia domini SENESCALI Scotiæ genitum, Angusium filium quondam Johannis filii mei, et Donaldum quendam alium filium meum NATURALEM.*” The interpretation of the first two clauses is clear and simple:—“Donald, my son, begotten of the daughter of the Lord Seneschal of Scotland, and Angus, son of my deceased son John:”—but the last clause may be read variously. Its literal signification either is—“and Donald a certain *other natural* son of mine,” or “a certain other Donald my *natural* son.” To pronounce decisively which of these ways of interpretation is the correct one might have puzzled George Buchanan, and yet upon this Latin sentence hangs, in one point of view, the question of the chiefdom of the Macdonalds. If the sentence is to be construed into “a certain other natural son of mine,” John, the party mentioned just before, is rendered of doubtful legitimacy. The other interpretation may be, and indeed on the whole is, the simplest; but it seems strange that this obstacle (whatever may be its true value) to the recognition of the said deceased John as a legitimate son, should have been overlooked wholly by the genealogists who have found in the document one of the principal links in the chain binding Ranald to the Macdonald house, as its true representative by legal seniority of birth.

The present remarks, at the utmost, are only to be held as implying, that, by this quoted authority, the dispute betwixt the descendants of Donald and Ranald is not very decisively settled. In reality, to prove the claim of Ranald's line to be just beyond cavil, it would be necessary to establish several totally distinct points. The first is the marriage of John of the Isles with Amy Macrory. The occurrence of that event may be admitted in fairness, because, independently of the Papal Dispensation, the birth and rank of Amy almost preclude the possibility of her having been a mere concubine. The second is, the priority of that marriage; and, if allowed at all, it must be accepted as the first union of John, since Margaret Stewart, the second wife, could scarcely be born in 1337, the date of the Macrory marriage-dispensation. The third point is, whether that younger John, who is proved by the Inverness deed to have predeceased his father, was a legitimate son; and it may here again be conceded, that the terms of the Latin deed quoted rather favour, though they do not establish decisively (as has been shown), such a supposition. The fourth point is, the identity of birth of John and Ranald, as sons both of John of the Isles and Amy Macrory by marriage. Unfortunately, not one of the documents and charters, in which the two sons are mentioned, gives the name of the mother of either, or indicates them as full brothers; and this is a not unimportant circumstance, since, in the case of the other son Donald, the words, “begotten of the daughter of the Lord Seneschal of Scotland,” are so explicitly set down. But, again, it seems most probable, to say the least of it, that Ranald was a son by the Macrory union; and the grounds for this conclusion consist principally in

his treatment by his sire at the division of the family inheritance. Ranald was not used like a bastard; and if his maternal origin is not mentioned, he is at least never styled illegitimate. As will be seen, he was nobly endowed, like one having claims of strength not justly to be overlooked. Saving the marriage-dispensation, however, the whole of the evidence alluded to here, is at best but strongly presumptive, and even when admitted, it fixes not the offspring.

The remaining evidence, in favour of the claims of the Clanranald line to represent the ancient Macdonald chieftains, is weak and unsatisfactory. Their advocates name the presumed sons of John of the Isles, by Amy Macrory, in the order following—John, Godfrey, and Ranald. John was certainly dead in 1369, as is proven by the deed of that date executed at Inverness; and his son, Angus, either left no heirs or was (more probably) illegitimate. Godfrey and Ranald are then the parties whose claims fall to be considered. Godfrey is represented, on the Clanranald side of the question, as the elder of the two; and a legitimate son is moreover assigned to him in the person of an Alexander Macreury (which name is rather freely read Macgodfrey) executed at Inverness in 1428. Godfrey is found certainly alive up to 1390. It is now to be asked, in what manner this allegation of the priority of birth of Godfrey, and of the consequent possession of claims superior to Ranald's, both by the said Godfrey and his son Alexander, as the eldest surviving descendants of Amy Macrory, is sustained by *facts*? Facts fail to support it wholly. Wherefore a grant should have been specially made to Ranald (in 1372-3) by John the sire, and confirmed under the Great Seal, of *nearly all the most valuable Macdonald possessions on the mainland, as well as of various island-properties*, is utterly incomprehensible, if we are to suppose Godfrey to have been the elder brother; as he assuredly at the time existed, not to speak of his presumed son Alexander. The injustice would have been flagrant, and the whole proceeding inexplicable. Godfrey is never even once mentioned at this epoch of the liberal endowment of Ranald. Nor can this neglect be viewed as accidental, since that period was a momentous one in the family annals. It was signalised by the conjunct agreement betwixt John, Lord of the Isles, and his father-in-law, King Robert II. of Scotland, regarding the disposition of the entire Macdonald properties; and, from the fact of the transaction taking place almost immediately after Robert's ascension of the throne, it is plain that John had been anxious for some such decisive settlement as early as possible. It is natural that Robert II. should have used his influence to obtain for Donald (the son of his own daughter Margaret) a preference over the other children of John; but, from a sense of justice, or perhaps a politic desire to split up permanently the dangerous power of the Lords of the Isles, the king seems to have readily consented to the liberal apportionment of Ranald, and to have contented himself with securing the Isles and the titular lordship thereof to his own grandson. Had Godfrey been the senior of Ranald, and the eldest surviving son of a legitimate Macrory marriage, upon what conceivable principle could he be passed over in such a transaction as this? All or greater part of the lands of Moidart, Arisaig, Moror, Knoidart, Ardgour, Suinart, Lochaber, "Lettirlochty, Kilmald, Howlaste, Loche, and Locharkage," with the islands of Egge, Rum, Uist, and Barre, and the castles of "Elantyrin and Vynvawle," are among the possessions assigned to Ranald; while to Godfrey, the assumed elder son, there appears to have been granted at this most important family partition—*nothing*. The idea of Godfrey being Ranald's senior is in truth perfectly unsustainable. For desiring him to be so viewed, however, the supporters of the Clanranald claims have strong reasons. In the charter in favour of Ranald, of date 1372-3, there is a clause stating that his lands are to be held of John and his heirs. Those who maintain the validity of the Macrory marriage, and the rights of its assumed offspring, are therefore under the necessity of interposing Godfrey before Ranald, otherwise the allusion to "the heirs" of the latter would be inexplicable, unless by applying the words to the descendants of Margaret Stewart. It would be singular, indeed, if Ranald had been appointed to hold of himself and his own heirs, as must otherwise be concluded. All that can be made out respecting any possessions of Godfrey is, that he at one time

held a part of the Uist Isles, and Elantyre Castle ; but it seems far more likely, as these were previously accorded by Charter to Ranald, that they were held under or by gift of the latter than that the latter was a holder under Godfrey. The further notion that Ranald, or his sons, possessors of nearly one half of the vast Macdonald properties, held their lands of the conjectural son of Godfrey, Alexander (called "Of Garmoran," a designation as indefinite as that "Of the Isles"), seems not to merit attention seriously. The heirs of John I., of whom Ranald was to hold, were obviously the offspring of Margaret Stewart, or of Donald, her son, succeeding Lord of the Isles. The fact is placed beyond doubt, indeed, by the substitution of crown charters for the old ones at the forfeiture and death of John II.

It is by no means to be assumed from these remarks, that Ranald is therefore here held as illegitimate. On the contrary, though the effort to establish the seniority of Godfrey is to be regarded as a failure, the presumptive evidence, as before explained, is still in favour of the regular and legal descent of Ranald, at least, from a first marriage of John with Amy Macrory. While the large possessions which he received in 1372-3 point to him plainly as the eldest living son of his especial line, they, with almost equal force, indicate his legitimacy. The cause of the Lordship of the Isles being assigned to Donald, a younger son, is assuredly difficult to be understood ; but it appears likely that Robert II. instigated that act in favour of his grandson, while assenting, at the same time, to a full provision for Ranald otherwise. One conjectural explanation, if adopted, would throw a light on this whole complicated business. If John wedded Amy, as has been admitted here upon (or mainly upon) the evidence of the missive from the pope, he assuredly did so when very young. If we suppose the marriage to have *preceded* the procuration of the papal dispensation, the dubious position of the offspring thereof would then become perfectly intelligible. In our days, and in our eyes, there would be no blot on the legitimacy of the children of parties related only in the third or fourth degree of cousinry ; but it was not so in old times. Public feeling and the laws would alike have debarred the succession of children so born. Hence, very possibly, arose the acquiescence of Ranald and his immediate descendants in the conference of the Lordship of the Isles on Donald, son of Margaret Stewart, and his succeeding heirs. As to legal objections thereto, Robert II. and John of the Isles could in their time overrule these easily.

The various facts and probabilities now stated respecting the Clanranald claim to the Macdonald chiefship may convince many inquirers *morally* ; but there the force of the evidence ceases, it must be allowed, in a great measure. A second disputed point, affecting the special chiefship of Clanranald itself, calls for but a few explanatory observations. Ranald, son of John II., Lord of the Isles, and the often mentioned head of the Clanranald Macdonalds, is said to have left three sons who had issue—namely, Donald, from whom descended the families of Knoidart and Glengarry ; Allan, ancestor of the family of Moidart ; and Angus, from whom came the family of Moror. The family of Moror ere long became extinct. The Knoidart branch, in the fifteenth century, suffered many and serious reverses ; and they also died out finally. These circumstances led the Moidart section of Clanranald to assume the headship of the family, though the branch of Glengarry existed, claiming to have sprung from Donald's second son, Alaster. This assumption was originally made, according to the statements on the side of Glengarry, by John of Moidart, a natural son of the head of that house. He took the title of CAPTAIN OF CLANRANALD ; and the members of his line have kept it ever since. It must be owned, that, in the majority of Gaelic cases, as will appear afterwards, wherever this title of CAPTAIN occurs, its origin seems referable to some party who assumed or was raised for his superior abilities to the heading of a clan, but dared not at the time, or sought not, to call himself its CHIEF. However, on the other hand, the family long holding the title of Captains of Clanranald have altogether denied (and not without fair reasons) the original seniority of the Knoidart line ; nor do they admit that the line of the true Clanranald captains had an illegitimate source originally. On this point it is not necessary here to pronounce. Justice has

been done to the genealogy of the family generally, and, in particular, on the main question in which an interest is felt by its countless descendants.

The line of the Moidart Macdonalds has been represented by nearly twenty chiefs, from the founder, Allan Macranald, grandson of John I., Lord of the Isles. The first Captain of Clanranald was sprung from Ranald I. (as he may be called) in the following order of succession: Allan, Roderick, Allan, Ranald, and Ranald. The latter Ranald was overturned and succeeded, as is told in common accounts, by John of Moidart, the first of the house named Captain of Clanranald, as before related. He only obtained the headship of the house of Moidart after a severe battle called the battle of Blairleine, fought in the middle of the sixteenth century; and if he was a natural son, which is doubtful, he at least was on a footing with his opponent's sons, who were also in that condition. Their legitimation after a time failed to unseat John of Moidart, and the present Captain of Clanranald, Reginald-George Macdonald, is his lineal descendant. He was born in 1788, and wedded, in 1812, Lady Catherine Anne Edgecumbe, daughter of the Earl of Mount Edgecumbe. His son and heir is Reginald-John-James-George, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy.

The Macdonells of Glengarry claim to have sprung, as said, from Donald, supposed eldest son of Ranald, son of John I. of the Isles. Certainly Donald received a large share of property, if Knoidart with Glengarry went to him and his line. When the Knoidart branch expired, Glengarry claimed the headship of Clanranald; and Alaster or Alexander, fourth from Donald, raised the house greatly by marrying the heiress of Lochalsh, daughter of Celestine of the Isles. The fourth from Alaster was Aeneas or Angus, who was created Lord Macdonell and Arross by Charles II. He was heired in his estates by his cousin Alaster of Scothouse, also created a peer by James VII. after his abdication. From him the line was continued down to Alexander Ranaldson, who married Rebecca, daughter of Sir W. Forbes of Pitsligo, in 1802, and from whom descended the present chief, Aeneas Ranaldson Macdonell, fourteenth chief of Glengarry, since the time of Ranald son of John I.

The Clans or Septs sprung from the Macdonalds, or adhering to and incorporated with that family, though bearing subsidiary names, were very numerous. One point peculiarly marks the various tribes of the Gael of the coasts, as this great connection has already been called, and that is the device of a *Lymphad* or old fashioned *Oared Galley*, assumed and borne in their arms. It indicates strongly a common origin and site. The Macdonalds, MacIachlans, Macdougals, Macneils, Macleans, and Campbells, as well as the Macphersons, Macintoshes, and others, carry and have always carried such a galley in their armorial shields. Some families of Macdonald descent do not bear it; and indeed, at most, it simply proves a common coast origin, or an early location by the western lochs and lakes. The Macalisters (represented by Macalister of Loup and Kennox) are an undoubted offshoot of the Macdonalds, and indeed profess to represent the Lords of the Isles after Glengarry. The Macians of Ardnamurchan were at one time a strong sept, claiming origin and name (Mac-John) from John, fourth in descent from Somerled of the Isles. The Glencoe Macdonalds are of the same origin. Their melancholy fate is a part of the history of the land. The Macdonalds of Keppoch, once ranking among the strongest secondary branches of the family of the Isles, owe their origin to a son of John I., or rather did do so—for, as James Hogg says, "Where now is bold Keppoch, the loved of Lochaber?" His name is known in Lochaber "no more!"

In this work genealogical history takes precedence, and that of the Macdonalds is so lengthy that it has excluded all other matters. And yet, when all is told, we remain much of the opinion of honest Duncan Forbes of Culloden. There are five houses of the Macdonalds (he tells us) all claiming a lineal descent from the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles (Sleat, Glengarry, Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glencoe); but "none of them have any clear evidents to vouch the same." It is true; but we have still given this great clan-history as fairly as might be. Certainly, the heads of the house were the last GAELIC KINGS of Scotland. Their descendants are now all on the footing of

ordinary proprietors of land, holders of estates under the crown, like the common gentry of the country. And is it really a matter of regret that such should be the case, even if the issue could possibly have been otherwise? We love and admire the pictures given of Highland prowess and fidelity in the times of old, as we do the similar pictures presented by Homer; but, as reason tells us that the large-limbed Achilles, and the ox-slaying Ajax, are not men for these days, so also does it indeed object to the resuscitation of the heroes of the airy hall of Fingal. Looking at a much more recent period than that of Ossian, we find a state of society fitted for and created by the exigencies of the times, but utterly incompatible with the modern condition of things. The late Macdonell of Glengarry attempted to revive many of the old Gaelic customs, but the retainers whom he fed, clothed, and sheltered, and who in other days would have been to him a strong and even necessary mean of defence, and indeed a source of solid profit, were, in our advanced age, merely productive of useless and ruinous expenditure. Glengarry, and other Highland chiefs besides, found to their cost, that, to keep their due place in the society of polished capitals, they required to adopt the same territorial management and habits which enable other landholders to dwell and shine in such spheres. Not doing so, they were lost. And again, it may be asked, is this altered state of things seriously to be regretted, even if it could be avoided? No doubt it is most painful to see the Gaelic chieftains and people, with their deep and fervent local attachments, removing by degrees from the lands of their sires, and giving place to strangers; but the whole is very obviously the result of a great law of nature, the action of which cannot be checked by human means. The native landed proprietors who have old-fashionedly attempted to stand in its way have almost to a man been ruined; and then has the unavoidable change come on in a compulsory and aggravated shape. If the Highlands could be shut closely up from the rest of Britain, and the world at large, the inhabitants might perhaps remain so far as they were of old, though even then only for a short season; but, penetrated as the country of necessity has been by canals and railroads, and opened up as it is to visitors of all descriptions, it must infallibly be affected by all those alterative influences which are in such active and wondrous operation elsewhere. The ultimate effects must be for the good of all. Since the onward progression of our race results from the obvious decrees of Providence, it would be rash and wrong indeed, to assume that it can finally lead to evil. *The difficulty lies in the period or stage of transition and change.* To soften the hardships of that epoch to all concerned therein, is the grand point which should be aimed at by men of enlightened and benevolent minds. Innovation must inevitably affect more and more deeply the hills and dales of the Highlands for many a day to come, and the object, then, we repeat, should be—not to throw futile obstacles in its way—but to mitigate the severity of the irruption to the natives of that romantic land. Publicly and privately this end ought to be kept in view. It should be ever in the minds of the native Highland proprietors themselves; it should be remembered by those who attain to new power and possessions there; and, lastly, though not leastly, it should never be forgotten by the authorities and government of the general country.

Must, then, the whole Gaelic people move, it may be asked, from the region of their sires? No such idea is here intentionally conveyed. But, exclaim against the change as men may, the alteration of the Highland properties now in progress must proceed farther and yet farther—large single farms everywhere taking the place of multitudinous cot-holdings. The infallible issue must be the withdrawal of their means of subsistence from numberless families of the Gael, far and wide. A good and kind chief, who lives much upon his property, and limits his expenses to the old rate of rents, may for a time avert the consummation mentioned, but only for a time. All that the land can yield will ere long be sought from it by the owners; and the legal right to take it cannot be denied, though the native Highland chiefs, above all land-holders, are morally bound to exercise such rights temperately. The poorest around them are often of their near kindred; and when charters were granted to the head, they were granted for the benefit of all in past days. But these circumstances



Maclachlan of Maclachlan

will not alter the natural course of things, and tend but to show how incumbent it is on the Gaelic proprietors to aid warmly in softening the effects of progressing innovation to the native population. This principle has been acted on already, it is but fair to say, though there have been exceptions. The public, too, have again and again done nobly, both in advancing the character and comforts of the resident people of the Scottish Highlands, and in providing new homes for those whom circumstances have deprived of the old. But, while we trust that many and many a native of the Highland glens will yet find the means of life there, let change do its utmost, those that are fated to remove must also be numerous, and for their good, in our opinion, large and liberal aid is yet required. The necessity of the case should be admitted and fronted boldly, instead of being vainly and indeed harmfully disputed and denied.

These remarks are incidental, but not out of place here. The Clanranald Macdonalds have been more deeply affected by modern events and changes, such as have been described, than any other clan in the north of Scotland. Their great possessions have dwindled away, island and mainland, by sea and lake. If the preceding observations have been read aright, it will be seen that they are viewed here as the victims of circumstances, rather than otherwise. Their position had become a false one. High rank and place in the busy world produced calls incompatible with the continuance of patriarchal and liberal chiefship at home. They tried to blend the two, and failed, as might have been foreseen. It is a lesson to all who deem that the Gaelic life of old and the life of modern days can ever be united harmoniously.

ARMS OF MACDONALD (OF THE ISLES).

The Arms borne by other Macdonalds may be given afterwards.

ARMS. Quarterly: First, Argent, a lion rampant, gules. Second, Or, a hand in armour, holding a cross crosslet fitchee, gules. Third, Or, a row galley, or lymphad, the sails furled up, sable. Fourth, Vert, a salmon naiant, in fess, proper.

CREST. A hand in armour, holding a cross crosslet, fitchee, gules.

SUPPORTERS. Two tigers, tenne, collared, Or, armed and langued, gules.

MOTTO. *Per mare, per terras* (By sea and land).

BADGE. Heath.



THE CLAN MACLACHLAN.

The family of MACLACHLAN, still represented by an undoubted head, the existing Laird of Strathlachlan, is a branch of the Coast-Gael which has never risen, through position and other circumstances, above a somewhat secondary place. Yet it has taken part in many important events in the general annals of the Gaelic family; nor was it undistinguished of old by chieftains of renown and ability. An MS. of the presumed date of 1450, discovered by Mr Skene, and rested on by him as a very important authority, traces the Maclachlans to "Gilchrist, the son of Dedaalan, who was son of that Anradan from whom all the clans of this tribe are descended." This statement, however, refers to a period much too remote to be of sterling value. The simple fact seems to be, that the Maclachlans were clearly of the same prominent section of the Celts which was headed by the chiefs of the Somerled line. "Universal tradition asserts that they acquired their lands in Cowal by marriage with an heiress of the Lamonts, and the MS. apparently indicates the same fact." Such are the words of Mr Skene; but as he ever expresses an invincible dislike to allow of all or any intermarriages with heiresses, where the bridegrooms were *not Celts* but strangers, we must be allowed to hold the present matter as not very fully decided. Certainly, there is far better evidence for the marriages of Norman and Saxon barons with Celtic heiresses, than there is for a union of the Mac lachlans with the Lamonts. "Universal tradition" would settle three such marriages in the annals of the Campbells alone (Lorn, Glenorchy, and Cawdor). Nor could anything be more natural than that the Scottish kings, when calling in the aid of southron lords and knights to keep down the high-spirited tribes of the west and north, should have fixed on the plan of rewarding these auxiliaries with the hands of heiresses, wherever the crown could so exercise

its then important powers and privileges. No doubt, it even overstrained them often to effect the end in view. But, on the whole, the plan was the most feasible one imaginable for pleasing and satisfying all parties, and permanently ensuring the peace of the country. This point will be recurred to in noticing the annals of other clans.

The history of the Maclachlans is involved and embraced in that of the Coast-Gael generally—of the race who took the *Oared Galley* for their special device. It is therefore so far devoid of interest individually; but the members of the house will often be noticed in speaking of the career of other clans. The Maclachlans were always seated, seemingly, in that portion of Argyleshire called Cowal. It forms a peninsula in the south-eastern quarter of the county, and lies betwixt Loch Long and Loch Fyne, being intersected also by a lake called Loch Eck. The general name of Cowal is still borne by the entire district, but of this district the former lords possess now but a small portion. From them the name of Strathlachlan is given to the small remnant of territory in question, which lies on the upper and eastern shore of Loch Fyne.

The general descent of the Maclachlans has been adverted to, as well as the statement that they owed their landed acquisitions to a marriage with the Lamonts. It may be generally recollected, however, that the name of Lochlin is a familiar one even in the Ossianic strains; and the Irish annalists distinctly attribute the origin of the Scottish house to the O'Loughlins of Meath. It is quite possible that the family may have come from Ireland to Scotland at an earlier date than the MacSomerleds, and indeed the assigned date is the second century of the Christian era. As to their being of the race of the Milesians, or Spanish colonists of Ireland, while the existence of such a people at all is very questionable, much more so is the Milesian connection with Scotland. It may be held as probable, nevertheless, that the Maclachlans sprung from the *Gael* of the Green Isle, or rather that they formed a very old branch of the stock of the Coast-Gael, largely commingled with immigrants from that country. The Lochlins of Ossian almost prove the mere antiquity of the family beyond disputing.

The venerable President of the Scottish Court of Session, Duncan Forbes, says of this family simply:—"In Gaelic called Clan Lachlin. The Laird of Maclachlin is their chief. He can raise three hundred men." Though the family is neither extinct as yet in head nor in members, it is to be feared that these words, applicable shortly before 1745, are not so now. The present chief, Robert Maclachlan, Esq., of Maclachlan, inhabits Castle Lachlan, on the Loch Fyne shores, and near to the ancient but now ruinous mansion of his sires. Buchanan of Auchmar, in his account of his own and other clan families, notices the chief cadets of the Maclachlan line, and his account may be quoted, though, at this day, it may be but in part consistent with the truth. "The next to that (the chief's) family is Colin Maclachlan, the present Laird of Maclachlan's uncle. There are also the Maclachlans of Craigintairrow, Inchconell, and divers others heritors of that surname in the said shire (of Argyre); as also Maclachlan of Anchintroig, in the shire of Stirling, in favour of Celestine Maclachlan, one of whose ancestors, Duncan, Earl of Lennox, confirms a charter, granted by Eugene Mackessan of Garchels, to one of the said Celestine's ancestors, which confirmation is dated in the year 1394, and eighth year of the reign of King Robert III. There is another numerous sept of the Maclachlans residing in Morven and Lochaber, the principal person of these being Maclachlan of Corryuanan in Lochaber. Of this family is Maclachlan of Drumblane in Monteith, with others of that surname there. Those of this sept residing in Lochaber, depend upon the Laird of Lochiel."

ARMS OF MACLACHLAN OF MACLACHLAN.

ARMS. Four coats quarterly: First, Or, or as some, argent, a lion rampant, gules. Second, argent, a hand coupee fessways, holding a cross crosslet fitchee, gules. Third, Or, a galley, her oars in saltire, sable, placed in a sea, proper. Fourth, argent, in a base undee, vert a salmon naiant, proper.

SUPPORTERS Two roe-bucks proper.

MOTTO. *Fortis et fidus* (Brave and faithful).

BADGE. Mountain Ash (by others said to be Broom).



Lamont of Lamont

CLAN LAMONT OF LAMONT.

THIS small Clan is one of undoubted antiquity and standing in the region yet so far possessed by its chiefs. The Lamonts have held possessions in Argyleshire almost literally from time immemorial; or, at least, they can trace their ancestry back to the era of the very earliest Celtic colonisation of the west of Scotland. How they came to be so utterly severed from the Gael in point of name, it would be difficult to say. They are traced by Mr Skene to a certain Angus Macrory; though really, when one considers the casual origin of all Highland names, much stress cannot be laid on the testimony adduced. Still it is founded on the best documents which tradition, song, and history have left to us, and must be accepted as the most rational that can be obtained. Besides, we have here the evidence of actual and solid charters to vindicate the truth of the close of the story, which is told as follows by our predecessor in this walk of literature, who seems certainly forgetful on the occasion, however, of his rule to acknowledge no marriage of a newcomer with an heiress of the Celtic race. Macrory, we need scarcely say, is but a synonyme for Macdonald.

“There are few traditions more universally believed in the Highlands, or which can be traced back to an earlier period, than that the Lamonts were the most ancient proprietors of Cowall, and that the Stewarts, MacIachlans, and Campbells obtained their possessions in that district by marriage with daughters of that family. At an early period we find that a small part of Upper Cowall was included in the sheriffdom of Argyle, while the rest of the district remained in the shire of Perth; it is plain, therefore, that the Lord of Lower Cowall had, on the conquest of Argyle by Alexander II., submitted to the king, and obtained a crown charter. Towards the end of the same century, we find the High Steward in possession of Lower Cowall, and the MacIachlans in that of Strathlachlan; and as it appears that, in 1242, Alexander the High Steward married Jean, the daughter of James, son of Angus Macrory, said to be Lord of Bute, while the manuscript of 1450 informs us, that about the same period Gilchrist MacIachlan married the daughter of Lachlan Macrory, it seems probable that this Roderic or Rory was the person who obtained the crown charter of Lower Cowall, and that by these marriages the property passed to the Stewarts and MacIachlans. The identity of these facts with the tradition at the same time indicate that Angus Macrory was the ancestor of the Lamonts.

“After the marriage of the Stewart with his heiress, the next of the Lamonts whom we trace is ‘Duncanus filius Ferchar,’ and ‘Laumanus filius Malcolmi nepos ejusdem Duncani,’ who grant a charter to the monks of Paisley of the lands of Kilnor near Lochgilp, and of the lands ‘*quas nos et antecessores nostri apud Kilnurn habuerunt.*’ In the same year there is a charter by Laumanus filius Malcolmi, of Kilfinan, and this last charter is confirmed in 1295 by ‘Malcolmus filius et hæres domini quondam Laumani.’ That this Laumanus was the ancestor of the Lamonts is proved by an instrument, in 1466, between the monastery of Paisley and John Lamont of that ilk, regarding the lands of Kilfinan, in which it is expressly said that these lands had belonged to John Lamont’s ancestors. From Laumanus the Clan appear to have taken the name of MacIaman or Lamont; and previous to Laumanus they unquestionably bore the name of MACERACHAR, and Clan ic Earachar. There is one peculiarity connected with the Lamonts, that although by no means a powerful Clan, their genealogy can be proved by charters, at a time when most other Highland families are obliged to have recourse to the uncertain lights of tradition and the genealogies of their ancient sennachies; but their great antiquity could not protect the Lamonts from the encroachments of the Campbells, by whom they were soon reduced to as small a portion of their original possessions in Lower Cowall as the other Argyleshire Clans had been of theirs. As a Clan, the Lamonts were of very much the same station as the MacIachlans, and, like them, they have still retained a part of their ancient possessions.”

This account of the Lamonts is the best which it is in our power to give.

and to Mr Skene are thanks due for this general notice. His words have been quoted almost literally. But who can fail to see that they were a Clan either crushed by the weight of the encroaching Lowlanders, or absorbed in that race and the more fortunate Gael around, like so many others in the same circumstances? They were of the pure Gaelic blood, it seems most probable; but they were located (as the Yankees say) too near to the Lowlands to have a chance of maintaining their place against the mingled inhabitants of that district. They fell with others of the Gael; and that singular race, the Campbells, who have ousted so many families from the shires of Argyle and Perth, obtained the main lands of the Lamonts as well as of their neighbours. The "Campbells are coming" is a song that might truly be sung with painful feelings by many Highland houses, though all the difference betwixt them lies in more successful adventure, we believe, on the part of Argyle, Breadalbane, and Cawdor (Calder). And yet there is something very curious in the position of this family of the Campbells. Argyle and Perth, two great shires, have been half engulphed by its fortunate encroachments. True it is that the men, and even the gentry, bearing the name—itsself a mystery, as we shall see in due time—are certainly not all Campbells, but Gaelic houses of varied denominations, enlisted into its ranks through necessity, or because they could not help themselves otherwise. But the wonder still remains, that this name and race have been able to swallow up so many others, lands and all, leaving but to a few, like Lamont and Macdougall, a corner of the ancient patrimonies of their families. For the name of Lamont, we must either conclude that it originated in some chief *of the hills* (*De Le-Mont*), who had gained celebrity in his day and generation, or that the name of Lamont is simply a version of Lomond, near to which lake they dwelt.

Nisbet, who certainly is honest, though not always correct, says that "this family is from Ireland," and gives us the following account of their arms, which are in very bad Latin. We give the fairest sense.

ARMS.

Azure, a white lion rampant.

CREST. A hand couped at the wrist, proper.

MOTTO. *Nec percas, nec spernas* (Neither destroy nor despise).

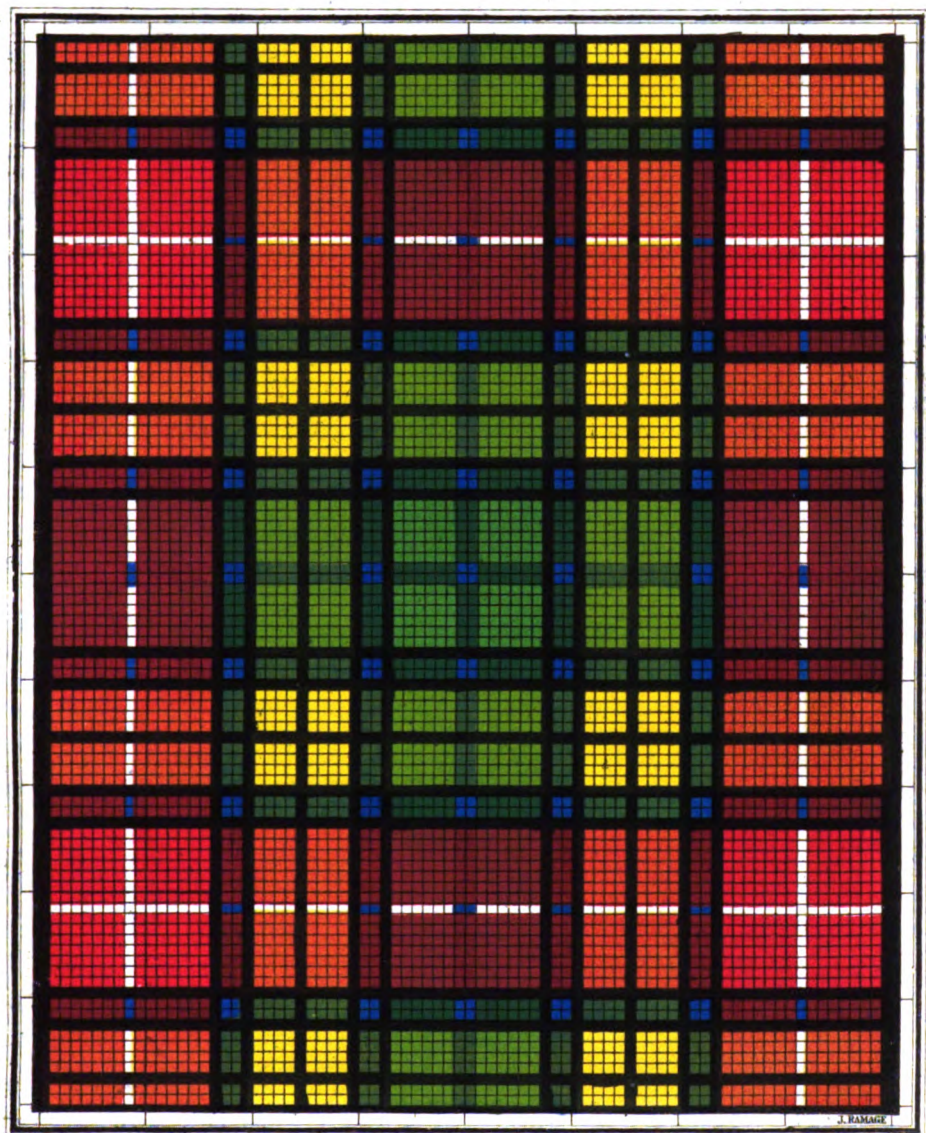
BADGE. Crab-apple tree.



CLAN BUCHANAN (MACAUSELAN).

It is fortunate, that, in the case of the ancient clan of Buchanan, one of its members took the trouble, during the past century, to examine closely into the family archives and traditions, and has left to us a full account of the results of his inquiry. A little allowance being made for family pride and prejudices, the report is a fair one. William Buchanan of Auchmar, the gentleman alluded to, was of a branch of the house nearly connected with the main line of the chiefs. He holds the opinion in his work that the Buchanans are a branch of that great family of the Gall-Gael, otherwise called Gathelians and Argathelians (the latter words being Latinised seemingly, in old documents, from Gael and Oirir-Gael), which we have already mentioned as being traceable to Ireland. Some writers, indeed, say that Gathelian means Gallician or Milesian, but we greatly prefer the explanation above given—that is, that the term Gael created the adjective Gathelian, and not *vice versa*. The words of the author of the history of the Buchanans deserve to be quoted, because they bear on the question of the descent of several clans of the West Highlands, and concur completely with the views expressed on the subject of the origin of the Macdonalds. "I am inclinable," he says, "to join sentiments with those of the more ancient seneciones (sennachies) or genealogists, who, upon very solid grounds, contend the generality of our clans, and more ancient surnames, whose origin is truly Scottish, to be the real and genuine progeny of the Gathelian or Scottish colonies, which

VIII



Buchanan of Buchanan

in the several junctures before and afterwards, under the conduct of the two kings, Fergus I. and II., came from Ireland, and planted Scotland." It may have been observed, that, in giving the annals of the great coast-clan of the Macdonalds, two important visitations (at least) of the Irish Celts to Scotland were noticed as of almost certain occurrence, namely, that of the Dalriad-Scots at a very early date, and that of the chief remaining clans of the western isles and coasts about the sixth century. These new immigrants, it was stated, succeeded seemingly to the Dalriad-Scots, when the conquest of the southern Picts drew the main body of that race to the more inland districts, and led, through amalgamations with the Saxon race, to the bestowal of a new name and a new language upon North Britain. Mr Buchanan of Auchmar, it is satisfactory to us to find, coincides in opinion about these two marked and important movements of the Irish Celts to Scotland. He places the arrival of his own clan, indeed, at a later date; but of this we shall speak presently.

The Gaelic name of the house of Buchanan was and is **MACAUSELAN**. This word is very plainly based on the name of their founder, who, as will be shown, bore the appellation of *Anselan*, so that, but for deference to usage, the term should be set down as **MACANSELAN**. The name ultimately adopted, and now borne by them, seems to be intrinsically the same with *Buchan*, and to be local, or rather to be founded on a word applied to a district of a peculiar description. It is apparently of Saxon, not Gaelic origin. Most probably it has its root in *buck* (in old Saxon *becca* or *bucca*), to which radical may also be assigned many well-known district-appellations over Scotland, as, for example, *Buccleugh* (*Buck-cleugh*). On such a point, however, etymologists may differ without end. The simplest explanation, merely, is given here; and that is, that the word is identical with *Buckholm*, the "holm of the buck." Certain it is, at all events, that the name of Buchanan is admittedly derived from a territory acquired by the ancestor of the family, and still constituting a Dumbartonshire parish of the name; and when it is considered that that territory lay close on the Lowlands, there can be no surprise reasonably felt, either at the Saxonised designation of the locality or its possessors. As the clan were planted, moreover, so long as clans held fixed residences, on and around the slopes of Benlomond, *bucks* must beyond doubt have been plentiful there in the days of old; and this fact goes so far to justify the assigned source of the name. We are aware that the name was of old pronounced, and still is in the pure Scottish dialect, *Bu-whannan*. But this fact does not controvert the etymology here preferred.

ANSELAN O'Kyan, called the Fair, son to O'Kyan, king of South Ulster, was the immediate ancestor, according to Irish and family annalists, of the race of Buchanan. There may be little faith to be put in such accounts at this day, but these are so far confirmed by the Gaelic name, and, besides, where is the better authority to be found? To condemn one manuscript story and adopt another the next moment, has been too unguardedly done even by some of our best authorities on the history of the clans of Scotland. It would be foolish and presumptuous to pretend to be wiser than one's neighbours, but the right way is to endeavour to take a middle course—that is, to follow authentic history where it is procurable, and, where it is not, to view the common tales in the most rational light. The following account of the feats of the first Buchanan who left Ireland, is certainly most suspiciously like the story of Pelopidas the Theban, but it *may* be true, nevertheless. Canute the Dane ruled and reigned in England, and held also part of Ireland, the time being the eleventh century. To celebrate the royal birth-day, "Turgesius, the Danish general, sent orders to all the Danish officers in Ireland to repair to Limerick, being their principal garrison and his residence, to assist at the solemnity, fearing nothing that the Irish would or could do in such low circumstances. The general at the same time sent orders to the Irish nobility and gentry, to send to Limerick, against the king's birthday, a thousand, or, as others say, two thousand of the most beautiful of their daughters, to dally with the Danish officers at that festival. Of this the Irish king getting intelligence, resolved to send the desired number of the most clear-complexioned youths that could be found, clothed in

women's habit, with long Irish skeins, or daggers, below their clothes, with orders that, so soon as they went to bed with their several paramours, being generally drunk on such occasions, they should stab them with these concealed daggers, and afterwards seize upon their guard-house, where their arms were laid by, and if matters succeeded, to give a signal by kindling a large fire upon the town-wall; the Irish king, with a small party, being absconded in a wood near by, in expectation of the event. These Irish viragoes put their orders in execution to the utmost, and, having given the concerted signal to the king, introduced him and his party to the town, who, without any mercy or resistance, killed all the Danes in the garrison, being destitute of sense, officers, and arms, reserving their general Turgesius for further punishment, which was inflicted upon him by drowning, which then, and as yet, is reputed the most ignominious death among the Irish. Most of all the other Danes throughout the kingdom were shortly after cut off."

Anselan O'Kyan, son of the Ulster monarch, led the authors of this daring feat, and, when Canute sent a strong force to punish all concerned, the royal youth was compelled, with a party of attendants, to fly to Scotland. So runs the story, at all events. Malcolm II. was at the time king of the Scots, and Anselan (otherwise named Absalon, though Anselm may be the true word) was employed by that monarch to act with his followers against the Norsemen of the western coasts. For his good services, he was rewarded with lands of considerable value in the Lennox or Levenax, the tract of country watered by the Leven, on which stream Loch Lomond forms, as it were, a large and deep pool. It is also said that the sovereign took the old way of rendering the task of remuneration more easy, by procuring or facilitating the marriage of Anselan with an heiress of the Dennistoun family. With the noble house which then bore the name and title of Lords of Lennox, and to which the practical service was done rather than to the king, the Macauselans or Buchanans formed early connections, and indeed received from them charters of the main properties which the family of old possessed, and in part still occupy. The first name which occurs in the family story, in authentic charters, is that of Anselan, called Macbeath, from his immediate sire, who obtained the isle of Clare-Inch (*De Clarinis*) on Loch Lomond from the Earl of Lennox, to whom he was Senechal, about the year 1225. Some time afterwards, the lands of Leekie were granted to the Earl of Lennox, and they are mentioned as lying near to "Buchanne." Great part of both properties fell into the possession of the Buchanans, and the last one gave a fixed name to the race. It has been said that the Buchanans were a branch of the Lennox house, but there seems, on the whole, no good reason for discrediting the account which brings them directly from Ireland, whatever one may think of the romantic story of Anselan the Fair, prince of Ulster. The main line of the house was Celtic, almost unquestionably; and there lies the great point in the present argument. The Buchanans, as said, are found from the first as dependents of the house of Lennox, and, however respectable, can scarcely be viewed as kinsmen. They had also a war-cry of their own. "Clare-Inch" was the sound which brought them to the front of the battle. Like the other Irish Celts, they were first gifted with the small islands of the west, and grew strong only through time.

It is in this way, it seems to us, that common sense, at least, should read this and others of the family histories of those remote days. No doubt, the custom of depositing the annals of a clan, with the sennachies (bards or genealogists) was of vast importance in early times, and of which one can now form only an imperfect notion; but yet it is a plan which must ever have been insecure, and the evidence derived from it cannot be held as very conclusive—especially as the parties were expected more to praise their particular chiefs and clans than to record their true deeds. It is necessary, then, to draw, as far as may be, on the colder page of authentic history, in telling the veritable story of each tribe. What could one make out, in the shape of grave narrative, of the career of Fingal, his chiefs, and his compeers, from the fine but shadowy poems of Ossian? Real names may be gathered, but little more. In much the same light must

we view the majority of the genealogical records left to us by the family *seannachies* of the chiefs of the Gael. The "car-borne heroes" must come down to the position of parties mounted on, or drawn by, the galloways and shelties of the west and north-west of Scotland. The nature of the country, its products, and its roads—even if the parallel lines of Glenroy were admitted as genuine pathways of man's making—could never allow of car-driving, any more than the breed of horses would allow of grandeur in the execution of that exercise. The power of the poet is not detracted from, however, but raised by this view of the case. Though we will not here open up the entire Ossianic question, it seems indubitable, that a poet of that name did exist, whose fragments Macpherson collected more or less extensively, and used with more or less of conscientiousness. But we need to believe no more in the close veracity of the Gaelic bard's pictures than in those of Homer; and certainly it would be somewhat difficult to believe the accounts of the descents of the gods to the plains of Ilion, given by "the blind old man" of Scio.

Gilbert, son of the same Anselan who held the office of seneschal to the Earl of Lennox, was the earliest Macauselan who occasionally received the name of Buchanan; and he assumed it probably from then settling on the special lands of "Buchanne," Clareinch being the older possession. His grandson, Sir Maurice, seems to have been the party who was first fully chartered in the Buchanan lands. He received a *confirmatory* charter of them, at least, from Donald, earl of Lennox; and this deed was assented to by David II. in 1369-70. The curious old phrase "carucate" is here used in reference to the territory granted, its signification being nearly the same as "ploughgate." It is not unworthy of note that this Maurice is still named "Macauselan," laird of Buchanan, and the circumstance goes a great way to establish the Gaelic origin of the house. He adhered firmly to the Bruces, however, during their struggles with the Macdougals and other western Celts, and was honoured and rewarded in consequence. The family had by this time attained to very considerable importance, as we find the Laird of Buchanan of the time of Robert II. to have been styled by that monarch "our cousin" (*consanguineus noster*), a phrase only used towards men of rank. A marriage contracted with the heiress of Lenny, by John the twelfth laird, added considerably to the property of the house. Sir Alexander, eldest son of John, is said to have accompanied John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, son of the Duke of Albany, to aid the French in their wars with the English. There is good reason to believe that Sir Alexander Buchanan performed on this service a notable personal feat, which mainly gave to the Dauphin of France the victory of Bauge, though the action has been for the most part ascribed jointly to Sir John Swinton and the Earl of Buchan. The action in question was the slaying, in a hand to hand encounter, of the Duke of Clarence, commander of the English, and brother of Henry V. In the history of the Buchanan achievements, as will be seen from the following extract, there appear solid grounds for adopting this conclusion. Sir Alexander Buchanan, he says, "meeting the Duke of Clarence, who was very conspicuous upon account of a coronet beset with a great many jewels affixed to his helmet, with his couched spear with the utmost vigour made toward him; the duke in the same posture met his antagonist, upon whose breast-plate the duke's spear slanting, Buchanan pierced at once through his left eye and brain, whereupon he instantly fell from his horse. Buchanan in the meantime getting hold of the coronet, and putting the same upon the point of his spear, cried to his countrymen to take courage, for that there was a token he had killed the English general, which the English noticing, made no further resistance, but committed their safety to their horses' heels, there being killed of them, besides Clarence, twenty-six officers and other persons of quality, and near three thousand soldiers, besides two thousand taken prisoners, with very little loss to the Scots, there being none of account killed upon their side. This victory, as it gave a great check to the affairs of the English, did no less erect the drooping circumstances of the French, of which the dauphin was so sensible, that he created the Earl of Buchan his master of horse, and Wigtoun, high constable of France, and

rewarded all the other persons of distinction according to their merits, particularly Buchanan, whom he bountifully rewarded, and for preservation of his heroic achievement, added to his former bearing, a second tressure round the field, flowered and counterflowered, with flower-de-luces of the second, and in a crest, a hand coupee, holding a duke's coronet, with two laurel branches wreathed round the same; which addition was retained by the family of Buchanan in all time thereafter." It is almost impossible to explain the *ducal coronet* in the arms, unless upon the supposition of this account being correct. The famous *fleurs-de-lis* of the royal French arms might have been granted for general merits, but the ducal coronet cannot be so interpreted. It continued ever afterwards to form a part of the armorial bearings of the Lairds of Buchanan. Sir Alexander, who won for his house this honourable distinction, was soon afterwards killed at Vernuil, A.D. 1424.

Patrick, fourteenth Laird of Buchanan, made a fortunate marriage with an heiress of the Galbraith family, obtaining thus Killcarn and other properties. Here it may not be out of place to remark that the name of Galbraith points out clearly the general character of the permanent occupants of the Western Highlands. It signifies the "brave stranger," and, though that term might apply to a Norse rover, yet it is far more likely, from the position of the Galbraith possessions, that the line was Irish or Gall-Gaelic. The native Gael, it may reasonably be supposed, gave the title to some brave visitant from the Irish shores. The case proves, with that of the Buchanans, that we should not always demand the prefix of "Mac" in a family name, in order to be convinced of its Celtic origin. Similar marriages to that with the Galbraith heiress extended afterwards the power and possessions of the Buchanans, and many cadets branched off from the main stem, whom their sires were enabled to raise to the position of respectable landed gentry. At length the main line came to a close, as regarded male descendants, in the person of John, counted as the twenty-second Laird of Buchanan. He left two daughters—one wedded to Stewart of Ardvoirlich, and the other to Buchanan of Lenny. The death of John Buchanan of Buchanan took place in 1682. Before his decease he had been forced, through pecuniary difficulties, originating partly with his immediate predecessors and partly with himself, to enter upon such transactions for the sale of his estates as ultimately took nearly the whole from his daughters and his race, after a tenure of six hundred years. Buchanan of Auchmar, whose manuscript history was composed at the commencement of last century, states the entire and unbroken possessions of the Lairds of Buchanan, in the Lennox and elsewhere, to have brought a rental of thirty thousand merks. Even if allowance be made for extensive exaggeration, this computation would still show the family to have been among the more wealthy of the landed gentry of Scotland, the value of money at the time being considered. The family of Montrose obtained the greater part of the Buchanan property lying on Loch Lomond. It fell to them by an easy purchase, and Buchanan House, the ancient seat of the chiefs of the name, is now the principal residence of the ducal race of Montrose. Its designation renders it a durable memorial of the ancient lords of the region. But at the death of the last of them, as Auchmar observes, "the flourishing fortune of the family was destroyed, and itself extinguished."

The direct and undeniable offshoots of the house of Buchanan, from its long occupancy of a wealthy and important position, may be expected to have been somewhat numerous. The family historian claims the chieftainship for his own line of Auchmar, but, even in his day, as also long since, the claims of the house of Arnprior have generally received the preference. Into this dispute there is no necessity for here entering. The principal cadets of the line may be given as its annalist gives them, though, if their representatives yet live, the lands which they once owned know them in many instances as lords no more. There were once estated gentlemen of the house, however, bearing the following territorial appellations—"Auchmar, Spittel, Arnprior, Drummakill, Carbeth, Lenny, Auchneiven, and Miltoun," as also "Cashill, Arduill, and Sallochie." From these branches, as well as from the main line, sprung such a

multitude of others, if we may trust to their historian, that the Buchanans must be widely spread over Scotland, though holding now very different denominations. From the long continuance of the family, its very considerable possessions, and its many acknowledged cadets, as well as from the principles of nomenclature in old days, we doubt not but that the blood of the Buchanans is really disseminated more widely than mere names would lead one at first to suppose; but it is impossible to assent to the attribution of some hundreds of Highland and Lowland families to the line of Buchanan, upon the traditional evidence which its annalist would have us to accept. It may fairly be allowed that the Macanselans (or Macauselans), of whom various families yet remain in the west of Scotland and in Ireland, were Buchanans; and indeed they at one time claimed the chiefship. The MACMILLANS, also, seem really to have sprung from an ancient laird of the line, and derived their name, according to the Highland fashion of doing these things, either from their immediate progenitor being "bald," such being the meaning of "Mailan," or from his especial name of Methlan. The MACCOLMANS spring likewise from the Buchanans. The now Lowland family of SPITTAL acknowledge the same descent, we believe, though the main ground for doing so is, that one of the Buchanans was a Knight-Hospitaller. However, tradition favours the idea, as also, though less strongly, that the Morris and Morisons owed their origin to one of the Maurices, lairds of Buchanan. The conjecture is merely given here for the satisfaction of family curiosity, though we own to a belief in the three cases specially noticed.

Of course the annals of the admitted cadet-branches of Buchanan can not and need not be detailed here. There is, nevertheless, a memorable story connected with one of the Buchanans of Arnprior, which amusingly illustrates the times in which he lived. The tale has often been told, but, in place of any illustrated version, the simple original is here given: "John Buchanan of Auchmar and Arnprior was afterwards termed King of Kippen, upon the following account: King James V., a very sociable debonaire prince, residing at Stirling, in Buchanan of Arnprior's time, carriers were very frequently passing along the common road, being near Arnprior's house, with necessaries for the use of the king's family, and he having some extraordinary occasion, ordered one of these carriers to leave his load at his house, and he would pay him for it, which the carrier refused to do, telling him he was the king's carrier, and his load for his majesty's use, to which Arnprior seemed to have small regard, compelling the carrier in the end to leave his load, telling him, if King James was king of Scotland he was king of Kippen, so that it was reasonable he should share with his neighbour king in some of these loads, so frequently carried that road. The carrier representing this usage, and telling the story as Arnprior spoke it to some of the king's servants, it came at length to his Majesty's ears, who, shortly thereafter, with a few attendants, came to visit his neighbour king, who was in the meantime at dinner. King James having sent a servant to demand access, was denied the same by a tall fellow, with a battle-axe, who stood porter at the gate, telling there could be no access till dinner was over. This answer not satisfying the king, he sent to demand access a second time, upon which he was desired by the porter to desist, otherwise he would find cause to repent his rudeness. His majesty finding this method would not do, desired the porter to tell his master that the Good-man of Ballangeich desired to speak with the King of Kippen. The porter telling Arnprior so much, he in all humble manner came and received the king, and, having entertained him with much sumptuousness and jollity, became so agreeable to King James that he allowed him to take so much of any provision he found carrying that road as he had occasion for; and, seeing he made the first visit, desired Arnprior in a few days to return him a second at Stirling, which he performed, and continued in very much favour with the king always thereafter, being termed King of Kippen while he lived."

It is also impossible to omit all notice of a clansman of the Buchanan, who would of himself suffice to shed on the name an undying lustre. Of course, reference is made to the historian of Scotland, and her greatest scholar, George Buchanan.

The fate of men of talent and learning in old times was singular enough in many respects, but in nothing so remarkable as in regard of the strange repute which their accomplishments created for them in life, and entailed posthumously upon their memory. Whoever stood eminent above the vulgar in point of acquirements, was popularly set down either as a wizard or as a fool and jester. It was the fortune of Friar Bacon, for example, of Sir Michael Scott, and of Thomas the Rhymer, to be ranked in the former class, while George Buchanan, for two centuries after his death, actually went among the common people of Scotland under the denomination of the "king's fool," and was seriously believed by them to have held that honourable office. Few persons who can remember the flying sheets sold by the hawkers only a quarter of a century ago, will fail to recollect one collection of silly and obscene anecdotes to which the name of George Buchanan was appended. Several reasons may be assigned for the utter ignorance of the true character of this eminent individual—one of the first scholars of his own or any other age—which so long prevailed among the generality of his countrymen. The leading one, however, undoubtedly is, that he composed his works, with trifling exceptions, in the Latin tongue, impelled thereto by the fact of its being the common language of the learned over the whole civilised world, and also by the rude and unformed condition of the vernacular speech of his own land. It is somewhat unfortunate for the fame of Buchanan, that, just as the many have grown more capable of appreciating the productions of his genius in the form in which they appear, the taste for the language of Rome should have fallen into comparative decay.

George Buchanan was born in the year 1506, in the parish of Killearn, situated in that portion of the ancient district of Lennox which lies in Stirlingshire. The branch from which he sprung was that of Drummakill, of which house his father was second son, his mother being Agnes Heriot, of the family of Trabroun, in East Lothian. In the old farm-house of Middleowen, on the Blane water, of which some portions yet remain in a newer dwelling, George, the third of five sons, was born. The death of his father threw the family into an embarrassed state, but, by the generous care of a maternal uncle, the future scholar received the elements of a good education at Dumbarton, and was sent subsequently to complete his studies at Paris. Though but fourteen years of age, he soon began to distinguish himself there by his talents for the composition of Latin verses. His uncle died, however, after two years had been spent at the Parisian university, and Buchanan was forced to return home by poverty and ill health. On his recovery he attempted to find a new path to fortune by joining the Duke of Albany's French auxiliaries in the expedition against England in 1523. That campaign proving completely abortive, he resumed his favourite studies in the capacity of a pauper exhibitor at St Andrews, where he obtained the degree of bachelor of arts. John Mair, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was a leading professor at that time in the Scottish College, but he taught a sophistical logic by no means pleasing to his clear-headed pupil, who accordingly vented on him some juvenile epigrams, not of very great merit though sufficiently severe. For example, when Mair published a book, and prefixed to it a pun on his own Latinised name of "Major," calling himself in the title, with affected modesty, "Major (greater) by cognomen only," Buchanan gave forth the epigram which we here roughly translate. The Cretans, it may be observed, were the most noted liars of antiquity:—

"When, reading Major (great by name alone),
You find in all his book no sane page shown,
Muse not when you the title's truth descry—
The very Cretans did not always lie."

Returning to France, then the principal seat of polite learning, Buchanan took the degree of master of arts in the Parisian university in 1529, and continued struggling to maintain himself by private teaching till 1531, when he was nominated to a professorship in the college of St Barbe. This was a poor position, however, and he was glad to accept, soon afterwards, the office of tutor to Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis, with whom he returned to Scotland in

1537. The principles of the Reformation then formed the great topic of discussion and agitation in the European world, and Buchanan became one of their most zealous advocates. While John Knox swayed the minds of the common people by his antimonastic invectives in their own homely mother-tongue, Buchanan addressed himself to the more educated classes, and endeavoured to enlighten their minds in reference to the then new doctrines. We know not, indeed, if the part performed by him was not the most important in that age, when so much of the feudal subserviency of the many to the few still characterised the social condition of the countries of Europe. Be this as it may, it was at the request of James V., whose natural son had been placed under his tutorage, that Buchanan produced successive satires on the Romish priesthood, the last of them being "the Franciscan," a piece unequalled for terrible yet truthful severity, as well as perfect Latinity, since the days of Juvenal and Persius. It so unmercifully exposed the general conduct of the monks, that the half-converted king himself could not save the author from the rage of Cardinal Beaton and the clerical brotherhood. He was imprisoned, but contrived to escape to England. Protected in London for a time by Sir John Rainsford, he at last found a better refuge at Bordeaux, Paris being rendered unsafe by the appointment of Cardinal Beaton as ambassador there. At Bordeaux, his now known and proven learning obtained for him the chair of humanity in the new college of Guienne, and he lived there admired and respected for a number of years, though still an object of hostility to the Romish priesthood of Scotland.

Buchanan wrote at this period his two original Latin tragedies of the "Baptist" and "Jephthah," and composed versions besides, in the same tongue, of the "Medea" and "Alcestis" of Euripides. The exquisite scholarship evinced in these productions was not their sole or principal merit. By producing them he accomplished one phase of the Reformation, affecting deeply the instruction of youth in schools. His labours served to banish those *mysteries* which the pupils were wont to enact periodically, and to substitute for them his own sound and healthy dramas. "Jephthah" is a piece full of tender sentiment and passion, while the "Baptist" contains a new and stern denunciation of clerical bigotry and hypocrisy, as well as of regal tyranny.

In 1547 we find Buchanan at Paris, acting as regent in the college of Cardinal le Maire. Here he enjoyed the friendship of the eminent scholars Turnebus and Muretus, as he had before done of the two Scaligers. An invitation to accept the principalship of a new university at Coimbra, in Portugal, seemed to promise the Scottish scholar a higher and stabler position than he had ever yet enjoyed, and he removed thither accordingly. But the death of his main protector at the court of John III. exposed him anew to the assaults of the clergy, and, after being catechised, confined, and tormented by them for a year and a half, during which time he composed his beautiful version of the Psalms of David, he was glad to escape to England. From that country he recrossed the channel to France, where he was more secure, and most highly esteemed. For a number of years thereafter he was attached to the family of Marshal de Brissac, whose son's education he superintended, producing at the same time his long philosophical poem "De Sphæra" (upon the universe). When the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots came to France to wed the Dauphin, the poet wrote their Epithalamium, and, on the return of the prematurely widowed princess to her own country, she seems to have invited him to accompany her as assistant in her classical studies. She subsequently gave to him part of the temporalities of Crossraguel Abbey for his maintenance, to which provision the Earl of Moray added the Principalship of St Leonard's College, St Andrews. Warmly countenanced by Moray, Morton, and the strong party of reformed nobles generally, Buchanan could now publish his collective satires on priestcraft without much fear, though he lost the queen's favour thereby. He also became eminent as a member of the General Assembly, and sat in 1567 as moderator of that body. When Mary fell into dissensions with her subjects, and at last fled to England, Buchanan took the side of the Earl of Moray, and drew up a paper called a

"Detection" of the royal doings, for which he has been greatly censured by the defenders of the queen. At a later period, when James VI. became ripe for receiving his education, Buchanan was called to the high office of his principal teacher. That he succeeded in imbuing his pupil with an extensive knowledge of letters, is a fact known to all the world, and that he at least did his utmost to keep him free from the faults incidental to his high position, or to which he was constitutionally prone, is also universally admitted. For the special use of James, he wrote his tract "*De jure regni*," a piece inspired by the noblest spirit of constitutional freedom. But the king preferred the flattering counsels of the under-tutor, Young, to the sound lessons of his head-preceptor, whom, indeed, he latterly hated with a bitter hatred.

The latter years of the life of Buchanan were expended on his "*History of Scotland*," and here again he spoke what he certainly believed to be the truth respecting Queen Mary. James Melville tells us in his "*Diary*" that he and others, on seeing the sheets of the work at press, remonstrated with the now aged author on the danger of exciting the king's anger. "Tell me, man," said the historian, "if I have spoken the truth?" "Yes, sir, I think so," was the reply of the party addressed. "Then I will bide his feud, and all his kin's," retorted Buchanan. He was at this time very ill in health, and died about a twelvemonth afterwards, on the 28th of September, 1582, at the age of seventy-six. Before that event, King James did attempt to make him retract portions of his history, but he resisted all solicitations of the kind; and he is traditionally said to have been at last so far fretted as to bid the royal agent inform the monarch that no threats could affect him, as "he was going to a place where few kings could come."

As a specimen of his verses, we give the following, which is an attempt to render the Latin literally, and in nearly the same measure as the original—a measure which Collins and Henry Kirke White used most effectively, though rhyme be not employed:—

THE FIRST OF MAY.

"Hail! morning vowed to immemorial joys,
First child of May! sacred to mirthful sports,
To wine, and jest, and song,
And to the choral dance!
Hail! thou delight and honour of the year,
Unfailing ever in thy sweet return;
Flower of the youth of time,
That soon again grows old!
When the mild temperance of Spring erewhile
Cheered new-born nature, and the primal age,
Spontaneously good,
Shone bright with yellow ore:
Such harmony as thine through all the months
Ran lastingly; warm breezes soothed the lands;
And then gave they forth fruits
Where seeds were never sown.
The like amenitude of clime as thine
Perpetual broods above the Happy Isles;
Where none know painful age,
Or querulous disease.
Such breathings whisper softly through the groves
That hold in peaceful shade the silent ones;
Such gales, on Lethe's banks,
Stir the sad cypresses.
Haply, when God with final fires shall cleanse
The universe, and to the earth restore
Her joyous days, such airs
Shall blessed spirits breathe.
Glory of ever-fleeting time, all hail!
Day worthy still of memorable note:
Hail, image of old life,
And type of that to come!"

One other specimen may be given of the poetry of Buchanan, and it will perhaps tend to bear out the assertion respecting the passion and sentiment

evinced in his drama of "Jeplthah." It is a description, by a messenger, of the conduct of the Hebrew maid, when, in accordance with her father's vow, she prepares to die at the altar :—

"When the doom'd maid before the altar stood,
 Her cheek, unused to meet the common eye,
 Was deeply mantled o'er with modest blood,
 Like Indian ivory stain'd with purple dye,
 Or roses mingled with the lily's snow ;
 But on her face, along with this chaste glow,
 An air of dauntless resolution shone,
 And while all wept, she tearless stood alone ;
 With downward gaze, prepared to meet her fate,
 While all the people mourn'd her sad estate.
 Some there recall'd the father's recent deed,
 Through which the land from bondage had been freed,
 Then thought how dark would be his home, and lone,
 With that bright flower, its pride, for ever gone !
 Some mourn'd the dark vicissitudes of fate,
 Which makes awhile the heart of man elate,
 Then tempers all his hopes with sharp annoy,
 And clouds with years of grief his days of joy.
 Others bewail'd the victim's piteous case—
 Thought of her youthful loveliness and grace,
 Her starlike eyes, and flowing hair of gold,
 And heart above a woman's nature bold.
 It seem'd, indeed, as Heaven had deign'd to shed,
 In that last hour, new charms around her head ;
 As the sun's splendour deepens when he laves
 His burnish'd tresses in the western waves ;
 Or as the rose, when days of flowers are o'er,
 Seems to the sense still sweeter than before.
 So, standing thus upon the verge of death,
 Prepared and willing to resign her breath,
 Untouch'd by fear, she drew the awe-struck gaze,
 And solemn silence fell on all, and deep amaze.
 Lifting her eyes to heaven, the high-soul'd maid
 With holy lips, and steady accents, pray'd ;
 ' Eternal Sire, and Architect of all,
 Incline an ear unto thy servant's call ;
 Look down in pity on this erring race,
 And let my spirit meet a Father's grace.
 Oh ! if thine ire still unappeased remain,
 Whate'er the doom reserved to cleanse the stain
 Of leaving thee for gods of stone and clay,
 May this my blood the hand of justice stay !
 Oh ! that not once alone the stream could flow !
 If Judah's land may buy redemption so,
 Let all thy anger, Lord, descend on me,
 Although a thousand deaths the price should be !'
 Then cried she to the priest, who shook with fear,
 ' Approach ! there is no cause for terror here !
 Throw ope the gates that shut the soul in clay,
 And let my spirit leave this earthly day,
 That so my parent's vow from all may pass away !'"

The Buchanans of Ardoch, one of the most respectable families of the name, are not mentioned by the historian of the house, and possibly received their direct territorial designation after his day, or form, in his view, a section of some other line mentioned. They claim to belong closely to the main stem of the lairds of Buchanan, and have for a long time held a high position in the Lennox, which lies chiefly in Dumbartonshire, but occupies also a part of the county of Stirling. It was in the section of the Lennox lying in the latter shire that the great scholar, whose name and story have just been mentioned, George Buchanan, was born and brought up. Buchanan of Ardoch was a member of one of the later parliaments of Great Britain, and his house has always been ranked as among the most respectable of those yet bearing the name. The remark has been made, that, of the cadet-branches of Buchanan, several hold their old lands no more. This statement is true ; but the Carbeth Buchanans, as well as others, yet possess the lands assigned to them by their forefathers.

Undoubtedly, however, after the failure of male issue in the chief line, the position of the family became greatly altered, as the possession of "Buchanan House" by totally different parties would suffice of itself to prove. Whatever their present position may be, being satisfied of their general Celtic origin, we have not hesitated, though like the Campbells they have not a Celtic name, to give them an early place among the western Gael of Scotland.

The ARMS of Buchanan have been given very differently by different authorities; and the various cadets of the house carry distinct arms to this day. But, on the whole, the Armorial Bearings adopted and laid down by Buchanan of Auchmar must be preferred even to those of Nisbet, from whose description they indeed vary but slightly. We give the first here accordingly; and, in doing so, we would simply observe, that, alike as regards Tartans and Arms, the freaks of fancy of more recent chieftains and genealogists must and ought to be disregarded, and the ancient forms adopted, wherever such a line of conduct proves to be possible. Upon that principle, the form of Arms, stated by Auchmar, is here preferred. He seems to be strangely blind to the cause of the adoption of the second Motto, *Clarior hinc honos*. It is an attempt, beyond all question, to embody the words "Clare-Inch" in a Latin device; but it was only thought of at the close of the seventeenth century, and is not to be viewed as really antique.

ARMS OF BUCHANAN OF BUCHANAN.

Or, a lion rampant sable, armed and langued gules, within a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered with flower-de-luces of the second.

CREST. A hand coupee holding up a ducal cap, or duke's coronet, proper, with two laurel branches wreathed surrounding the crest, disposed orleways proper; supported by two falcons garnished or.

ANCIENT MOTTO, above the crest. *Audaces Juro* (I help the Brave).

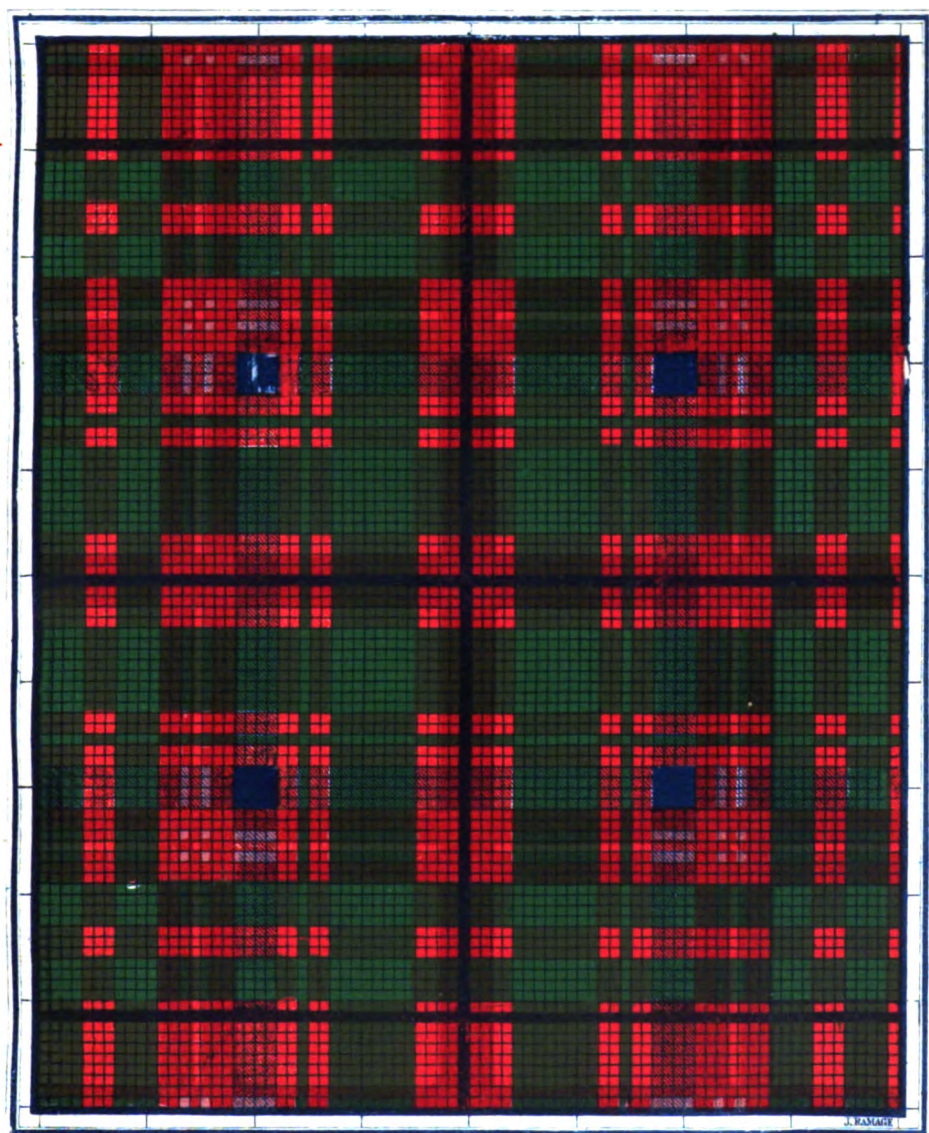
MODERN MOTTO, in compartment. *Clarior hinc Honos* (Brighter hence the Honour).



CLAN MACDOUGAL OF MACDOUGAL.

The name of the Macdougals is given otherwise as Macdugalls, Macdovals, Macdowalls, and indeed in many and varied ways. It seems very evident that they formed one of the primitive branches of the roving or stranger tribes of visitants to Scotland of the Irish or at least Celtic race. Their mere name puts the fact almost beyond doubt. It also distinguishes them clearly from the Norsemen of the Western Isles, who were always styled *Fion-Galls*, that is, Fair Strangers (Rovers or Pirates). The yellow-haired Kempions of Scandinavia, in all their own early annals relating to Scotland, are not to be mistaken for the Celtic *Dhu-Galls*, or Black Strangers. The common account of the origin of the Macdougals is, that they sprung from a son or grandson of Somerled, of the name of Dougal; and this supposition has been mentioned in its proper place. But, though a single chieftain of that appellation may have flourished in the primitive periods of Gaelic story, it appears most probable, from many circumstances, that the clan derived their name from their descent and character generally. They were Dhu-Galls, "black strangers." They are thus to be found giving a permanent title to GALLOWAY, for example, where many of their descendants hold lands to this day.

The Dhu-Galls or Dougals were so powerful as to maintain a long contest with Robert Bruce for supremacy in Scotland; and indeed his hardest struggle, during his entire struggling life, was with the Argyleshire or Lorn Macdougals. In truth, it was but natural that they should have had an antipathy to him, as the representative of a different race and different interests. He was of English or Norman blood, a member of one of those families brought into Scotland by the policy of the Lowland monarchs, in order to sustain them against the hostile and purely Celtic population of the north and north-west Highlands. Historians have been too apt to view the contests in the early Bruce and Stewart times as contests betwixt individual chiefs; whereas, in reality, they were the struggles of two distinct and opposing races. The Dhu-Galls, the Gael of Argyleshire, tried long to maintain the battle with the Norman Bruces. They were unsuccessful; though, when driven to plant their power in the more



MacDougall

northerly and inaccessible isles of the west, the very same race (under the Lords of the Isles) kept up the engagement afterwards for centuries with the Stewart kings. The battle was that of Gael against Norman and Saxon—the Celtic against the Gothic race. It matters not whether the Celt was primitively from Ireland or from Gaul; or whether the Lowlander was the offspring of Saxon, Dane, or Norman. The Celtic and Gothic races, under whatever denominations they might be ranked, were the two great parties that struggled against each other for supremacy in the early days of Scottish history. In spite of their brilliant though irregular valour, and a fine idealism of intellect, the Celts were overborne. The fact cannot be gainsayed. The whole annals of the overthrow of the Roman empire tell the same tale. Being placed on the mainland from the first, seemingly, and close to the Lowland power, the particular tribe of the Dhu-Galls which took the permanent name of Macdougals fell before the southron encroachments, at a period long preceding the similar fall of the Macdonalds of the Isles. The Macdougals had their chief seat in Lorn, or the centre of the continent of Argyleshire, betwixt Loch Awe and the seas of the west. The son or grandson of Somerled, who is said to have specially founded the Macdougall clan, lived in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth, however, they were numerous and strong enough to oppose Bruce, and it is therefore out of the question to suppose that the descendant of Somerled could do more than consolidate or collect an already existing tribe, even if it is to be admitted as taking from him its name. His grandson, or immediate successor, Alexander, is said to have been the chief who led the Macdougals in the wars against the Bruces. After King Robert Bruce was crowned at Scone, in 1306, the forces of Edward I. of England attacked and overthrew him, compelling him to fly to the west of Scotland, with the view of seeking refuge in Ireland, which country had then a common interest in resisting the English. But Alexander Macdougall of Lorn encountered him at a place called Dalree, on the borders of Argyleshire, and a fierce combat ensued between the parties. Bruce is described by Barbour as performing a truly heroic part on the occasion, though worsted and compelled to retreat. He rescued the flying, and checked so the pursuers—

“ That none durst out of battle chase,
For always at their hand he was,
So well attended he his men,
That whoso'er had seen him then
Prove so deserving of vassalage,
And turn so often the visage,
He should say he ought well to be
The King of a Great Royalty.”

But Bruce fought in vain, and indeed escaped with life almost miraculously in the end. Three of the clansmen of Lorn, who seem to have been personal attendants or *henchmen* of the chief of the Macdougals, resolved that they would either slay the sovereign or die. They followed the retreating party, accordingly, and when Robert entered a narrow pass, riding behind his people, in what certainly was the post of danger for the moment, the three *Macindrossers* (otherwise called *Macanorsoirs*, and *Mackeoghs*, but sons of the *Door-ward*, or door-keeper to the Macdougall chieftain), threw themselves upon the monarch at once. One of them was instantly rewarded with such a blow of the royal battle-axe that “arm and shoulder flew him frae.” The second had grasped the stirrup, and Robert fixed and held him there by pressing down his foot, so that the captive was dragged along the ground as if chained to the horse. In the meantime, the third assailant had sprung from the hillside to the back of the horse, and sat behind the king. The latter turned half-round and forced the Macindrosser forward to the front of the saddle, where “he clave the head to the harns.” The second assailant was still hanging by the stirrup, and Robert now struck at him vigorously, and slew him at the first blow. The arm of a single man has seldom done such a feat as that here narrated, and the probable truth of which is confirmed by the death of the young Bohun at Bannockburn, and other similar actions of Bruce.

The Macdougals were victors in the general combat which thus terminated.

But Alexander of Lorn had taken up the losing side. The Lowland power was daily advancing in strength, and the Dhu-Galls sank before its progress. It was about the period mentioned, if not in the actual battle described, that the famous Brooch of Lorn came into the family of the Macdougals. It is said to have been a personal ornament of Robert Bruce; and, when the cloak of the retreating monarch was grasped by one or other of his assailants, the brooch by which it was fastened fell into the hands of his pursuers. If Barbour tells the tale aright (and as it has been here recorded), the immediate assailants paid with their lives for their audacity; but the cloak and brooch were found by others of the enemy, and kept long thereafter, as a monument of victory, by the chiefs of the house of Macdougall. General Stewart of Garth tells us that the brooch was lost or destroyed when Dunolly Castle was burned down in the seventeenth century. However, the Brooch of Lorn has reappeared within these few years, and has even been exhibited publicly in the capital of Scotland. It is described as being of silver, not of gold, as said by Scott in the "Lord of the Isles." His words are—

" Whence the Brooch of burning gold,
That clasps the chieftain's mantle fold,
Wrought and clasped with rare device,
Studded fair with gems of price,
On the varied tartan beaming,
As, through night's pale rainbow gleaming,
Fainter now, now seen afar,
Fitful shines the morning star."

But the Brooch of Lorn, as observed, proves not to be of gold but of silver, and we are inclined strongly to look upon the fact as a proof of the authenticity of the article discovered of late years, and honoured with the title of the Brooch of Robert Bruce, lost by him in contest with the followers of the family of Lorn. A manufacturer of such articles would scarcely have gone counter to the statement of Sir Walter Scott, had the object been to present a surreptitious brooch in place of the real one. Scott has much to answer for in regard to the Highlands, it may here be observed in passing. If the inroad of the *Sassenach* into the north of Scotland be an evil, it is to him that the Gael owe it mainly; or rather, to speak more guardedly, his works were the apt forerunners of that incursion of the Lowlanders which increased civilisation would soon have brought about of itself otherwise. It was a glorious thing, it was thought by the Gael, to have their gallant deeds so sounded, and their beautiful lakes so praised, in eloquent verse, and entertaining prose, as they were in the writings of Scott. But the natural issue was that the numberless visitants called thereby to the Highlands led to the formation of schemes by no means in unison with the continuance of the patriarchal Gaelic life; and canals, railroads, and led-farms followed. The chiefs and the people were alike altered and influenced by this cause. The change must have come sooner or later in the natural course of events, it must be observed; but the very glorification of the country and the people by Scott assuredly gave the first onward impulse to the spirit of innovation, however differently it might be viewed at the time. One may well pity, again, these unhappy sight-seekers! It is woeful to hear and see persons in search of relics of Rob Roy, in quarters where the worthy black-mail gatherer, widely extended as might be his fame, was yet scarcely ever heard of, or, at least, about whom the questioners themselves know ten times more (from books) than the parties whom they so eagerly question, and put faith in so credulously. Sir Walter Scott, we must repeat, has much to answer for as regards the Highlands. The multitude of spleuchans and snuff-mulls which he has caused to leave the land of the Gael, with a story attached (no doubt) to each, might furnish out the curiosity-room of the most avidious antiquary of the south; and as to the caves and corries which he has been instrumental in providing with anecdotes, any attempt to compute them would be absurd.

But we must digress no farther from the story of the Bruce, when he lost to Macdougall the Brooch (called) of Lorn. That ornament, as observed, is silver, and consists of a circular plate, about four inches in diameter, having a

tongue like that of a common buckle on the under side. The upper side is magnificently ornamented. First, from the margin rises a neatly-formed rim, with hollows cut in the edge at certain distances, like the embrasures in an embattled wall. From a circle within this rim rise eight round tapering obelisks, about an inch and a quarter high, finely cut, and each studded at top with a river pearl. Within this circle of obelisks there is a second rim, also ornamented with carved work, and within which rises a neat circular case, occupying the whole centre of the brooch, and slightly overtopping the obelisks. The exterior of this case, instead of forming a plain circle, projects into eight semi-cylinders, which relieve it from all appearance of heaviness. The upper part is likewise carved very elegantly, and in the centre there is a large gem. This case may be taken off, and within there is a hollow which might have contained any small articles upon which a particular value was set.

Barbour does not tell the story of the Brooch of Lorn, and the authenticity of the modern article rests chiefly on the following statement, to be credited, or otherwise, as readers are disposed. For our own part, it seems to us that the traditions relative to the brooch are too numerous and steady to permit us to doubt of the reality of the story; and, whatever scepticism may say, there appears no sound reason for doubting the new-found article to be the veritable antique one. It underwent some odd turns of fortune. In the civil war, during the reign of the first Charles, the Macdougall of that day adhered to the royal cause, and suffered as much thereby as he had formerly done by opposing the Bruces. In 1647, he was besieged in Dunolly (the old seat, and still the seat of the house) by a detachment of General Leslie's troops under Colonel Montgomery. From the impregnable nature of the situation, he was successful in holding out this strength; but Goalen Castle was taken, sacked, and burned. Campbell of Inveraw, who took part in the latter affair, secured the brooch of King Robert, which he took into his possession as fair spoil, though he did not think proper to make his good fortune too well known, lest the Macdougall might have thought it necessary afterwards to attempt the recovery of the highly-valued relic by force. Time rolled on; the Macdougall of the early part of the last century lost his lands in consequence of his embracing the cause of the Pretender in 1715; his son regained them in consequence of keeping loyal in 1745. Meanwhile, the brooch won at Dalree continued safe, amidst all the vicissitudes of the family fortunes, in the strong chest at Inveraw. To the Macdougalls themselves it was not even known to exist.

At length, about thirty years ago, this precious relic passed into the hands of a cadet of the Inveraw family, who, at a subsequent time, appointed it by testament to be sold, and the proceeds divided amongst his younger children. It was accordingly, about the year 1819, sent to London to be exposed for sale, the price put upon it being a thousand pounds. The late King George IV., then Prince Regent, is said to have offered five hundred pounds for the brooch, but without obtaining it; nor did any other customer appear who was willing to give the large price put upon it by the possessor. It must be understood that, when thus laid before the public, it was openly described as the *Brooch of Lorn*, originally the property of King Robert Bruce; yet the fact of its existence and exposure for sale did not become known to the representative of the Macdougall family till after it had been withdrawn from the market. Ultimately, in the year 1825, the late amiable General Campbell of Lochmell, being anxious to bestow some mark of grateful regard on his esteemed friend and neighbour Macdougall, purchased the brooch, and caused it to be presented to that gentleman, by his chief the Duke of Argyll, at a social meeting of the landholders of the county. It thus, after an interval of more than a century and a half, found its way back to the family, who, next to King Robert and his heirs and representatives, were certainly its most rightful owners. It is at present kept with great care at Dunolly Castle.

The story of the famous brooch has here been given as nearly as possible in the words of the antiquaries who discovered it, and made its existence public. It is a relic of interest, because the successes over the Norman and Saxon, of

which it was an admitted evidence, soon ceased and passed away. The "black strangers"—the Dhu-Galls—were destined to give place and yield, like their compatriots, before the innovating sword and spirit of the Saxonised and Normanised Lowlanders. The ultimate ascendancy of Bruce proved ruinous to this great family, on the ruins of which rose the Campbells and other Clans. In the seventeenth century, the Macdougals, once styled of Argyle, afterwards of Lorn, but now of Dunolly, while boasting of a most distinguished ancestry, and allowed to be the chiefs of their Clan, possessed but a comparatively small estate. Dunolly Castle, which overlooks the sea near Oban, and Goalen Castle, in the neighbouring island of Kerrera, were their chief seats.

The fact that the Macdougals fell so early before the Scots of the Lowlands, with their Saxon and Norman auxiliaries, serves to confirm the view already taken of their origin, as Dhu-Galls. Alexander of Lorn, who contended with Bruce, has usually been called the grandson of the first Dougal, but it is obvious that he was at the head of a race already founded, though they might adopt his name. Three or four generations could scarcely produce a family able to compete in arms with Bruce and his following. It is said that the head of the Campbell line effected a marriage with the heiress of Macdougall of Lorn, and so obtained the property yet in the hands of the Dukes of Argyle. Be this as it may, their eldest son and heir takes the title of Marquis of Lorn.

The old house of Macdougall, nevertheless, is not extinct. Five gentlemen of the name are yet in possession of lands in and around the district of Lorn. The present and admitted chief is Macdougall of Dunolly, or Dunolly Castle, situated in the north-western portion of Argyle called Lorn. They still hold possessions, moreover, in Galloway, there taking usually the style of Macdowalls. Nisbet, who at least did his best always to ascertain the truth, tells us that the line of Macdougall or Macdowall, which he takes "to be the same name," was derived from one "Dovall of Galloway, who lived about two hundred and thirty years before the birth of our Saviour, and killed Nothatus the tyrant. Afterwards, another Dowall, Captain of Galloway, with the Captain of Lorn, went into England against the Romans, in support of the Britons." All this seems to point to a struggle of the Celts, conjoinedly, against their invaders. From Galloway being the part of Scotland nearest to Ireland, it seems very probable that the Dhu-Galls, or black strangers, occupied it, and gave to it a lasting name, at a very early period. Indeed, we have a lurking fancy that the Douglasses, the "dark grey men" of ancient story, were neither more nor less than Dougals. It was in Galloway, at all events, that they first rose to power and eminence. But more will be said on this point afterwards.

Though they lost much of their property by the rise of the Campbells, Sir Niel Campbell being brother-in-law to Robert Bruce, the Macdougals were chartered long in the property left to them by the fortunate family of Argyle. Adhering to James VII., they obtained charters of part of the Lorn estate from him in 1686. Their possessions were forfeited in 1715, however, but, adopting the wiser side, the chief of Dunolly regained his lands after the Rebellion of 1745. The house was still held as one of high rank in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and intermarried with the Glenorchy and Morton families.

The present inheritor of the chieftom of this ancient line is John Macdougall of Macdougall (who takes the form of M'Dougall of Dunolly Castle), a Captain in the Royal Navy. Besides the Macdougals of Lorn or Dunolly, Nisbet enumerates several branches, some of them existent to this day—"Garthland, Logan, Freugh, Mackerston, Stodrig, Neilsland, Culgroat, and Creichin." The most of these families use the form of Macdowalls, and are Gallovidian.

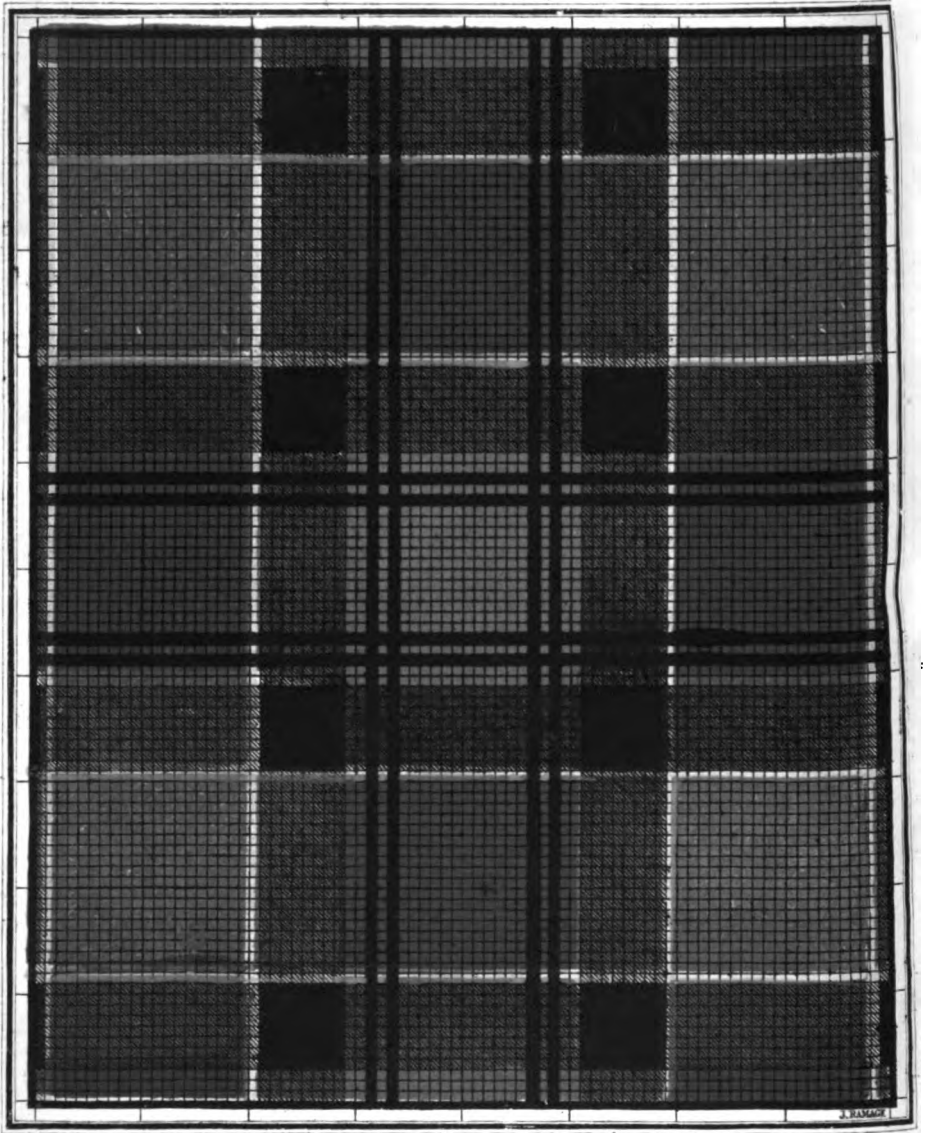
ARMS OF MACDOUGAL OF MACDOUGAL.

ARMS. Quarterly: first and fourth, azure, a lion rampant, argent; second and third, or, a lymphad, sable, with a beaçon on the topmast proper.

Crest. An arm in armour, embowed, fessways, couped, proper, holding a cross crosslet fitchée.

MOTTO. *Vincere vel mori* (Conquest or death).

BADGE. Heath.

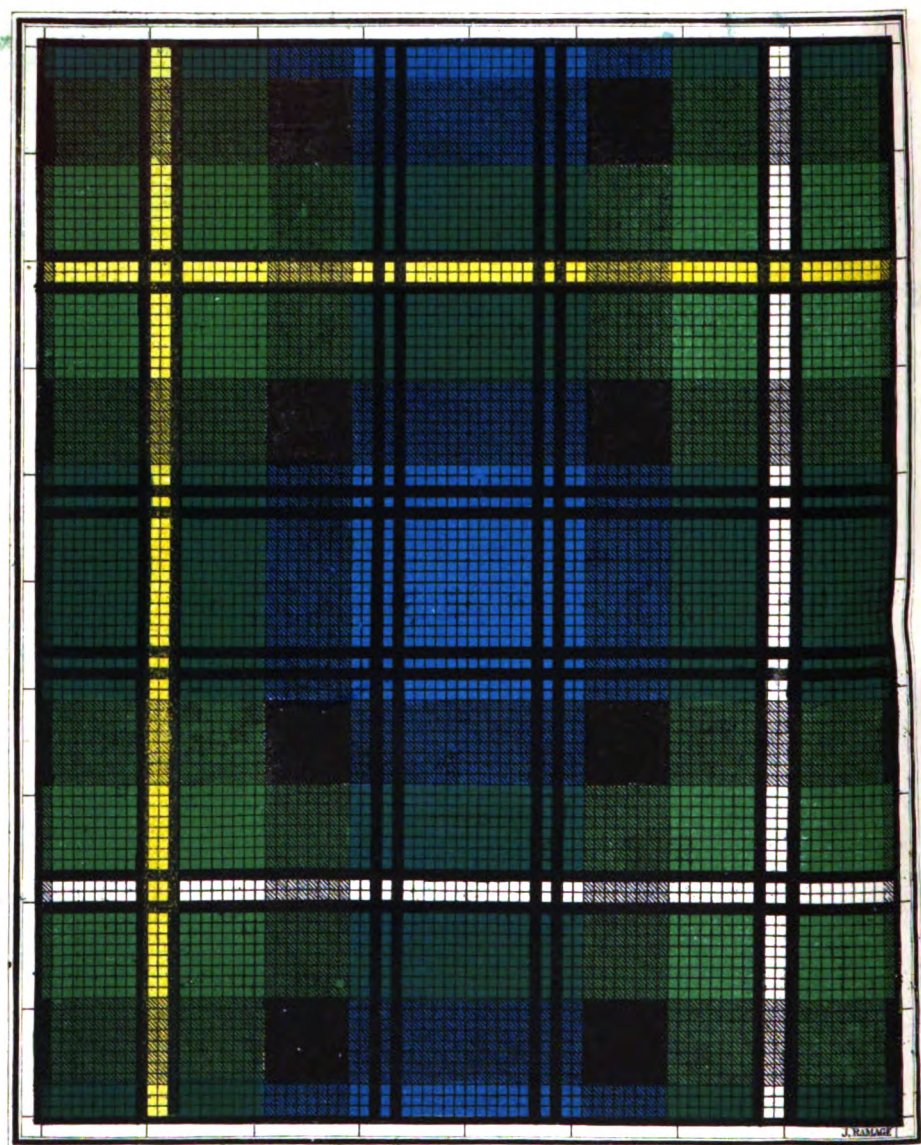


Clan Campbell
(Breadalbane)

THE CLAN CAMPBELL.

The CLAN of the CAMPBELLS is usually held to be the most numerous in Scotland; although the fact must be considered, that it undoubtedly has absorbed, and yet includes, many families not pertaining to it by blood and actual descent. The great power acquired by the heads of the house led various smaller clans to become its followers, voluntarily or compulsorily, and to assume in the course of time its peculiar designation. This remark applies so far both to the gentry and the commonalty, though to the latter chiefly. Nor do the numbers and possessions of the Campbells form the only striking feature in their history. The origin of themselves and their name has never yet been definitively settled. They have been usually viewed by genealogists, indeed, as springing from a Norman of the name of *De Campo-Bello*, a term signifying either *Of the Field of Battle*, or *Of the Fair Field*. There are many instances of names so composed, assuredly; as *Montacute* (*Montague*) from *De Monte Acuto*, the last words meaning *Of the Peak*, and indicating, no doubt, the nature of the locality inhabited originally by the founder of that family. Whether the first Campbells were or were not Normans may be disputed, but there seems little reason to doubt that the name was compounded in one of the ways mentioned. It is not unlikely that some distinguished feat in war was the honourable source of the designation. Some conqueror "Of a Battlefield" may actually have left it to his posterity. It may have been given, however, by a Scottish as well as a Norman monarch. The evidence of Norman descent, it must on the whole be admitted, is incomplete, but the advocates of a Gaelic origin have no better testimony to present on their side. The name does not occur in the older authentic Norman lists. It is found in Ragman Roll, nevertheless, and it then appears as CAMEL, a word which no author, we believe, has ever attempted to trace to the Gaelic language, and which is most unlike the ordinary clan-denominations. Some authors take it, as hinted, to be the same name with Beauchamp; and certainly the conjecture is no very improbable one, Campus-Bellus being, in one sense, that name Latinised. The advocates of this view say that a Gaelic chief wedded a Beauchamp heiress, and took her family designation. But, whatever the founders of the house might be by birth, the Campbells became thoroughly Gaelicised, beyond all question, in the progress of time; and, with their offspring and followers, they have long formed one of the greatest and most illustrious of the septs of the Highlands.

The ordinary account of the origin of the Campbells is, however, that the first of the name married the heiress of O'DUIN (otherwise spelled O'Dwin, O'Duibne, and, in short, in various ways), and so became Lord of Lochow in the district of Argyle. The name of O'Duin points very clearly to an Irish origin, and the tribe so called was doubtless one of those which emigrated from Erin to the West Highlands at a very early period. The sennachies, or family annalists, say that they were Lords of Lochow in the fifth century; and the reader will recollect that that century, and the succeeding one, were already pointed to as the most important epochs of Irish immigration. The personage who founded the O'Duin sept, or at least raised it to importance, was named Diarmid, and hence arose the title of SROL DIARMID (Race of Diarmid), which the Gael have bestowed ever since on the Campbells. Diarmid was followed by a long line of powerful descendants, until, at length, the succession terminated in an heiress, EVA, whose hand was bestowed on GILLESPIE CAMPBELL, a gentleman commonly styled of Anglo-Norman lineage. With his bride he obtained the lordship of Lochow; and unquestionably the territory remains to this day the centre of the Campbell possessions. Such is the tale ordinarily told, at all events; and we must candidly say, that no better one, at least, appears to us to have been yet put in its place. Mr Skene, for one, holds different sentiments, however, and in justice to him, a portion of his words may be here quoted: "While the Campbells say that their ancestor was a Norman of the name of *De Campo-Bello*, they add that he acquired his Argyleshire pro-



Clan Campbell
(Argyle)

THE CLAN CAMPBELL.

The CLAN of the CAMPBELLS is usually held to be the most numerous in Scotland; although the fact must be considered, that it undoubtedly has absorbed, and yet includes, many families not pertaining to it by blood and actual descent. The great power acquired by the heads of the house led various smaller clans to become its followers, voluntarily or compulsorily, and to assume in the course of time its peculiar designation. This remark applies so far both to the gentry and the commonalty, though to the latter chiefly. Nor do the numbers and possessions of the Campbells form the only striking feature in their history. The origin of themselves and their name has never yet been definitively settled. They have been usually viewed by genealogists, indeed, as springing from a Norman of the name of *De Campo-Bello*, a term signifying either *Of the Field of Battle*, or *Of the Fair Field*. There are many instances of names so composed, assuredly; as *Montacute* (*Montague*) from *De Monte Acuto*, the last words meaning *Of the Peak*, and indicating, no doubt, the nature of the locality inhabited originally by the founder of that family. Whether the first Campbells were or were not Normans may be disputed, but there seems little reason to doubt that the name was compounded in one of the ways mentioned. It is not unlikely that some distinguished feat in war was the honourable source of the designation. Some conqueror "Of a Battlefield" may actually have left it to his posterity. It may have been given, however, by a Scottish as well as a Norman monarch. The evidence of Norman descent, it must on the whole be admitted, is incomplete, but the advocates of a Gaelic origin have no better testimony to present on their side. The name does not occur in the older authentic Norman lists. It is found in Ragman Roll, nevertheless, and it then appears as CAMEL, a word which no author, we believe, has ever attempted to trace to the Gaelic language, and which is most unlike the ordinary clan-denominations. Some authors take it, as hinted, to be the same name with Beauchamp; and certainly the conjecture is no very improbable one, Campus-Bellus being, in one sense, that name Latinised. The advocates of this view say that a Gaelic chief wedded a Beauchamp heiress, and took her family designation. But, whatever the founders of the house might be by birth, the Campbells became thoroughly Gaelicised, beyond all question, in the progress of time; and, with their offspring and followers, they have long formed one of the greatest and most illustrious of the septs of the Highlands.

The ordinary account of the origin of the Campbells is, however, that the first of the name married the heiress of O'DUIN (otherwise spelled O'Dwin, O'Duibne, and, in short, in various ways), and so became Lord of Lochow in the district of Argyle. The name of O'Duin points very clearly to an Irish origin, and the tribe so called was doubtless one of those which emigrated from Erin to the West Highlands at a very early period. The sennachies, or family annalists, say that they were Lords of Lochow in the fifth century; and the reader will recollect that that century, and the succeeding one, were already pointed to as the most important epochs of Irish immigration. The personage who founded the O'Duin sept, or at least raised it to importance, was named Diarmid, and hence arose the title of *Stol Diarmid* (Race of Diarmid), which the Gael have bestowed ever since on the Campbells. Diarmid was followed by a long line of powerful descendants, until, at length, the succession terminated in an heiress, EVA, whose hand was bestowed on GILLESPIE CAMPBELL, a gentleman commonly styled of Anglo-Norman lineage. With his bride he obtained the lordship of Lochow; and unquestionably the territory remains to this day the centre of the Campbell possessions. Such is the tale ordinarily told, at all events; and we must candidly say, that no better one; at least, appears to us to have been yet put in its place. Mr Skene, for one, holds different sentiments, however, and in justice to him, a portion of his words may be here quoted: "While the Campbells say that their ancestor was a Norman of the name of *De Campo-Bello*, they add that he acquired his Argyleshire pro-

perty by marriage with the heiress of Paul O'Duin, lord of Lochow. This story is so exactly similar to those in the other clans, where the oldest cadet had usurped the chiefship, that it leads to the suspicion that the same circumstance must have given rise to it among the Campbells." And again, "While the tale upon which they found a Norman descent is exactly parallel to those of other clans in the same situation, the most ancient manuscript genealogies deduce them in the male line from that very family of O'Duin, whose heiress they are said to have married." The two points which the writer of the preceding sentences would establish are, that the Campbells came directly from the line of the O'Duins, and that the Argyle house usurped the chiefship from the Macarthur-Campbells of Strachur. With regard to the latter point, the evidence is weak, if not wholly defective; and, as respects the former matter, the testimony of genealogical tradition appears to be just as strong on the one as on the other side. The case, in brief, does not seem to be clearly determinable at the present day. If the Gael be what Mr Skene describes them to be, no worldly success would have tempted them to acknowledge the chiefship of the house of Argyle, had a preferable claim been vested in the existing Strachur family; and yet for centuries the lordly race of Lochow have held undisputed dominion over the clan of the Campbells. "Suspicion" is not proof, assuredly. As regards the intermarriage of Lowlanders (Saxon or Norman) with Celtic heiresses, it has been before observed by us that the Scottish kings would naturally encourage and further such unions, as at once the shortest way of rewarding useful adventurers, and the least costly to the state and throne. Many authentic cases of the kind might assuredly be quoted. Nor need we be surprised at such circumstances taking place, or marvel at the successes of the Norman knights in their encounters with the Gael. The strangers came cased in steel, mounted on the best horses of Europe, and armed with their long lances, which destroyed the foe almost at a distance. The brave Gael came to battle with comparatively naked breasts. Such contests were most unequal ones in all respects.

This matter has been dwelt on here, chiefly, as being one of interest to the numerous line of the Campbells, and our main regret is, that, after all, we must still pronounce the question of their origin to be doubtful. Gillespie Campbell, who is said to have wedded Eva O'Duin, heiress of Lochow, was the great-grandson of another Gillespie, the first of the house mentioned in authentic history. He is especially named in the statutes of Alexander I., in the thirteenth century. His great-grandson, however, styled **SIR COLIN CAMPBELL**, of Lochow, may be viewed as the real founder of the family greatness. From him the race of the Campbell chieftains derived the appellation of **MAC-COLIN-MORE** (*Macallummore*), or sons of Colin the Great. In documents of date 1293, he is named "*Dominus Colinus Campbell Miles*," showing that the family name was then fixed as it now stands. He made large accessions to the estates of his house, and seems to have commenced those disputes with the Macdougals of Lorn which tended to the overthrow of the latter tribe. His own life, however, was sacrificed in consequence of these dissensions. After a skirmish with the Lord of Lorn, in which the Campbells were successful, their chief followed his victory too far, and was slain at a place termed the String of Cowall, where an obelisk was erected over his grave.

SIR NIEL CAMPBELL, son of Colin-More, was one of the main supporters of King Robert Bruce, and stood so high in that prince's estimation as to receive the hand of his sister, Lady Mary, in marriage. From this hour the star of the Campbells may be said to have been in the ascendant, though, even in 1221, they had been powerful enough to obtain the hereditary sheriffdom of Argyle from Alexander II. But the intermarriage with the Bruces fixed their fortunes. Sir Niel, for his services to the Brucean cause, was rewarded with lands which extended nearly into the heart of Athol. He was one of the barons who formed the Parliament of Ayr in 1315, after having treated with the English at York, in 1314, for the establishment of a peace. **SIR COLIN** succeeded his father, Sir Niel Campbell, and also distinguished himself in the

Bruce wars. On one occasion, however, he drew down on himself the ire of his royal uncle. The Scottish army was in the act of passing through a wood, in February 1317, and King Robert issued strict orders that no man should leave the ranks. Galled by the shot of two English bowmen, however, the young Campbell started forth at full speed to take vengeance upon them personally. The king followed, and struck his nephew so violently with a truncheon that he was nearly unhorsed, crying at the same time, "Return! your disobedience might have brought us all into jeopardy." In sooth, both as a general and knight, Robert the Bruce was well worthy, in old Barbour's words, to be "the king of a great royalty."

Ranking long before amongst the barons of the county practically, the head of the family of the Campbells was finally summoned to Parliament, in the year 1445, as a peer of the realm. The creation might have taken place previously, but in their case, as in that of almost every old baron of the land, the summons of the year mentioned constitutes the first regular proof of the parliamentary title. "LORD CAMPBELL" was the style adapted in the instance before us; and the person first bearing the honour was Sir DUNCAN CAMPBELL. The dangers of the regency under the minority of James II. formed the reason, obviously, for the improvement which then took place in the definition of men's position and quality. When the same monarch came of age, he raised Colin, the grandson and heir of Duncan, "Lord Campbell," to the dignity of EARL OF ARGYLE, A.D. 1457. The Lorn property was also destined to fall into the family at this period, the said Colin having married the co-heiress of the Stewarts of Lorn, the immediate successors of the Macdougals. The Stewarts had been the more direct supplanters, in this instance, of the purely Gaelic occupants, but it was the good fortune of the Campbells to take their place ultimately, the Appin Stewarts being left almost alone, to mark the period of rule of the chiefs of that name. There can be no doubt about these circumstances. Charters under the Great Seal are still extant, proving that the heir-male of the house of Stewart of Lorn made such concessions as gave to his niece and her husband nearly that entire barony, which has been a domain of the Campbells ever since. A natural son of the house of Stewart, however, contrived to retain some of the family possessions, founding the Appin and other branches of the name.

COLIN, first Earl of Argyle, seems to have been a man of the foremost note in his time, and to have been largely instrumental in extending the territorial possessions of the family. He filled the post of High Chancellor of the Scottish kingdom in the reigns of James III. and James IV., and shared freely in the results of the forfeitures then so common of occurrence. In Forfarshire, Perthshire, and other counties, he was gifted with lands; and perhaps the byword of "the greed of the Campbells" may have had its origin in his successes and acquisitions. But, in reality, the whole question resolves itself into the fact, that he and his generation were men of ability, skilful in detecting and using opportunities after the fashion of their day, often, no doubt, too unscrupulously.

A second, third, and fourth Earl of Argyle followed the first in unbroken male succession, from sire to son. The fifth earl had the same advantages of birth, and, from the series of fortunate marriages contracted by the house, was one of the principal and most powerful peers of the kingdom in the time of Queen Mary, or during the latter half of the sixteenth century. He had been educated by John Douglas, the first Protestant bishop of St Andrews, and acquired from him those liberal religious principles which were destined to throw at once a glory and a gloom on the annals of the house. The earl has been variously judged by historians for his conduct during the reign of the unhappy Queen Mary. It is unquestionable that he adhered to his religious principles throughout, or, in other words, to the Presbyterian party called the "Congregation." He was twice wedded, but left no children, and was succeeded by his brother in the year 1575.

COLIN, sixth Earl of Argyle, maintained the high position of the family, being Lord High Chancellor of Scotland. His son ARCHIBALD was still more

eminent for his influence and talents. He was placed at the head of an army at the age of eighteen, being intrusted with the power of the west against that of the north. He failed then in his campaign, but the wonted and singular good fortune of the family did not desert him through life. The Macgregors, and the Macdonalds of Kintyre, had broken out into excesses against the peace of the realm, and the Earl of Argyle was ordered out for their suppression. Here the policy of the Campbells, which lay in adhering ever to the Lowland monarchy in opposition to the feelings and principles which guided the more northern Gael, led to a large acquisition of territory by the house of Lochoy. Far be it from us to approve of the sanguinary treatment too often experienced by the "Children of the Mist" (Macgregors), but, in fairness, we should look at both sides of the question. The Lowlands were gradually settling down into a condition of order and quietude, and the incursions of the neighbouring mountaineers constituted a perpetual and heavy grievance. The Macgregors, to take them as an example, were located on the very borders of the low country, and their predatory habits made them a terror and a curse. If any reader of romantic temperament should feel displeased at this language, let him recollect what occurred in the very middle of the comparatively civilised eighteenth century, when the sons of Rob Roy carried off a helpless young woman from her friends, and, for the sake of her money, completed the abduction by all the horrors of a forced marriage. If such things were done so lately, what unheard-of outrages must have signalised earlier times! It is not to apologise for or justify any wilful cruelties practised on such clans as the Macgregors that these things are mentioned, but simply to prove that the picture has two sides. Their own practices tended largely to pull down vengeance on their heads. In the case now more directly under consideration, the Earl of Argyle, conjoining his power with that of the Gordons, attacked and nearly exterminated the unhappy Macgregors. The Macdonalds of Kintyre were at the same time reduced and partly expelled. Their lands were transferred to Argyle, thus adding another fair portion of the west to his family domains.

Though, from a desire to give the genealogy of the family minutely and completely, the earlier Campbell annals have not been neglected, we now come to a part of their history of greater general interest, and have to notice members of the house of far higher distinction than any of their antecessors. ARCHIBALD, eighth Earl and first MARQUIS of ARGYLE, played so conspicuous a part in Scotland during the great civil wars of the seventeenth century, that no Scotsman, save his illustrious rival and personal foe, Montrose, can be placed beside him on the historical canvass. These two noblemen were literally types of their several races. The "gallant Grahams" never could have had a better representative than the Marquis of Montrose. To all the ardent qualities of his line he added a large intellect, and was, indeed, what a Frenchman of talent called him, a man moulded after "the heroes of Plutarch." On the other hand, all the calm sagacity and astuteness of the Campbell house seem to have been concentrated in the person of the Marquis of Argyle. He certainly took the side in public affairs which men would now-a-days call the true and right one. Montrose upheld the royal prerogative, but Argyle advocated the popular claims to civil and religious freedom; and, if he showed less of chivalrous daring in the course of his life than his renowned opponent, he at least equalled the Marquis of Montrose at the great closing scene—namely, in the serenity of his dying hours. Both of them—sad picture of the times!—perished on the scaffold.

We are anticipating, however, the even course of our narrative. Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, adhered to the Presbyterian party in Scotland, as has been said, and was indeed their leader for a lengthened period. But he so acted throughout as to show that he had no enmity to royalty or to the house of the Stewarts. It was their inveterate tendency to despotic proceedings which threw him into an attitude of opposition, and he was actually one of the last of the Scottish nobles who could be prevailed on to sign that National Covenant which

afterwards embroiled so deeply the throne and the people. So much may fairly be said in justification of the Marquis of Argyle. But had he not had public grounds for his conduct, he certainly received strong private provocation from the court of Charles I. On visiting London by royal invitation in 1638, he discovered that the king, alarmed by the spirit evinced in Scotland, had sanctioned an invasion of the western coasts by the Irish under Lord Antrim, who, upon the strength of being a Macdonald, was to receive as a reward the whole of Kintyre, so lately accorded to the father of Argyle by royalty. There can be little doubt that Argyle was rendered by this circumstance still more willing than before to join the popular party in Parliament and in the General Assembly. He accordingly is found to have been a leader of the latter body in 1638, when the liturgy was condemned, the presbyteries fully re-established, and episcopacy, in short, abolished.

King Charles proposed, as is well known, to invade Scotland in 1639, and the Marquis of Argyle (as we shall term him throughout for the sake of clearness) raised 900 of his clan to aid in repelling at once the inroad from Ireland and that from England. During the various imperfect attempts at pacification which followed, his lordship was called on to act against the Earl of Athol and the Ogilvies in the north, and he forced them to submit to the Scottish Parliament. Montrose, his family foe, was at this time a young man burning for distinction, and, though inclined to favour the popular party, felt deeply irritated by the ascendancy of Argyle. An accusation of disloyalty, brought unadvisedly against the latter by Montrose, only served, by its total failure, to prove that the chief of the Campbells meditated no overthrow of the regal authority. Charles I. seems to have been quite satisfied on this subject. It was on his visit to Scotland in 1641 that he raised Argyle to the dignity of the Marquisate.

But the obstinacy of Charles soon precipitated matters in England to a bloody conclusion; and the sympathies of Argyle and the popular party in Scotland were entirely against the arbitrary movements of royalty. For several successive seasons the Marquis was engaged, more or less actively, against Montrose and the other adherents of Charles, and he had his feelings of hostility aggravated by a cruel incursion of the Irish into Argyleshire. At length, on the 2d of February, 1645, the forces of Argyle and Montrose met at Inverlochy. The Campbells fought bravely, but could not withstand the skill and daring of the royalist leader. He routed his opponents utterly, and Argyle only escaped by means of a boat on the lake, from which he had viewed the battle. He has been charged with pusillanimity on this occasion, but many passages of his life, and above all its final scene, should render us chary of adopting any such supposition. Argyle had the further misfortune, not long afterwards, of witnessing a second and complete overthrow of the Covenanters at Kilsyth by Montrose. In another month Montrose was himself defeated by Leslie at Philiphaugh, A.D. 1645.

Notwithstanding all that had passed, the Marquis of Argyle was one of those who sincerely desired to see a reconciliation betwixt King Charles and his subjects, and personally waited, with that view, on his majesty at Newcastle. When Charles put himself into the hands of the Scottish people, Argyle, to his credit, took no part in any of the discussions for the disposal of the royal person. That he did not go further, and oppose the deliverance of the king to the English Parliament, is solely excusable on the ground that the best friends of Charles in the south warned him that Scotland would have to bear the whole weight of an English war if any opposition were offered by the Scots to the progress of events in the south. An attempt, however, was really made by the northern friends of royalty, and it ended in a contest equally disastrous and fruitless. Charles I. perished on the scaffold at Whitehall, on the 30th of January, 1649.

The present remarks are not made with the view of defending the conduct of the Scots generally in delivering up the king—an act scarcely defensible in any point of view—but in order, simply, to explain the conduct of the Marquis of Argyle. He showed his unabated attachment to the ancient race of the

Scottish kings, by being the most active of the nobles in calling Charles II. to the throne. He personally crowned the young monarch at Scone in 1650. Even after the defeat at Dunbar in the same year, he adhered so warmly to the royal cause that Charles voluntarily gave him a letter, announcing the intent to create him Duke of Argyle as soon as circumstances permitted, and also saying, "Whenever it shall please God to restore me to my just rights, I shall see him paid the £40,000 sterling which is due to him." Such a document as this should put a stop to all charges of disloyalty against Argyle. Nor can we believe such accusations because, on the failure of Charles II. at Worcester, and his consequent expulsion from Britain, the Marquis, being brought a prisoner from Inverary to Edinburgh, admitted the authority of Cromwell's government. For this compulsory submission to a power which all Britain at the time, through love or fear, obeyed, the ungrateful prince, when restored to the throne in 1660, brought the Marquis of Argyle to the scaffold, probably deeming it the easiest way of repaying the "£40,000 which were due to him." We are by no means disposed to overlook the failings of Argyle's character, which consisted mainly in a tendency to political temporising, but he had laid Charles II. under such obligations as merited a very different return than death under the axe. He had gone to London to acknowledge and welcome Charles, but the king would not see him, and sent him back a prisoner to Scotland. In February, 1661, a mass of most heterogeneous charges was brought against him in the Scottish Parliament, but the whole of them were so ridiculous as to be almost ineffective, until a parcel of letters arrived from London, sent by Monk (Duke of Albemarle), and proving Argyle to have recognised the authority of the Protectorate. Upon the faith of these the Marquis was condemned to death; though common sense would say that half the population of Britain deserved hanging upon the same principle, and that the first man of all honoured with the rope should have been General George Monk. Argyle was condemned to death, and, on the occasion, the young Lord of Montrose, now restored to the honours of his ancestors, refused to give a vote, thus repaying the chief of the Campbells for his forbearance in declining to assent (in 1650) to the execution of the great Marquis of Montrose.

The Marquis of Argyle, from the hour of his condemnation, behaved in a way worthy of the head of the Scottish Presbyterians. Sentence was pronounced against him on the 25th of May, 1661, and ordered to be carried into execution on the 27th, at the Cross of Edinburgh. The inhuman speed evinced by his foes did not appal the Marquis. He only remarked, "I set the crown on his Majesty's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own." He never for one moment of the short space allotted to him lost his cheerfulness and intrepidity. It is commonly said that one of the most adverse of his judges came to see him on the night before his death, and was so much struck to find him sleeping with the utmost calmness, as to retire from the scene with feelings of the deepest perturbation. Several of his friends among the nobility had the courage to accompany Argyle to the scaffold, where he delivered a few grave and manly words to the people before he laid his head on the block. He desired all around him to take note that "he disclaimed participation in the death of Charles I., and prayed earnestly for the well-being of the reigning sovereign." His head was then severed from his body by the instrument called *The Maiden*, introduced by the Regent Earl of Morton, and still preserved as a relic in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. It is a simple form of the fearful Guillotine of France.

ARCHIBALD, son and successor of the Marquis of Argyle, partook so far in his father's troubles, and actually lay for a time in prison under sentence of death. He was liberated, however, in June, 1663, and soon afterwards obtained his grandfather's title of Earl of Argyle, with the estates of the house generally. The policy of adhering to the constitution was kept up by the Earl of Argyle, and it was to him that "letters of fire and sword" against the Macleans were entrusted in 1678. As a privy-counsellor, a commissioner of the treasury, and an extraordinary lord of session, Argyle acted until James, duke of York, afterwards king, came down to Scotland. The earl was now exposed to great

danger from his unwillingness to take the *test*, or oath, regarding the terms of succession to the throne; and when he really took the test, he put the following protest on record in the books of Parliament: "I think no man can explain this oath but for himself. Accordingly, I take it, as far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion." The bearing of this explanation against the Catholic heir to the throne was too obvious to be tolerated by that personage, and, after communication with Charles II., Argyle was committed to custody in the Castle of Edinburgh. His father had resigned into the hands of royalty the Justiciary-ship of Scotland, hereditary in the family; but the heritable jurisdiction of Argyleshire still remained in the house, and it was sought to take away this privilege, with part of the estates. The malice of the court, or rather of the Duke of York, brought the Earl of Argyle to the bar of the Justiciary Court in December, 1681; and the king's advocate, Mackenzie, a man so singularly marked by perverted talents, did his utmost to implicate the earl in the crime of treason on the score of the "explanation" given of the test. The judges were closely divided in opinion, and, to solve the difficulty, the court brought in Lord Nairn, a judge long superannuated. He was roused from his bed at midnight, and, as he knew nothing that had passed, the proceedings were read over again in his presence. He was found to have fallen sound asleep when called on for his vote. It was decisive against Argyle; and, unlike his father, the Marquis of Montrose (grandson of the great Montrose) sat as foreman or chancellor on the condemnatory jury. The conviction was a capital one—for leasing-making and high treason.

But the courage of a woman saved Argyle on this occasion from his impending fate. Lady Sophia Lindsay, his daughter-in-law, visited him in the castle before his removal to the prison of the condemned, and had the address to get him safely forth in the guise of her page, holding up her train. The earl passed over to Holland; but a circumstance occurred before that time which shows that the Duke of York was his true enemy. Argyle had not yet left Britain, when an offer was made to Charles II. to point out where he might be found. "Pooh! pooh!" cried the king, "hunt a hunted partridge! for shame!" This one quality of good-nature has long excused many blunders on the part of Charles—nay, many vices, many crimes. But of this point we are not called on here to judge.

Far be it from us to act as the apologists of either the Campbell chiefs or any others in this history, where their acts are of dubious interpretation. But when the Earl of Argyle moved with a force from Holland on the death of Charles II., what did he propose or do more than was purposed and done three years afterwards, with the same views, at the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688? The unhappy nobleman sacrificed himself as the *avant-courier* of a lasting change in the British monarchy. He left Holland with a body of his friends in May, 1685, and attempted to rouse his own vassals of the West Highlands. But the people had not yet fully taken the alarm at the principles and measures of James VII., and the earl found himself utterly unsupported. In fact, he was deserted by the nearest and dearest of his followers, and, being taken prisoner, was led, on the 20th of June, 1685, to the Castle of Edinburgh, with his hands tied behind his back, and preceded by that ominous functionary of the state, the public executioner. On arriving at Edinburgh, he was summarily devoted to death on the basis of the former sentence, and suffered that sad fate, on the 30th of June, 1685, with the utmost courage and constancy. He was so calm in his last hours as to write his own epitaph; and though, as Horace Walpole says, the lines may not be very poetic, there is "an heroic satisfaction of conscience expressed in them, worthy of the cause in which he fell." Some of the lines are prophetic of the Revolution of 1688, and show that the Earl of Argyle was acting under no motives of personal ambition:—

"On my attempt though Providence did frown,
His oppress'd people God at length shall own:
Another hand, with more successful speed,
Shall raise the remnant, bruise the serpent's head.
Though my head fall, that is no tragic story,
Since, going hence, I enter endless glory."

It is a singular proof how much allowance we ought to make for the times in which such men as Argyle (indeed, both of the Argyles) and Montrose lived and died, that, after taking perfectly opposite courses during their career in the world, they are yet respectively to be found at last standing on the scaffold, not only with composure, but even with songs of triumph on their several lips.

The other hand or power alluded to by Argyle soon made its appearance. The forces of William of Orange completed what he had attempted unsuccessfully. The Argyle family were not passed over without notice, King William not only restoring the heir of the house, ARCHIBALD, to his ancient family honours, but advancing him to new dignities. He was elevated to the highest offices of state in Scotland, and was finally created, in June, 1701, DUKE OF ARGYLE. His Grace was consulted perpetually on Scottish affairs, and William III. was accustomed to say that he got more truth from Argyle than from all the rest of his servants in Scotland. He raised a regiment almost entirely of his own name, who served bravely in King William's wars in Flanders. Of this body more may be said afterwards, or at least of the military corps to which it in part gave rise. The first Duke of Argyle, Marquis of Lorn, and Earl of Campbell, died on the 25th September, 1703.

We now reach the history of one of the most eminent members of the house of Campbell, JOHN, DUKE OF ARGYLE and GREENWICH—

“Argyle, the state's whole thunder torn to wield,
And shake alike the senate and the field.”

So spoke of him the great poet, Pope, who might be somewhat unmerciful and even prejudiced at times, but who seldom flattered, and never wittingly lied. IAN ROY (John the Red, as he was called by his clan), was indeed a man of very superior abilities, and proved such to be the case, as the bard tells us, both in council and in battle. He commanded a regiment of foot under King William when very young, and distinguished himself highly in Flanders. According to the custom of the “olden times,” he was not only advanced to the rank of a privy-councillor, but was also made an extraordinary lord of session, before he had reached the age of twenty-five. Such was the way of doing things in these days; and it would have been well had rank and wealth brought no worse men into such positions than John, Duke of Argyle. In 1705, when he had arrived at the age of twenty-seven, he was nominated Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, the court being actuated in his appointment, doubtless, by the high promise of his character, his vast patrimonial possessions, and the great general influence of his family in Scotland. Forty coaches and six hundred horsemen met him on his approach to Edinburgh, and thus was he ushered in triumph, as lord-commissioner, into the ancient royalty. A very handsome person, and a demeanour manly and staid beyond his years, contributed, with his other advantages, to render him, at the time, by far the most popular of all the magnates of Scotland. In his opening speech to Parliament, his grace recommended the settlement of the succession to the throne in the Protestant line, and advocated a Treaty of Union with England. Having performed his duties in Scotland, and procured the appointment of proper parties to discuss the terms of the union, the duke was led, by his active spirit, to join the army of Marlborough in Flanders. At Ostend and Menin he distinguished himself highly, and entered the latter place as the leader of the victors. He returned to his own country to assist in carrying out the treaty of union, and braved much unpopularity in accomplishing that great object, which nearly all men now acknowledge to have saved North and South Britain from endless feuds. As colonel of the third regiment of foot, his grace acted an important part in Flanders, whither he returned betwixt the years 1707 and 1710, being raised to such a rank, and entrusted with such commands as befitted his pretensions and merits. At the battle of Oudenarde, and at the sieges of Lisle, Ghent, and Tournay, he made himself peculiarly eminent; and at Malplaquet, where victory seemed about to desert the British arms, he exposed himself so fearlessly that his clothes were penetrated by a number of balls, though his person escaped unharmed. The Duke of Marlborough esteemed and employed

Argyle, though the very high rank and talents of the latter seem to have bred a jealousy betwixt the two, and frequently to have set them at variance.

The Duke of Argyle returned to Britain in 1710. It is by no means to his honour that he then opposed the motion in the House of Lords for thanking Marlborough, though Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford) and other enemies of the conqueror of Blenheim were delighted by the proceeding. Their influence gave to Argyle an opportunity of rivalling his late superior, by his being employed as commander-in-chief of the British forces then acting in Spain. His grace arrived at Barcelona in May, 1711, but he found the troops in a condition miserably unfit for service. He called for money and aid from home; his call was unheeded. The anxiety of his mind brought on a severe illness, and, on recovering from it, he had the mortification to be compelled to quit Spain with all his forces. Undoubtedly, however, the failure of assistance from home in men and means was to a great extent the cause of these reverses—the more galling, it may be supposed, from the unvarying successes of the Duke of Marlborough.

Soured in temper by the bad treatment which he imagined himself to have experienced at the hands of the home government, the Duke of Argyle, on his return to Britain, joined the party of the opposition in Parliament, and even voted for a repeal of the act of union. His plea was, that the Protestant succession was now safe without that treaty; and he proved himself to be so far sincere by furthering and securing the interests of the Elector of Hanover. All along the principles of his family had been favourable to the Whig party—in short, to moderate liberalism, as opposed to the high Jacobite or ultra-monarchical ideas of other statesmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He did not deviate from these principles in his present movements. The result of all was, that George I. looked on Argyle as the main pillar of his power in Scotland, at the time when Queen Anne died and left the throne vacant for his ascension. The duke was named commander of the forces in the north in September, 1714; and, when the Earl of Mar appeared in rebellion during the following year, his grace was ordered out against the insurgents. He found the military power of the crown in Scotland in a state of wretched weakness, but he led the troops under his command against the Earl of Mar, and met him at Sheriffmuir, near Dumblane, on the 15th November, 1715. The battle which took place undoubtedly checked the rebel army and broke up their plans; but to pronounce who gained the victory has puzzled historian and poet ever since. “Some say that we wan, and some say that they wan,” has been ever the cry of the Scots in speaking of that engagement; and even Robert Burns thought the dilemma worthy of a spirit-stirring though semi-humorous lyric. Argyle himself is said to have turned poet on the occasion, but it may be doubted whether he did not merely content himself with making use of the old catch-verse of the “Bob o’ Dumblane”—“If it be na weel bobbitt, we’ll bob it again.”

His grace, though scarcely entitled to the honours of a victory, was at least successful, as observed, in checking the advance of the insurgents southwards, and they never again were able to make a stand against the royal army. Being joined by additional troops, Argyle moved northwards towards Perth early in 1716, but the army of Lord Mar had dispersed, and he himself, with the other chiefs of the party, had left Scotland, or taken to hiding-places. When the duke returned to London, he, to his honour, advocated the most lenient treatment of the Highland chieftains, and was rewarded with the violent displeasure of the king and court. Had his advice been taken timeously, there might have been no civil war in 1745. He knew far better than the English the spirit of the Gael, and was aware that kindness *then* might have allayed their animosity “for ever and a day.” Another circumstance placed his grace in opposition to the court. From the days of Henry IV. to those of George III. the heirs-apparent of the British monarchs have almost always been placed in an attitude of hostility to their sires, chiefly because the rising sun is apt to attract worshippers, and to lessen the homage paid to and expected by the setting luminary. A party of the young and active in a state invariably congregates around the sovereign

in posse, and hence arises the jealousy of the sovereign *in esse*. Our whole annals abound with evidences of this truth. In the present instance, the Duke of Argyle chanced to acquire the especial favour of the Prince of Wales, and, in proportion, lost that of the king. In 1716, he was deprived of all his employments about the royal household, and it was not till 1719 that he was fully restored to favour. In that year he was created High Steward, and received the title of DUKE of GREENWICH, having before sat in the English Parliament as Earl of Greenwich. He was one of those well-meaning patriots who proposed the limitation of the number of English peers, and the augmentation of the roll of Scottish representative nobles from sixteen to twenty-five. He failed in his object at the time; but, by the conference of British titles on Scottish barons, his design of equalisation has since been carried out fully. He strenuously fulfilled his duties in parliament during the busy years succeeding 1715, and was always at hand to defend there the interests of his own northern land. He held but a dubious position with the court, but the Chief of the Campbells was of too much importance to be pushed to the wall by any changes of men or measures. When the famous Porteous riot took place in Edinburgh, his grace courageously stood forth to check the wild retaliatory steps which it was proposed to take against the city of Edinburgh. It was then, on being taunted with interested motives, that he pronounced the speech which Sir Walter Scott has rendered familiar to all general readers, by quoting it in the "Heart of Midlothian":—"I am no minister, I never was a minister, and I never will be one. I thank God I had always too great a value for those few abilities which nature has given to me, to employ them in doing any drudgery, or any *job* of any kind whatever." In short, the duke punished his ministerial opponents unsparingly in his oration, and frightened them into milder measures with respect to the city of Edinburgh. It was on this occasion, also, that he is said to have risked his head in imparting a similar lesson to royalty. Queen Caroline, left regent at the time of the Porteous mob by her royal lord's absence in Hanover, indignantly declared to the duke that "she would turn Scotland into a hunting-seat." "If that be the case, madam," said his grace, coolly, "I must go down and prepare my hounds." The threat was courteously worded, but was in reality a terrible one; and the queen felt its true force. She was guilty of no farther ebullitions of anger of the same kind. Edinburgh was pardoned on payment of a fine.

The Duke of Argyle opposed the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle in parliament with energy, and, in 1742, Walpole resigned the premiership. But, though the command of the British army was given to Argyle, he was unable to reconcile himself to other appointments made, and held his place but for a few days. Perhaps ill health had some share in this proceeding. He died at all events soon afterwards (4th of October, 1743), in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was interred in Westminster Abbey, and the talents of Roubiliac were exerted in erecting a beautiful monument to his memory, still to be seen in the southern transept of the edifice.

There must have been something truly grand, on the whole, in the character of John, duke of Argyle and Greenwich, whose career has now been thus briefly traced. No common personage could have drawn forth the praises which Pope and Thomson lavished on his head. The commendations of such men involved in them the boon of immortality. The bard of the seasons says that Scotland beheld in Argyle—

"Her every virtue, every grace combined,
Her genius, wisdom, her engaging turn,
Her pride of honour, and her courage tried,
Calm and intrepid, in the very throat
Of sulphurous war, on Tenier's dreadful field.
Nor less the palm of peace enwreathes thy brow;
For, powerful as thy sword, from thy rich tongue
Persuasion flows, and wins the high debate."

There was much silly flattery of the great in the verse of those days, but Pope

and Thomson cannot be viewed as common rhyming adulators. The character given by them of the Duke of Argyle may be taken as indicating their real feelings, even admitting that lofty rank so far impressed them as well as others.

By the death of the duke, his British title of Greenwich became extinct, as he left no male heirs. A considerable portion of his property, though not the Highland estates, went to the Buccleugh family, whose heir had married his daughter, Lady Caroline. The dukedom of Argyle passed to his brother ARCHIBALD, EARL of ISLAY, so created previously, for his long and active services to the crown in Scotland. One cannot now help feeling amazed at the rapid transition from camp to court—from the field to the bench—which the habits of that age permitted, and which the lives of the second and third Dukes of Argyle so strikingly exemplified. After serving under Marlborough, the immediate subject of our notice (Duke Archibald finally) returned to Scotland, was appointed Lord High Treasurer there, and, as such, aided largely in carrying out the union. For his services, as stated, he was created Earl of Islay. He continued to occupy various high and not unlucrative situations in Scotland up to the outbreak of the Mar rebellion of 1715, when he received several serious wounds at Sherriffmuir, having there joined his brother's army. The offices of High Treasurer, Lord Clerk-Registrar, and Keeper of the Privy Seal and the Great Seal, rewarded him successively for his undeviating fidelity to the house of Hanover, and his utility, also, to its ministers—on which latter score he was sometimes at serious variance with his elder brother, then duke. The Earl of Islay was long the most trusted friend of Sir Robert Walpole in Scotland, and changed not his creed even when his grace of Argyle was most strenuous in his opposition to that statesman.

In 1743, Archibald, Earl of Islay, succeeded as DUKE of ARGYLE. The Justiciaryship of the kingdom, possessed by the house formerly, had before been resigned into the hands of the crown; but the hereditary Justice-Generalship of Argyle, and the office of Sheriff, had been retained. The jurisdiction-act of 1747 now called on the Argyle family to part with these and several other posts and privileges. Compensation, however, was made for the concession, and the sum in this case accorded was £21,000 (by other accounts £25,000) sterling. It makes one shudder, it may be remarked, to think that, in reality, this transaction was equivalent to the buying away from one man of rank of the power of life and death over all around him. How he and his predecessors wielded it, is not the point here under consideration; but certainly the Lords of Argyle, however, had the *legal* right to do almost anything they chose in their own district, and the withdrawal of such license from their hands could not but be a blessing to the whole country. We may smile at the story of Janet telling her husband to ascend the gallows-tree, "like a man, to please the laird," but the state of society which permitted such scenes is one never to be witnessed again, it is to be hoped, in these islands. There was doubtless a counterbalancing advantage, in so far as the chiefs could often act where the regular laws might have been ineffective; but the good never could equal the evil. The abolition of hereditary jurisdictions was indeed the most important of all the steps taken after the rebellion for the civilisation of the Highlands; and we owe it mainly to Duncan Forbes, Lord-President of the Court of Session. He was most scurvily recompensed at the time for his patriotic exertions by the government of England. The measures which he suggested, nevertheless, and carried through, were of much more importance to the Gael themselves than to any other parties. He rendered them for the first time comparatively free agents, and gave to them the ordinary privileges of social life. They were no longer liable to be strung up to a tree for refusing to plunder or to fight at the command of the lords of the soil. Yet some very recent writers speak of the willingness to do such acts as—"devotion to the chief," and "romantic fidelity," and by twenty such names and phrases, lamenting the changed state of things. Highly as we respect the character of the Highlanders, we believe that many of them would fain have inhabited their hills in quiet of old as now, and that

the unhappy ambition and quarrels of the chiefs, who had over every man of them the power of life and death, influenced their actions much more largely than fanciful novelists have been accustomed to allow. Sir Walter Scott knew all this well, though he valued the Gael highly.

We have strayed a little from our immediate subject, but, in fact, it is a part of our purpose to develop such ideas of the Celtic character as occur to us by degrees, and as occasion serves. The abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions was the work of Duncan Forbes, but Archibald, third duke of Argyle (previously Earl of Islay) supported the government in that and all their other Scottish measures at that momentous epoch. He aided the Lord President warmly, for example, in the scheme for employing the young men of the Highlands abroad and in the armies. His grace was a lover of literature, and in the Castle of Inverary, chiefly erected by him, he founded a splendid library. When his death took place, however, in April 1761, he left no family behind him, and his personal honours, as "Earl of Islay and Lord Oransay," became extinct. The dukedom of Argyle passed to the lineal male heir, son of the Honourable John Campbell of Mamore, second son of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyle.

JOHN CAMPBELL (the second) of Mamore became the fourth DUKE of ARGYLE in 1761. He was an active man during his career; and, besides serving in a high military capacity at Dettingen and elsewhere, he sat in the British House of Commons during the greatest part of his life, being advanced in years before he succeeded to the dukedom. He shared freely in those honours and employments with which the English ministers ever endeavoured of old to conciliate the house of Argyle, and maintain their Scottish influence. His grace enjoyed his title but a few years, dying in London in 1770, at the age of seventy-seven.

His eldest son, JOHN, inherited the honours, and became fifth DUKE of ARGYLE. He sat in the House of Commons before his accession, and also in the House of Lords, being created LORD SUNDRIDGE (in 1766) while his father lived. It is by the tenure of this baronial title that the heads of the Campbells still sit among the British peers. But it was as a soldier that John, duke of Argyle, was chiefly distinguished through life. He served in the last Scottish civil war, and also on the continent. He passed through every grade of military rank in succession, and finally became a field-marshal of the forces in 1796. His career was useful though not brilliant. It should be observed, to his honour, that his tenantry, the most numerous at the time in Scotland, were the objects of his peculiar care when he came to his estates; and he was the first President of the Highland Society, that great association to which Scottish agriculture and Scottish agriculturists are so deeply indebted. He married, in 1759, the Duchess Dowager of Hamilton, by birth Elizabeth Gunning, one of the most renowned beauties of her time, and sister to other ladies scarcely less celebrated for their charms. The family of the Gunnings, who were from Ireland, was of itself sufficiently respectable; but to their personal attractions were these sisters indebted for the high matches made by one and all of them. Elizabeth sat in her day as mistress of two of the noblest dwellings of Scotland, being successively Duchess of Hamilton and Argyle; and the sovereign of the land even gave to her the personal title (in 1776) of Baroness Hamilton, which, on the failure of her male issue by the first marriage, descended to her children by the Duke of Argyle, and is yet a title of the Campbell house. John, fifth Duke of Argyle, died at Inverary Castle in 1806.

GEORGE WILLIAM, eldest surviving son, became the sixth DUKE. He wedded in 1810 Caroline-Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Jersey, whose previous union with Lord Paget (now Marquis of Anglesey) had been dissolved in the Scottish courts. His grace died in 1839, and was succeeded by his brother, Lord JOHN-Douglas-Edward-Henry, seventh DUKE of ARGYLE. His lordship long held a seat in the Commons' House of Parliament, and followed generally the same political principles which had caused the Campbell family ever to be regarded as a main pillar of the Whig party among the nobles of Scotland.

The gradual concentration of all official business in the British metropolis, however, had long before shorn the highest northern peers of much of their importance, and the abolition of almost all their hereditary privileges has greatly changed their position even at home. Once on a time a Duke of Argyle never could be anything else than a man of the first consequence; now-a-days, his repute and influence must rest mainly on his own personal qualities and exertions. The opinion has already been expressed here, that this change in the state of matters was inevitable, as well as others; and that the disadvantages attending the period of transition should be looked to and cared for, as forming the only real source of regret and trouble.

John, seventh duke of Argyle, died in 1847, and was succeeded by his son GEORGE-DOUGLAS, eighth DUKE and present inheritor of the honours and estates of the Campbell chieftains. While Marquis of Lorn, he espoused (in 1844) the Lady Elizabeth-Georgina, eldest daughter of the Duke of Sutherland, and has had issue by that marriage, the MARQUIS of LORN, heir-apparent to the titles and estates. His grace was born in 1823, and gave proofs of talent even before completing his majority. He took a deep interest in the questions agitating the Church of Scotland a few years ago, and announced through the press opinions on the subject calculated to command general respect. He has also since expressed his sentiments on other subjects through the same organ. His grace, since his accession to the family honours, has presented himself among his peers in the senate, and there, likewise, has attracted attention and attained to distinction; but, in truth, his career may be viewed as yet only commenced. There is a Highland prophecy respecting his house, which may be mentioned here, we trust, without offence. It has been foretold, it seems, that all the glories of the Campbell line are to be renewed in the first chief who, in the hue of his locks, approaches to IAN ROY CEAN (Red John the Great). Without swearing to a faith in Gaelic second-sight, we may at least hope that our own day may see the prophecy fulfilled, as nature has so far done her part in the business.

It is now time to turn to the illustrious offshoots which have been thrown off by the Argyle family, and of which, purposely, no notice has as yet been taken. The greatest, though not the oldest, is the BREADALBANE branch. The first of the line was Colin Campbell, second surviving son of the first Baron Campbell of the family; and he is said to have obtained the great Glenorchy property through an intermarriage of his ancestor with an heiress of the name of Glenorchy. Of course she was only "*de* Glenorchy," or "*of* Glenorchy." But it is indisputable that Sir Colin Campbell, the party already mentioned, came, in the fifteenth century, into possession of the Glenorchy or Breadalbane estates, which the Argyle house had obtained by marriage in the reign of David II. It is very likely that some family compact caused the severment of the Glenorchy property from that of Argyle, or that the Lord Campbell thought, as he might well do, that his possessions would bear a little division. Be this as it may, a great branch of the Campbell house was founded in the fifteenth century, when the said Sir Colin obtained his territorial legacy. It is related that he wedded one of the co-heiresses of the Stewarts of Lorn, and certainly a share of that property has long remained in the family. The first chief of Breadalbane is said to have been married thrice. He was succeeded by his son Duncan, who was acknowledged by the Argyle family as first in succession after their own direct line, and who obtained regal charters for various lands in Perthshire and elsewhere. He intermarried with the Douglasses of Angus—a sufficient proof of the rising importance of his house. From the close of the fifteenth up to the middle of the seventeenth century, the family continued to maintain a high rank and estimation among their countrymen. The same singular success in the world attended the Breadalbane Campbells as had before accompanied the house of Argyle. Their estates, being chiefly on the borders of the Lowlands, increased constantly and largely in value; and they were soon the equals, in point of wealth, of the chiefs of Lochoy. Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy was at length enabled to lend a vast sum of money to the Earl of Caithness. The debts of that nobleman are said to have risen to

above a "million of merks," an amount exceeding, the times being considered, even the million and a half sterling said to be due in our day by the Duke of Buckingham. To Sir John, in recompense for his loan, the Earl of Caithness ceded all his estates, honours, and titles. He reserved the earldom to himself merely for life, and made some other provisional stipulations for his widow; but when the Earl of Caithness died in 1676, though the crown was quite willing to assent to all that was required, the injustice of the case proved too gross to be permitted, or sanctioned, even by a Scottish privy council of the seventeenth century. The male heir of the Sinclair earldom was admitted to his undoubted rights in July, 1681. In August, 1681, however, Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, then the head of his line, was created **EARL OF BREADALBANE**, to which title was added that of **EARL OF HOLLAND**, on account of his marriage with Lady Mary Rich, daughter of the unhappy nobleman of that name, executed for his loyalty to Charles I.

A singular circumstance occurred at this epoch in the family history of the Breadalbane Campbells. The eldest son of the first Earl was passed over in the patent, and thereat the world greatly wondered. It may charitably be presumed that there existed defects justifying this alienation of honours from the true heir; but as we have lately seen, in the case of a Scottish duke, even such a plea would not be of avail now-a-days. We refer to the case of the Athol family. The titles were there left to the true but unfortunate owner, whose right thereto was neither disputable nor disputed.

JOHN Campbell, first earl of Breadalbane, stood high in favour with William of Orange and his queen Mary. Among other plans for quieting the Highlands, undertaken during their conjunct reign, the idea of sending money to pacify the chiefs and relieve the wants of the people was suggested and adopted. Twelve thousand pounds sterling were accordingly sent to Scotland for this purpose; and, though we have never seen any very trust-worthy evidence adduced on the subject, it is commonly said that Lord Breadalbane was the main profiter by this grant. It is also told that he was involved in the infamous affair of Glencoe. As regards the latter business, however, the odium, we imagine, must rest mainly with Lord Stair, and still more with the officer employed by him on the occasion. At least, when the Earl of Breadalbane was put on trial for this matter, as he actually was, by the Scottish Parliament, he was acquitted, from the total failure of adverse testimony. It seems to us, in fact, that the wretched and criminal business of Glencoe was less the result of any positive plan, or of orders given, than of the reckless and guilty conduct of the military party employed. The leader was a Campbell—Campbell of Glenlyon—and the odium fell on his whole name and house to a greater extent than the sternest justice could well demand. But the Massacre of Glencoe was a fearful affair—one ranking in kind with the Massacre of St Bartholomew. We cannot be blind to the fact that the Highlanders at the time often required repression by the strong hand of the crown and law; but if any man planned with deliberation such a scene of butchery as that which took place in the vale of Glencoe, his name well merits to be blotted out from the roll and scroll of humanity. The Gael might call for and even deserve some check, we repeat; but nothing could or can justify that one instance of murderous treachery. None of the numerous private letters and memoirs of the time, however, since published, present absolute proof that it was coolly meditated by either Stair, Breadalbane, or any other ruling men of Scotland of the day. They certainly sent soldiers to the Highlands to act with strictness and severity, but not to put to the sword at once men, women, and babes. It would be hard to say how much of the spirit of the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 flowed from the Massacre of Glencoe. That terrible catastrophe, no doubt, affected the people deeply, and may have caused much of the bloodshed attending these events. The first Earl of Breadalbane is singularly described by Mackay in his *Memoirs*. "It is odds if he live long enough," says the writer, "but he is a duke. He is of a fair complexion, and has the gravity of a Spaniard, is as cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and slippery as an eel." The natural envy of surrounding

septs at the success in life of the great Campbell family, prompted assuredly much of the feeling here expressed ; but it is easy to see that the real source of their prosperity lay in their steady and undeviating adhesion to the Lowland government from the days of the Bruces. The first Earl of Breadalbane, however, showed a strong desire to aid the Stewart cause in 1715, and sent three hundred of his men to join the insurgent forces. This fact is mentioned to prove that he did not differ much in opinion from the other Highland chiefs regarding the Stewart claims. His lordship had some difficulty in escaping the consequences of his proceedings.

JOHN, second son of the Earl of Breadalbane, was his successor in the family honours and estates. The fact of an elder brother being alive was not overlooked by the jealous sticklers for hereditary succession among the Scottish peers ; but the patent of the earldom had been so drawn up, that, whatever the cause might be, the second son was allowed to inherit the titles of the family. The eldest son left no issue, thus obviating all future disputes. It is remarkable how many fortunate marriages were made by the Breadalbane Campbells, in part justifying the character ever borne by the race for worldly prudence. The first earl had wedded Lady Mary Rich, a co-heiress of the Earls of Holland, and, the second earl married Lady Frances Cavendish, one of the five daughters and co-heiresses of the Duke of Newcastle, the richest brides that England could then produce. But the last lady died without issue, and the family lost their due share of that immense succession. The second Earl of Breadalbane (and Holland) lived to the age of ninety, dying in 1752. He had taken as his second wife Henrietta, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, and sister of that Countess of Orkney who was said to be a favourite of William III. The Earl of Breadalbane had several children by this lady, and, among others, his son and heir, John, third Earl of Breadalbane.

JOHN, third earl, played a part of some importance in public affairs during the lifetime of his sire. He sat in parliament, held the office of Lord of the Admiralty, and was ambassador for a period both to Denmark and to Russia. He was also Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Vice-admiral of Scotland latterly. In short, he shared liberally in those honours and emoluments by which the English sovereigns after the union found it necessary to conciliate the influential families of Scotland. It is singular enough that John, third Earl of Breadalbane, made another most promising and lofty marriage, like his immediate sires. He wedded, in 1721, Lady Amabella Grey, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the last Duke of Kent of the Grey line, and bearing in her veins some of the last drops of the Plantagenet blood, once regal in England. But by her the earl had but one surviving child, a daughter, who became Marchioness de Grey, and carried her possessions into the Yorke family, by intermarrying with its head, the Earl of Hardwicke. That nobleman, again, chanced to have but two daughters, and to the younger of them, who was united to Lord Grantham, the property of the Greys of Kent ultimately descended. Her son is now Earl de Grey, lately the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Earl of Ripon is also her son, better known by politicians as *Prosperity* Robinson, from his constant assurances, while Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the nation and its finances were always in a state of unequalled prosperity during his tenure of office. Cobbett, we believe, an adept in the art of satirical nomenclature, fixed this name on Lord Ripon.

Both the Breadalbane and Hardwicke houses thus lost the large succession of the Greys of Kent from the failure of male heirs. John, third Earl of Breadalbane, had issue by a second spouse, but his children left no offspring, and the titles went to a collateral branch of the house, according to the arrangement in the entail. John Campbell of Carwhin, descended from the second son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy, succeeded to the honours and estates of the Breadalbane family. His line had branched off more than a century and a half previously. The successor in this case was JOHN, who, in 1782, became fourth Earl of Breadalbane. By his union with Mary Turner, eldest daughter of David Gavin of Langton, he had issue two daughters and his heir

in the family honours and estates, the present **EARL and MARQUIS of BREADALBANE**. The **MARQUISATE** was an honour bestowed on the last Earl in 1831, when the Whig party, to which this branch of the Campbells adhered like the Argyle house, came into power in the state. **JOHN**, present Marquis, born in 1796, wedded in 1821 Elizabeth, daughter of George Baillie of Jerviss-wood and Mellerstain, and succeeded his father in 1834. The heir to the Scottish honours and estates is **W. J. Lamb Campbell** of Glenfalloch, descended from a third son of Sir Robert of Glenorchy, the descendants of whose second son are now in possession of the Breadalbane titles.

It is singular to mark how far back this family seems fated to go for its representatives. The present heir-apparent belongs to a branch which struck off from the main stem about two hundred years ago; and yet, both in the Argyle and Breadalbane lines, the male succession has gone on for centuries without actual interruption, a thing which has not occurred in many other families. The two houses have trembled, as it were, on the verge of extinction—or rather, we should say, the union in one male heir of the right to the honours and estates has appeared precarious—but still they have found lineal representatives, and the Campbells of Argyle and Breadalbane are yet Campbells by masculine descent, and have never once met a female heirship.

The Argyle Campbells threw off a branch afterwards elevated to the peerage of Scotland, namely, that of the **CAMPBELLS, EARLS of LOUDOUN**. Their line, indeed, struck off the main one before the Breadalbane branch, the founder being Sir **DUNCAN**, son of Donald, second son of Colin-More, the famous progenitor of the Argyle family. The Loudoun possessions are first said to have been held by parties named Loudoun, and then to have become, by marriage, the property of the Crawfords, the near relatives of Sir William Wallace. The heiress of the Crawfords, again, carried her rights and estates to Sir Duncan Campbell, as observed, grandson of Colin-More. What could be more natural than that a potent chief like Argyle should look about for such-like matches for his children? That the blood of male heirs at times was shed to attain them may be very true, but this fact does not lessen the probability of their frequent occurrence in the days of old. We mention this only to justify views once more, which we have before taken, and may often again take. In the case of the Loudoun house, the union of a Campbell with the Loudoun or Crawford heiress is placed beyond dispute by royal charters, dated at Penny-cuik in 1318. Sir Duncan also enjoyed the sheriffship of Ayr in right of his lady.

After a succession of some centuries in the male line, Sir **HUGH CAMPBELL** was created, in 1601, a peer of Parliament by the title of **LORD CAMPBELL of LOUDOUN**. His only son predeceased him, however, and the title of Baroness Loudoun fell to a grand-daughter, Margaret, wedded to Sir **JOHN CAMPBELL** of Lawers, a descendant of the line of Glenorchy. He was created **EARL of LOUDOUN** in the year 1633, and thus the titles and property were still continued in the Campbell name. His lordship adhered to the royalist cause, both under Charles I. and Charles II.; and he was, during its periods of ascendancy, advanced to the highest offices in Scotland. When it sunk, he narrowly escaped with his life.

HUGH, third Earl of Loudoun, was a man of no common parts, and played an important part in his native country, as an extraordinary Lord of Session, and in other capacities, after the Revolution of 1688. He acted with gallantry in the field at Sheriffmuir, and sat as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in the reigns of George I. and George II. An anomalous conjunction of posts he held, certainly, but quite in the fashion of the times. To speak the truth, however, are our own much wiser, when a man may be senator, field-marshal, and doctor of laws all at once? It is true that the honours of old were seldom empty ones as they often are now; and this may be counted a great step in advance. Be this as it may, Hugh, third Earl of Loudoun, left behind him a most honourable name. He was succeeded by **JOHN**, his only son, in 1731. The fourth Earl of Loudoun was mainly dis-

tinguished as a soldier, and, indeed, was considered as one of the most eminent of his day. He served in the rebellions at home, upon the continent of Europe, and in America, with distinction, though regarded more as an excellent master of the commissariat department, and as a preserver of good discipline, than as an active warrior individually. At all events, he was eminent in the British armies of the time.

He died unmarried in 1782, and was succeeded by **JAMES MURE CAMPBELL** of Lawers, only son of his uncle, third child of the second earl. Through his grandmother, eldest daughter of the Earl of Glasgow by the heiress of the Mures of Rowallan, James, fifth Earl of Loudoun, brought into his house the honours and possessions of that family, one of great note in the west of Scotland. The fifth Earl took to wife, in 1777, Flora Macleod of Rasay, a lady spoken of in high terms by Dr Samuel Johnson. She left an only child, **FLORA MURE CAMPBELL**, who became Countess of Loudoun in her own right in 1786. In 1804, she was united to **FRANCIS, EARL OF MOIRA**, afterwards **MARQUIS OF HASTINGS**, the illustrious statesman and soldier who filled for a time the office of Governor-General of India, and otherwise played so conspicuous a part in public affairs during the latter years of George III. The combination of the family honours of the Loudoun-Campbells and Mures, with those of the Hastings family, rendered their race singularly notable for the accumulation of high blood in its present members. The Earldom of Huntingdon, held by the Hastings house for many centuries, was originally a title of the junior princes of the royal Scottish family. The earl of the time was even a claimant of the throne against Bruce and Baliol, and, though cast aside, the line undoubtedly retained in their veins the regal blood of Scotland. The first Earl of Moira wedded the heiress of the direct branch, and left his dignities to his son, created **Marquis of Hastings**, and husband of Flora, countess of Loudoun. A multitude of collateral connections, formed by the successive nobles of the Hastings name, led to the representation by that peer of many old English houses, as the Hungerfords, Peverils, and others of note. The Earldom of Huntingdon itself was successfully claimed, however, by a male inheritor; and his existing successor thus represents the famous victim of Richard III., **LORD HASTINGS**. "Off with his head! Now, by St Paul, I will not dine until I see the same!"

GEORGE-AUGUSTUS, second Marquis of Hastings, wedded another heiress of high family, Baroness Grey de Ruthyn in her own right, and sprung from the line of the Dukes of Kent, allied to the Plantagenets by the female side. We have made a calculation on this subject, which may surprise our readers. It regards the number of titles in all, by which the present Marquis of Hastings may claim a seat among the peers of Britain. Leaving the Loudoun and Moira earldoms aside, as resting on Scottish and Irish election, he has at least eight several titles, paternal and maternal, conferred betwixt 1368 and 1816, by which he might urge his right to a place as a senator in the House of Lords. No doubt, the Marquisate is that which it is natural for the family to use, as being the highest. The second Marquis of Hastings, and seventh Earl of Loudoun, died in 1844, leaving as his heir the present Lord, eighth Earl and third Marquis. He was born in 1832. The male line of the Campbells of Loudoun, it will be seen, is thus extinguished.

The Campbells of **CAWDOR**, or **CALDER**, another flourishing branch of the family, had their origin in the marriage of Sir **JOHN Campbell**, third son of the second Earl of Argyle, with the heiress of Calder, in the sixteenth century. It has been said that this was a marriage *de convenance*, carried through almost forcibly by the Argyle house; but, stand this as it may, a thriving offshoot of the family has been the result, and its members have attained to a high position in life. They have acquired large possessions in Wales, and have enjoyed much influence there ever since. They have intermarried with the noblest houses in the land, and so far have not lost the good fortune of the family. Nor have they failed to show the family talents and acuteness. For two generations the heads of the line, in the eighteenth century, occupied considerable offices in the state, and in the year 1786, **JOHN Campbell** was created

BARON CAWDOR. The **EARLDOM of CAWDOR** was conferred on his son in 1827, and he has issue to inherit his honours. The present heir-apparent, **VISCOUNT EMLYN**, was born in 1817, and wedded Sarah, daughter of Colonel Cavendish, in 1842.

Another Campbell peerage has been created of late days. **JOHN CAMPBELL**, son of an eminent minister (Dr George Campbell) of the Church of Scotland, has been raised to the high position of a peer of the British realm, receiving his title of **LORD CAMPBELL** in 1836. He had served in the legal offices of Solicitor-General and Attorney-General of England, as well as in the post of Lord Chancellor of Ireland for a time. His elevation in life is most honourable to himself; and he is now (in 1848) a member of the Russell administration. The later hours of leisure of Lord Campbell have been worthily devoted to literature, the history of the past Lord-Chancellors of England constituting the peculiar object of his labours. Sound, solid facts form the materials in which he deals; but he himself would not, we imagine, lay claim to the character of a man of brilliant literary genius. Such parties as Brougham and Macaulay have wielded the pen almost uninterruptedly from boyhood; Lord Campbell has only taken it up as a solace to his later years, and the produce thereof does him honour.

It is a singular fact that almost every house of note in Scotland has undergone forfeitures repeatedly, whereas the Campbells have but been stripped of their honours in the cases of the two peers who died on the scaffold. This circumstance certainly confirms the idea that they are a long-sighted, or perhaps a lucky generation, to use common terms.

Pages on pages might be expended on the minor branches of the **CAMPBELL** house, and the list still be defective. For example, the roll of Nisbet, made up at the beginning of last century, and needing now both additions and curtailments, includes, besides the Argyle, Loudoun, Breadalbane, and Cawdor branches, the offshoots of Cessnock, Aberuchill, Glenlyon, Lochnell, Monzie, Gargunnoch, Succoth, Blythswood, Glenfalloch, Mochaster, Ardkinglass, Ardintenny, and others, to whom should be added at this day many families akin to one or other of these stems, as Stonefield, Shawfield, Dunstaffnage, Glensaddel, and so on. The Macarthur-Campbells of Strachur, as remarked before, have claimed the chieftainship; but the main proof adduced is, that they specially held their lands of the crown. The gentry of the Campbell name are decidedly the most numerous, on the whole, in Scotland, if the clan be not indeed the largest. But, as has been before observed, the great power of the chiefs called into their ranks, nominally, many other families besides the real Campbells. The lords of that line, in short, obtained so much of permanent power in the district of the *Dhu-Galls*, or Irish Celts, as to bring these largely under their sway, giving to them at the same time that general clan-designation, respecting the origin of which enough has already been said. One instance of the kind is peculiarly noticed by Nisbet. That acute heraldist discovered an old seal of the family called latterly the "*Macdougall-Campbells of Craignish*;" but on the seal the words are, as nearly as they can be made out, *S(igillum) Dugalli de Creagginsh*—showing that the Campbells of Craignish were simply of the Dhu-Gall race. The seal is very old, though noticed only by its use about the year 1500. It has the grand mark upon it of the bearings of all the Gael of the western coasts, namely, the *Oared Galley*—a word probably connected with their very name.

The Arms of the race are almost as numerous as the gentry bearing them; and yet a family likeness runs throughout most of them. "*Follow me*," says the Breadalbane motto, and a cadet replies, "*Sequor*" (I follow). Such are the variations most commonly indulged in. Heraldry, in fact, is a science obviously of comparatively recent origin, it being a doubtful question whether even the Normans, with whom it certainly had its source, brought it over with them on their conquest of this country, or created it afterwards. The invention seems to have really resulted with an age more advanced, when chivalry became fantastic as well as warlike. Countries and kings, no doubt, were the first to use

Arms. As for the majority of heraldic bearings, they are plainly attempts made by the later Kings-at-Arms, either to mark a peculiar event in the story of the family concerned, or to pun on the family name. The "two peasants with their yokes" of the Hays, for instance, point to the old story of the Battle of Luncarty, though it is now clearly understood that the origin ascribed by that tradition to the house is utterly fictitious. Then, again, the Trotters take the half-laughable emblem in their arms of a "trotting-horse," with the motto of "Slowly Onwards" (*Festina lente*); while the Justice family take a sword and scales, and the Buntings show the device of a bunting. It is plain, in short, that these, and other cases of what is called Canting Heraldry, are generally the products of heralds in times later than those which saw the families founded. This subject may be adverted to again. In the meantime, in closing the Campbell history, the arms of the fundamental line, the house of ARGYLE, must be given solely, it being understood that they agree in the main points with the arms of the branch-divisions, though sometimes differing in the mottoes. The Campbells of Loudoun take the motto of "I bide my time," and that of Breadalbane, as stated, is "Follow me." All have the Oared Galley. John, Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, had his arms, apart from the insignia of his station, recorded, as subsequently given, according to Nisbet. There have been many changes, but we prefer the old way.

The TARTANS of the Campbell clan merit a special word of notice. It was before remarked, that the form of the Gaelic garb was certainly of great antiquity, the kilt or philabeg being merely an enlargement of the first covering worn by mortal man everywhere, since Adam and Eve wore the aprons of leaves. The negro's bandage round the loins is but a primitive philabeg. The remarkable point connected with the dress of the Scottish Highlanders is that they retained it so long, though inhabiting a cold clime. It has its advantages, however, beyond question, leaving the wearers free as the wild-deer in their movements; and so long as men lived much on the produce of hunting and fishing, and did not depend on agriculture, this circumstance would largely counterbalance the chilliness and nudity of the attire. Our impression regarding the first employment of Tartans has been already stated. It was observed that the use of diversified colours was probably a very ancient one among the Gael; and that the chiefs also, in all likelihood, would be the first to assume distinctive hues and badges at a very early period. The adoption of peculiar Tartans by entire clans, however, appeared to us to be referable, it was stated, to a later epoch. The civil wars of the Earl of Mar and Prince Charles-Edward were pointed to as probable sources of the custom of wearing distinct Clan-Tartans. Pride, prudence, and utility alike dictated their adoption in these disturbed times. Our views are strongly confirmed when we find the first Regiment of Highlanders, formally enlisted for the public service, to have been attired in what assuredly was the fundamental Tartan-set of all, and which is nearly the same with that of the Campbells, as now worn. The regiment alluded to is of course the famous one first known as the BLACK WATCH, and finally renowned on many a bloody field of battle as the gallant FORTY-SECOND. Their original name of the "Black Watch" arose from the tints of their Tartans, in which Black and Green predominated, as they yet do in those of the Campbells. The majority of the western tribes, traceable all to one source, according to the opinions here already expressed, adopted nearly the same colours; and, indeed, there can be little doubt but that the distinctions now perceivable are of comparatively recent adoption. The Black Watch Tartan can easily be recognised, by an experienced eye, as containing all the really fundamental parts of every variety of that species of garb. This may, indeed, be seen on close examination by any one. The difference of hues, and the intermingling lines and divisions, appear to be a later addition to the Tartans of the separate tribes; and, if we have concluded aright, they should be ascribed to the era of the later Rebellions.

The Black Watch was composed of several clans, and originated mainly in a wish to employ usefully the Whig Highlanders, or those adhering to the Hanoverian house, after Mar's insurrection. The Campbells shared largely in

the enterprise, although the *Reicudan Dhu*, as the Gael named the troop, embraced officers and men of many clans. Six companies of the Watch were formed about 1730; and John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, was their first colonel. Monro of Foulis, Colquhoun of Luss, and other chiefs of the anti-Jacobite families, were among the officers, with a number of Campbells. All concerned were contented, be it noted, to wear the same Tartans. It is scarcely necessary to point to the brilliant services of this regiment up to the closing scenes of the last great European wars. But one thing may be adverted to; and that is the superior conduct, generally, of the non-commissioned officers and men of the corps throughout their arduous trials, not to speak of the merits of the leaders or officers of the body. Several of the former class have even recorded their experiences, taking to the *pen* after the sword. By such parties (and we would especially name among them Serjeant James Anton) pictures of the Peninsular and Belgian campaigns have been given, having all the force that might be expected from the accounts of actual sharers in and eye-witnesses of the contests where they behaved so bravely. Serjeant Anton was long in the Forty-Second Highlanders; and, did space permit, some of his vivid descriptions might usefully be transferred to these pages.

The Campbells, being always looked to as one of the most loyal Whig clans, not only gave numerous members to the ranks of the Black Watch, but formed various other regiments from time to time, Regular and Fencible. It mattered not what name they bore, however; the corps came always to be employed in the end as the country needed them, at home or abroad. The Gael stood out bitterly in some cases against the fiat of expatriation; and the "wild Macraes" of the country of Caberfae (Seaforth) actually seized and encamped on Arthur's Seat in 1778, when brought to Leith for the purpose of embarkation for foreign service. They could not find expatriation "in their bond;" and it was with difficulty that they were brought to consent to go abroad. They deemed themselves raised simply to be another "Watch" at home, like the Black Watch. The Loudoun Highlanders; Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders (Eighty-Seventh and Eighty-Eighth of the line); the two regiments of Argyle Highlanders (Seventy-Fourth and Ninety-Eighth); with nearly half-a-dozen of Fencible corps, were raised mainly among the various branches of the Campbell clan, by the houses of Argyle, Breadalbane, and Loudoun. Their several positions and names, of course, have now undergone alterations, though the regiments wearing the Tartan form still a marked division of the British army. No soldiers in the world have shown more unchanging bravery than the Highlanders of Scotland. They are men that only require a chief whom they trust and love; and with that advantage they will effect anything that men can effect. It is a characteristic of the Celts everywhere—indeed, a part of their nature. The soldiery of some other races are apt to use their own judgment at times, to the discomposure, perhaps, of their leaders; the Celt requires but the road to victory to be pointed out to him by a head in whom he confides, and onwards thither he moves, determined to succeed or willing to die. The Gael, assuredly, make admirable soldiers; but they must have a chief or a watchword of sufficing might and influence. It is at once a good quality and a defect; the truth, nevertheless, is the truth.

ARMS OF THE CAMPBELLS OF ARGYLE.

ARMS. Quarterly: first and fourth, Girony of eight pieces, Or, and Sable; second and third, Argent, a Galley or Lymphad, sails furled up, for the Lordship of Lorn.

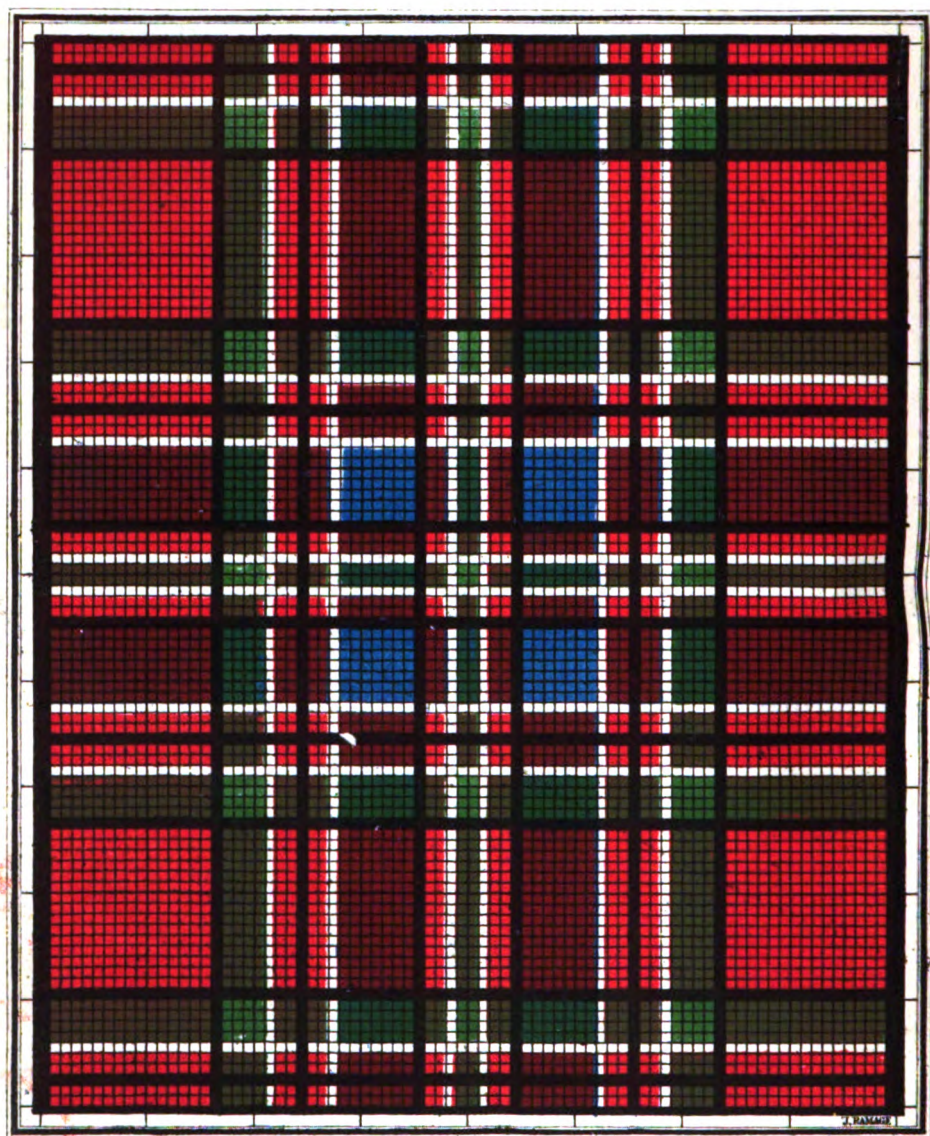
CREST. A Boar's head, couped, Or.

SUPPORTERS. Two Lions.

MOTTO. *Vix ea nostra voco* (I scarcely call all this my own). The Duke John seems to have conjoined this motto with that of *Æ obliviscaris* (Forget not), also used on an "Escrol" in the arms.

BADGE. Myrtle.

[Loudoun quarters with the Crawfords, and Breadalbane with the Stewarts of Lorn. All the families of the Campbell name bear the Oared Galley in their arms.]



Clan Macfarlane

CLAN MACFARLANE.

The origin of the surname of MACFARLANE, but for a knowledge of the system of Gaelic nomenclature, would appear almost ridiculous to the majority of ordinary observers. The *Mac* is a simple matter, but how is Bartholomew to be changed into Farlane? Certainly, the words look dissimilar to a striking degree; and yet, according to the best authorities, Farlane is nothing else than Bartholomew. Bartholomew came first, it is said, to be altered into Bartholom or Bartolan, whence came in time Parlan, Pharlane, and, lastly, Farlane. This sort of progression in the spelling of a name is singular; and still it is the best account that can be procured in the case. Macbartholomew has really turned, in appearance, into Macfarlane, through the peculiar mode of utterance of the Gael. Be this as it may, the immediate origin of the Macfarlane family is scarcely capable of doubt or question. They came from the great Lennox house—one planted originally in the west of Scotland, and referred by various writers to an early section of the western or Irish Celts. Be it observed that we allude to the *first* Lennox house, and not to the various lines of Stewarts, who successively obtained the old estates and honours, but whose latter inheritants have kept not a particle of them up to this day. They have been provided for otherwise, as “the destinies have decreed.” The present Duke of Lennox (Richmond in England, and descended from a natural son of Charles II.) is not only the possessor of a noble paternal estate in the south, but is, through his mother, the lord of almost all the splendid properties of the Gordons, the “cocks,” as they were long called, “of the North.”

The old family name of Lennox or Levenax was merely local, obviously being derived from the district watered by the Leven. From Alwyn, second Earl of the original house, descended the father of the first Macfarlane. If the main line of the chiefs was not Celtic, it seems pretty clear, from all known circumstances, that the Lennox clan, generally, were of the Gael or Celts of Ireland. The first Lord of the Lennox, certainly, has been referred to a different stem. He is mentioned in the reign of King David I.; and several charters yet exist, bearing his name either as a principal or as a witness. It is stated that he was a Saxon noble, driven by William the Conqueror from Northumberland; that he bore the name of Archillus (a Latinised term); and that he was the founder of the first and true lordly line of Lennox. The supposition is assuredly not incompatible with other known events and practices of the age. We have already pointed out, and may yet have frequent occasion for the repetition of the remark, that the early kings of Scotland were forced to call in the aid of the steel-clad knights of the south against the restless and active Celts of the north and north-west; and that the younger sons of the Norman and Saxon nobility thought the call quite providential, as it were, the lands of the vanquished lying before them in prospective as the ultimate reward. Archillus, then, may really have been a southern baron endowed, as the common story runs, with the Lennox territory by the Lowland monarch whom he aided; and it scarcely controverts that conclusion, to find some of his immediate posterity called by the Gaelic name of “Macarehill.” Settling in the domains of the primitive Gael, he and such as he soon became almost wholly Gaelic themselves, of necessity, by language, name, and in blood. Who was ever more thoroughly Highland, in soul and body, than the last Simon Lord Lovat? And yet he owned, and claimed descent from a Norman family. There is no disgrace to the Gael involved in the admission that the Lowland monarchy was too strong for them in early days; and that they had again and again to accept the chiefs set over them by the successful and dominant authority of the general country.

On the whole, however, this question of the origin of the Lennox family (which involves, of course, the Macfarlane descent), must be looked on as doubtful. Archil is even most suspiciously like Argyle; and a *Dominus de*

Archil is wonderfully akin to a Dominus de Argyle. What can one really do in such cases but judge by probabilities? Here they are so balanced, that a decision is a matter of insuperable difficulty—that is, as regards the origin of the first of the Lords of Lennox. Fain would we give to the present Gael the clearest possible account of the foundation of their houses, but history and tradition are so often at variance in these cases, that much must be left *in dubio*. The wide-spreading cousinry of Highland families has long been a joke among us; but, truly, any one attempting to trace their genealogical annals will find it to be no joke in regard of his own labours. If Celts, the first Lennoxes, it may only be remarked, seem to be traceable to the Irish stock by various circumstances. For instance, they honoured St Patrick particularly, and founded the old Church of Kilpatrick.

Enough, for the present, of generalising. It was the second Earl of Lennox, from whom sprung the first Macfarlane, a fourth son, and designed Gilchrist of Arrochar, a property retained for many generations by the family. He was born about the close of the eleventh century. Though the Macfarlanes were male heirs, other descendants of the Lennoxes, and not they, battled stoutly for their presumed rights, when the main line failed in point of direct male offspring. The Haldanes of Gleneagles, a most honourable house among the Scottish gentry, and the Napiers, even gained on appeal some part of the Lennox possessions, as springing from ladies of the line. The Stewarts, their successful opponents, had a claim only by a younger daughter. The Haldanes are now represented by the family of Admiral Lord Duncan, who married the heiress of Gleneagles, and whose son has been raised in the peerage to the title of Earl of Camperdown and Gleneagles. A gentleman named Lennox, however, put in a claim, even so late as the end of last century, to the ancient Lennox earldom, but failed to prove his rights. We need scarcely repeat, that the descendant of a natural son of Charles II. is now Duke of Lennox, and takes the family name of Lennox.

It was in 1373, that the Macfarlane of the day was left male representative of the Lennoxes by the death of Donald, sixth Earl, but shared not in the possessions or titles. It is usually held that a great-grandson of Gilchrist, the first who branched off from the Lennox-tree, was the party who gave a name to the clan, being called Bartholomew, and having that appellation changed by the Gael finally into Farlane, as already remarked. The clan who assumed the name were never very potent separately, and undoubtedly included many members not of the house by blood; but they were repressed, and partly dispersed, in the fourteenth century, by the strong hand of the Stewarts, when that race became Earls of Lennox. Before a house so favoured, the Macfarlanes could not keep their ground, much less make their claims effectively heard, had they tried to do so. The matter seems to have been so far soldered up by a marriage betwixt some one or other of the female Stewarts and the Laird of Macfarlane; so that the latter retained his lands of Arrochar in peace. Thenceforward—that is to say, from about the fifteenth century downwards—the chiefs of the clan were strenuous friends of the new Lords of Lennox. On the occasion of the battle of Langside, they fought against Queen Mary, and attained to great distinction in that combat. No historian has failed to mention the peculiar valour displayed then and there, by the chief of the Macfarlanes with his three or four hundred followers. "In the hottest brunt of the fight (says Holinshed) he came in with friends and countrymen, and so manfully gave in upon the flank of the queen's people, that he was a great cause of disordering them." It is further said, that the "valiancy" of the chief "stood the Regent's party in great stead." The Regent Murray gave them an addition to their arms for their pains, but we hear of no more substantial reward being granted. The explanation of their being found fighting against Mary is, that her infant son, whose rights the Regent professed to uphold, was the true heir of the Stewarts of Lennox, to which house they were attached. No doubt, Mary was also a Stewart, but one not so closely connected with the line of Lennox as her own child, the son of Henry Darnley.

The Macfarlane Clan, fixed permanently in the Arrochar possessions, retained them for a lengthened period. The Lairds of the house were numerous, ever so many as twenty-three in succession being reckoned up. The last direct Macfarlane of Macfarlane emigrated, it is usually understood, to North America in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. No doubt, many lineal male descendants of the house still live near to the region of their sires, and still more of them elsewhere; but when the main stem fails, or loses its power and possessions, a degree of obscurity is uniformly thrown ere long over the true claimants of the chiefship. In Burke's work on the "Landed Gentry," the right to the headship of the Clan Macfarlane is assigned to Henry Lawes Macfarlane of Huntstown House, in the county of Dublin, Ireland. This branch struck off from the stock of the Lairds in the time of James VII., to whom the elder portions of the house adhered, so giving a fatal blow to their own fortunes. Malcolm, first of the line of Huntstown, was too young at the time to become so much involved as his seniors, and was employed in the government service diplomatically by the successors of the last James. He was so successful in life as to be enabled to buy a considerable Irish property, now held by his grandson, the gentleman already named, who was born in 1767.

This branch, as observed, lays claim to the chiefdom of the Clan Macfarlane, and their origin is, we believe, not to be disputed. But whether the American line, certainly the fundamental one, be or be not extinct, may be open to question. There are also cadet-offshoots still holding lands in Scotland, who may imagine their own pretensions to be preferable. Buchanan of Auchmar names various estated gentlemen as residing around Arrochar, which the chiefs still held at the beginning of the eighteenth century; but his account would only apply very partially in our day. He also tells us, that families who assumed and yet bear the names of Macallan, Macnair, Macerracher, Macwalter, Macwilliam, Macandrew, Macniter, Macinstalker, Parlan, Farlane, Kinnieson, and half a dozen others, are pure Macfarlanes; and to these he also adds certain septes of the Mackinlays, as well as some even of the Smiths and Millers. Certainly, one or two families so named may really have branched off from the Macfarlanes, but it is plain that a successful Gaelic warrior or leader of the name of Allan, Walter, or William, whatever might be his own paternal tribe, frequently and almost habitually had his first name adopted by the posterity to whom he left his acquired possessions. The "Mac" branches created in such a way by such a vast sept as the Macdonalds must have been very numerous, and indeed we know that they were. To ascribe so many to the Macfarlanes, as Auchmar has done, seems unaccordant with probability, the clan never having been among the larger ones, in point of numbers or influence.

The Macfarlanes of "Clachbuy, Glenfroon, Mackroy, Dummanich (in Ireland), Tullichintaul, Finnart, Gortan, Ballagan, Kirktown, and Merkinch," are mentioned among the families existing during last century in the shires of Dumbarton, Perth, Stirling, and Argyle; but time must have made many changes in these respects, and new "land-marks," in the old impressive phraseology, must have taken place of the ancient ones.

With Mr Skene's words relative to an eminent scion of the Clan Macfarlane, we may now come to a close. He says, "It is impossible to conclude this sketch of the history of the Macfarlanes without alluding to the eminent antiquary, Walter Macfarlane, of that ilk, who is as celebrated among historians as the indefatigable collector of the ancient records of the country, as his ancestors had been among the other Highland chiefs for their prowess in the field. The most extensive and valuable collections which his industry has been the means of preserving, form the best monument to his memory; and as long as the existence of the ancient records of the country, or a knowledge of its ancient history, remain an object of interest to any Scotsman, the name of Macfarlane will be handed down as one of its benefactors. The family itself, however, is now nearly extinct, after having held their original lands for a period of six hundred years."

The lands of Arrochar, occupied by more than twenty generations of the

Macfarlanes, lie on the upper and western shores of Loch Lomond, and at the north-eastern angle of Loch Long. The territory is of small extent.

The Arms of the Macfarlanes have been already alluded to. They at least received an honourable augmentation in consequence of the services of the chief at the battle of Langside. As acting for King James VI., then a minor, he was empowered to carry the following armorial bearings. (The war-cry of the clan, it may first be mentioned, was *Lochsloy*.)

ARMS OF MACFARLANE.

Argent, a Saltier waved and cantoned with four Roses, gules (being the original bearings of the Lemmoxes).

SUPPORTERS. Two Highlandmen in their native garbs, armed with broad-swords and bows proper.

CREST. A demi-savage, holding a sheaf of arrows in his right hand, and pointing with his left to an imperial crown.

MOTTO. This I'll defend.

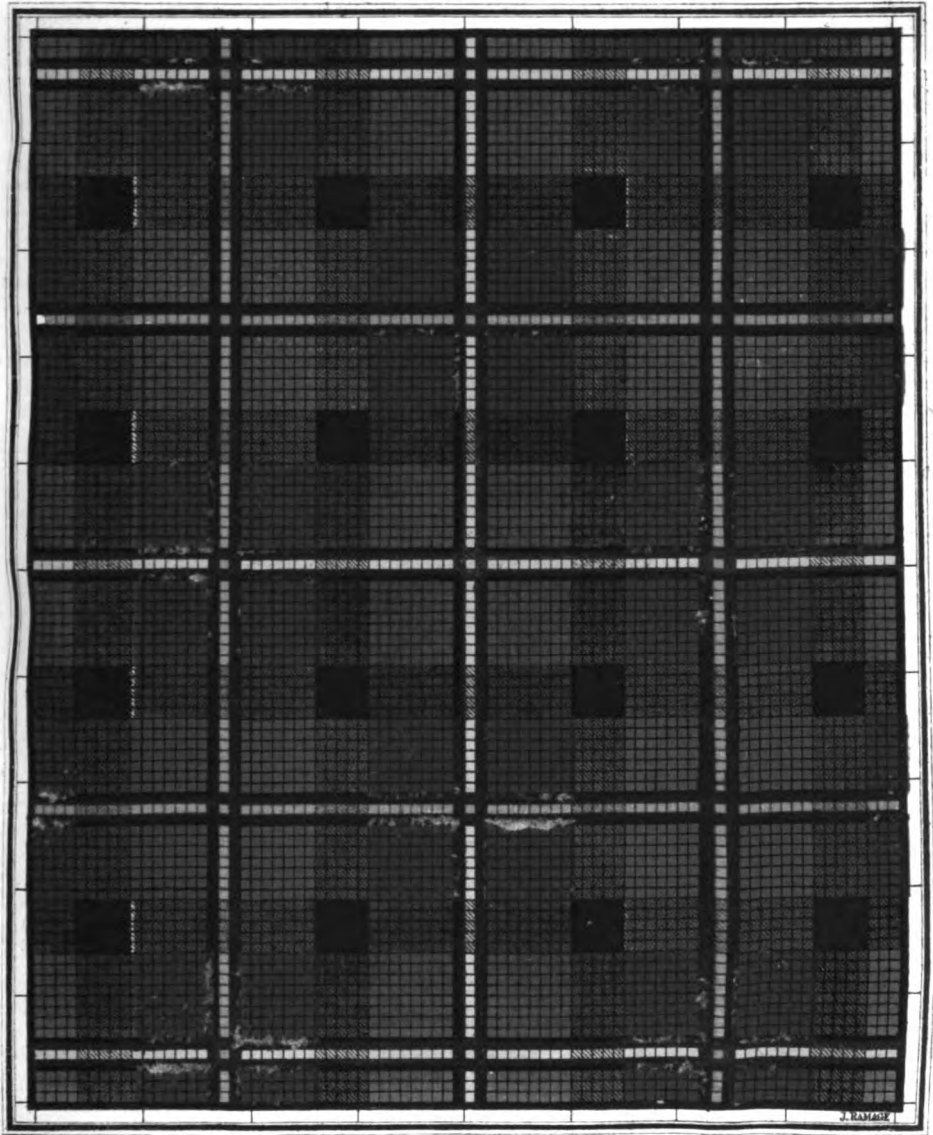
BADGE. Cloudberry Bush.



THE CLAN MACLEOD.

The desire to notice in this history the clans of the west of Scotland and the Hebrides in a certain order of succession, leads us to include here the CLAN MACLEOD. They held lands on the northern mainland, certainly, but were chiefly islesmen. It has been long asserted that this tribe derived their name and descent from the Norwegians; and many parties yet believe such to be the truth. At the risk of giving the reader a feeling of dissatisfaction at our frequent expressions of dubiety regarding the ancestry of the Highland clans of Scotland, we must here again say, that the origin of the Macleods is as yet undetermined. Our own opinion certainly is, that the race is Norwegian; or, rather, that the chiefs at least spring from the Norsemen, who so long ruled in the western isles. Various circumstances lead us to this conclusion, which is that usually adopted by the tribe themselves. In the first place, the chieftains are found bearing pure Norse names, such as Torquil, Norman, and Tormod, at the very first moment of their appearance in authentic history. This fact is not observable in relation to almost any of the surrounding clans, if in any other instance at all. And can it be wondered at on the whole, if, after a tenure of the Hebrides for several centuries, some families of the northern race should have found there a permanent footing? The marvel would lie on the contrary side. Doubtless, the sovereignty of the isles was formally ceded to Scotland by Norway in the fifteenth century, but this cession did not involve the extirpation or expulsion of all the inhabitants of Norse blood. The treaty was an amicable one, and carried out in a spirit of amity. If, therefore, some of those roving Scandinavians, who had so long held sway in the isles, continued to occupy lands there after the northern kings had resigned the sovereignty, the circumstance, we repeat, is to be viewed as but perfectly natural and probable. Like the Normans, however, who came to England with the Conqueror, the Norsemen never succeeded by force of numbers in the west of Scotland. The followers of William came to England panoplied in steel, and built strong castles, overpowering by such aids the rude strength of the less skilful Saxons. The Norwegians and Danes brought a different power to act on the nations and territories which they attacked, and, in truth, they would have been feeble otherwise. They brought the auxiliary of armed *shipping*, being all trained and expert seamen from their days of boyhood. It was their naval superiority which mainly rendered them formidable and successful. By this aid they had before taken England itself from the Britons. As regards Scotland, their numbers must ever have been small in comparison with those of the western and northern Celts; and therefore it is, that, though we conceive it likely that the first Macleod chieftains were of Norse descent, the clan generally was

XIII



Clan Macleod

Donacha, as the Gael spell and pronounce the appellation. The point of orthography is not now worth discussing. With reference to the especial tribe to which they owe their descent, the old story seems to be the correct one; namely, that they formed a section of the western Celtic tribes of the coasts, which had made its way into the more central lands, and founded there permanent colonies. The people on whom they intruded were mainly of their own race and blood, Pictish or Scottish; and, though temporary interests might be subverted by such incursions, the most of them amalgamated quietly in the end into one people. We repeat, that the story which gives to the first of the chiefs (at least) of the Robertsons a Macdonald origin, is the most feasible yet produced. We would avoid giving offence, but, really is not "Fat Duncan," as the founder was called, on the whole, well represented by some of his descendants in these days? They are jolly and lusty men in body generally, as any observer may notice. Examples, however, like comparisons, are "odorous," though, in this instance, such physical characteristics only prove the purity of clan-descent.

There unquestionably exist doubts about the derivation of the Robertsons from the Macdonalds; but the fact of their acquiring large possessions at so early a period in Athol, seems to be decisive of their descent from some great and strong house among the western Celts. And what house was more able so to endow its scions than that of Somerled, whose heads were the kings of the west of Scotland? The Somerled or Macdonald power, moreover, extended into Athol beyond all question; and, indeed, it may be said to have been almost the sole power which could so have planted there one of its offshoots, apart from the regal authority. Accordingly, though Duncan may not have been the son of Angus Mor (Macdonald), a natural son of the Lord of the Isles, as has been commonly averred, it by no means follows that the family were not of the Macdonald race. The proof may be difficult, but probability must be accepted in its stead. An opposite course has been too long followed on all sides. Why should men conceal from themselves the plain fact that the times under consideration were barbarous, and that their annals were necessarily left to us, not by the pen of the accurate historian, but by the dealers in song and tradition?

Our opinion is not positive, therefore, in relation to the descent of the Robertsons. It simply seems to us that no better explanation has yet been given on the subject than that referring them to the stock of the Macdonalds. Mr Skene thinks otherwise, and his statement may in justice to him be given. "The real descent of the family is indicated by their designation, which was uniformly and exclusively *De Atholia*. It is scarcely possible to conceive that the mere fact of a stranger possessing a considerable extent of territory in the earldom should entitle him to use such a designation. *Atholia* was the name of a comitatus, and after the accession of David I. the comitatus was as purely a Norman barony as any baronia or dominium in the country. The designation *De Atholia* thus distinctly indicates a descent from the ancient earls of Athol, but the history of their lands points to the same result."

There are errors in the bill here, with the author's leave. In the first place, the designation *De Atholia* can really be held to prove nothing, since, as in the case of *De Insulis*, such phrases often pointed to mere residence, and were especially used in reference to large districts. A gentleman "of Athol" is not necessarily connected with the Duke; and, as we now use such phrases without any meaning of that kind, much more natural was the custom of old, when general localities alone were known generally. In the second place, are the Robertsons made more purely Gaelic, for such is partly the object in the view of Mr Skene, by being traced to the ancient Athol house? That the first lords of the line were Celts may be admitted; but heiresses again and again interrupted the male succession. While one wedded a certain Thomas of London, another found a mate in a party named David de Hastings. These strictly English names speak for themselves; and it was by the Hastings marriage, which took place shortly after the year 1200, that the first house of Athol was continued. It is clear, therefore, that the supposition of the descent of the Robertsons from

the first lords of Athol leaves them still of largely mingled blood—Norman, Saxon, and Gaelic. Such is the result, even when the conjecture is admitted. It is to be regretted that a work evincing so much research as that of Mr Skene should be here and there marred by preconceived fancies and conclusions. The frequent occurrence of a distinction betwixt a chief's direct personal lineage and that of the body of his clan, is a fact so probable, so obvious, and indeed, in many cases, so undeniable, that one is amazed to find acute inquirers attempting to controvert it, and establish the contrary. The great body of the Murrays, for instance, seem to us to have been as purely Celtic as even the Macdonalds, whatever might be the descent of the first *De Murren*, Latinised in time into *De Moravia*. Viewing the Robertsons, then, as of the stock of the islesmen, of course they are regarded by us as primarily Gaelic, both in regard to chiefs and clansmen. But, as a Lowland neighbourhood gave to the race of Robert, son of Duncan, the name of Robertson, so would it also intermingle their race and blood with those of the Lowlanders.

All this is no doubt very dry to general readers; but the purpose here in view, above all others, is, to give to each of the clans its family annals with its family Tartans. However, *canamus* (not *majora* but) *leviora* in the sequel.

The line of the Robertsons of Struan was continued honourably for many centuries; but that wondrously fortunate house the Campbells of Breadalbane came in their way, and absorbed their main Perthshire or Athol possessions, being participators therein with the Murrays. The Strowan chiefs suffered even more seriously than others, perhaps from their political leanings. The whole race, from "Fat Duncan" downwards, seem to have adhered to the Gaelic cause; and when that cause became associated with the Stewarts, both before and after their expatriation, still did the chiefs of the Robertsons adhere warmly to fallen royalty.

It would be out of our way to attempt a regular genealogy of the Struan chiefs from their origin to the era of the Rebellions. But at the commencement of last century (the eighteenth), the Laird of Struan, who joined the insurgents of his time, proved himself to be a man of no common abilities in the department of poetical literature. His productions were finally collected and published. They have all the characteristics of the French style introduced at the Restoration; and, though deficient in the pithy vernacular force of our older poetry, they certainly aided, like the pieces of Waller and others, to polish the national language. Robertson of Struan deals liberally in phraseology which men now hold in ridicule. Adopting the not inapt name of Strepson, he writes of Celas and Celestias without number; and every second piece is composed "On" somebody doing some petty action. But a strong thought ever and anon occurs amid all this mannerism. In fact, it appears to us that "Struan Robertson" sat for a great part of the picture of the Baron of Bradwardine. He had both the home scholarship and the foreign cultivation which make up that admirable portrait. But, to tell the truth, there were few Gaelic chiefs like Robertson of Struan.

His poems resemble closely those of Allan Ramsay, and have the same occasional coarseness, which the school of the Priors indulged in. An epitaph on himself partly tells the story of his life:

"Tenacious of his faith, to aid the cause
Of Heaven's anointed, and his country's laws,
Thrice he engaged, and thrice, with Stewart's race,
He fail'd; but ne'er complied with foul disgrace.
Though some, despising Heaven's most sacred ties,
Perjured for interest, acquiesced to lies,
CLAN-DONNOCH's chief maintain'd his reputation,
And scorn'd to flourish in an usurpation.
Lo! here his mortal part reposing lies,
Hoping once more the living man shall rise,
When the same Power breathes in the part that never dies."

Some of his serious pieces resemble the paraphrases in style, as in the case

of what he calls "The Holy Ode," of which the two following verses form a specimen :—

"When we survey this mighty frame,
With all its orbs around,
Though still in motion, still the same,
In space without a bound :
The various seasons of the year
In beauteous order fall ;
Which makes it to our reason clear,
That God must govern all.
Why then should trials of mankind,
Which thou dost here bestow,
Exalt a sublunary mind,
Or yet depress it low !
The wicked thou permitt'st to reign,
And bloom but for a while ;
The righteous only drag their chain,
Till Heav'n thinks fit to smile."

It is unfortunate that the wittiest verses of Struan are the least delicate, as in the cases of Prior and Gay. He seems to have partaken largely of that spirit of jollity alternated with fits of repentance, which is so strikingly visible in the writings of many English bards of his day—now an indelicate epigram, and now a prayer to Heaven—now a Bacchanalian chant, and now an ode against sobriety. Struan excelled as a translator, though Scott makes the Baron of Bradwardine ascribe to him words not his, as in comparing Fergus Macivor to the Achilles of Horace—

"A fiery etter-cap, a fractious chiel,
As het as ginger, and as steeve as steel."

Yet similar happy hits were really made by Struan. In the boxing-match with gauntlets before Æneas, it is said of the champions—

"They lift their steely clutches to the sky."

As a good specimen of Struan's powers of versification, the following fable may be offered :

THE ANTS AND GRASSHOPPER.

"A heap of ants, as says my tale,
Is but a lesser commonweal,
And in their foresight, skill, and care,
Are no less wise than Dutchmen are ;
They make provisions, young and old,
For winter, to repel the cold ;
And, by the dint of prudent skill,
In frost and snow have drams at will ;
As for good victuals, meat and drink,
Their cells are furnish'd to the brink ;
Great plenty on their boards they show,
And ev'n their cups too overflow.
Thus live they cheerfully like brothers,
Nor want to beg or steal from others ;
With providential conduct they
In summer's sunshine make their hay.

Upon a time that little fry,
Laid some provisions out to dry,
Which by mishap some rain had got,
And might, unheeded, chance to rot ;
When straight a grasshopper, whose maw
Was appetised, their labour saw ;
He saw them turning all in order,
The middle now, and then the border,
Of which the worst small morsel had
Made the poor reptile's bowels glad,
Yet dares he not, for many eyes
That watch'd the heap, attempt the prize.

Thinking, at last, he may prevail
 By fairer methods than to steal,
 He can conceal his wants no longer,
 And therefore thus declared his hunger :
 Good folks, your state is wondrous gay,
 Unlike to mine, and so it may ;
 You have six legs, and I but two,
 To jump, and step, with much ado ;
 Thus you with ease have victuals plenty,
 While my poor granaries are empty.
 There's odds 'twixt one and twice three feet,
 To lug along such store of meat ;
 If you would show you're wealth-deserving,
 Your brother reptile keep from starving --
 A brother who has been so lousy,
 To jump and sing till he was dizzy,
 Ambitious to have every corner
 Proclaim him darling of the summer.

Quoth they, with a disdainful air,
 Intending not their wealth to share :
 Had you not summer idly spent,
 Your winter had not prov'd your lent.
 A song, sir, is not worth a button,
 It neither buys you beef nor mutton ;
 But had your daily thoughts been bent,
 Rightly to use what nature lent,
 The legs you have, without your singing,
 Had kept your belly now from clinging ;
 Besides, the fewer limbs you bear
 Should have forewarn'd you to take care,
 Lest, as we see it now, you starve,
 When fifty legs for nothing serve ;
 Therefore your reasoning is but stuff,
 You chirp'd but did not work enough.
 Since here you fail'd, your bowels cheer,
 And make of it a merry year --
 Dance to the tune all winter long,
 Which in the summer was your song."

It strikes us forcibly that "Struan Robertson," as Scott loves to call him, would really have come near to the height and pith even of John Dryden, had the two contested the palm of merit for the translation of Virgil. This assertion may seem to many senseless and ridiculous ; but there is an idiomatic quaintness and strength about the versions of our Scottish translator that often rival the force of the famous Englishman, and fall but little below him in any respects. Let us give a specimen from the renderings of Virgil, because in no way could the memory of Struan be more fully honoured. It will justify the assertion, that he was no mean member of the school to which Dryden himself belonged, and could even strive with his master on occasions, though far inferior, it must be admitted, in point of general genius. The whole story should be one gratifying to John Bull ; because it shows that the practice of *boxing* was at least of old date, and that men, if so disposed now, were just as wise or foolish in all ways before. The Trojans, escaping from Troy, were on their way to the regions around Rome, it may be noticed, to found (as story tells us) that great city and empire ; and Æneas is here pictured as enjoying festival games with Acester, king of Sicily. "Dardanian" is a synonyme for "Trojan."

THE GANTLET FIGHT.

Then spoke the chief : If there's amongst us here
 A valiant champion, let him straight appear,
 Whose dauntless arm can any danger try,
 And raise his steely clutches to the sky.
 Then to the circle's open view he laid
 The gifts which to the daring should be paid,
 And said : The manly victor first shall hold
 A brawny bull adorn'd with cloth of gold.

A shining sword and helmet is the right
 Ev'n of the vanquish'd, tho' of weaker might,
 For he deserves reward who dares to fight.
 At which the mighty Dares first arose,
 To show his courage, and his force expose,
 And, strutting round the cirque, proclaim'd aloud
 His warlike actions to the wond'ring crowd:
 So Dares stood, and, with a braving air,
 He bids them show their face who boldly dare;
 But none appear'd, of all the num'rous train,
 That durst engage the champion on the plain.

An aged Sicilian warrior, by-name Entellus, is roused to the contest.

Now they engage; one champion does command
 His youthful limbs more nimbly thro' the sand;
 While t' other's weighty bulk does faintly go,
 Panting for breath, to meet his younger foe,
 Beneath a venerable head of snow.
 With equal resolution long they fought,
 With fruitless blows each other's heads they sought;
 Their hollow sides resound, and from their chests
 They beat the unwilling breath by force of fists:
 About their ears redoubled blows they sent,
 Their jaws are shatter'd, and their temples rent.
 At last Entellus, bent upon his foe,
 Raising his arm, prepared a mighty blow;
 But Dares, well perceiving what he meant,
 Inclined awry, and shunn'd the dire intent,
 And vast Entellus, having missed his aim,
 Down to the ground with all his fury came.

He gains his feet again, however, and renews the fight.

His conscious worth and fear of shame inspire
 His chilly veins with more than usual fire;
 And now he drives, his honour to regain,
 Recoiling Dares headlong through the plain.
 So fast he struck, that it was hard to know
 Whether the right or left had given the blow;
 He leaves no time to breathe, but, like a shower
 Of rattling hail in a tempestuous hour,
 He thunders on his temples, makes him find
 The wondrous force of a courageous mind.—
 But now the prince restrains the conquering knight,
 Opposed his fury, and forbids the fight;
 He saves the Trojan from a future shock,
 And, tenderly appeasing him, he spoke:
 Unhappy youth, what madness can incite
 Thy daring soul against the gods to fight?
 Dost thou not see they partially oppose
 Thy sinking arm, and ward thy feeble blows?
 Provoke not heaven, he cried; and then he parts the foes.
 So Dares was at length advised to yield,
 And in obedience he resign'd the field.

Though curtailed, this picture must please our readers. We may dwell no longer, however, on the poetry of Struan Robertson. Born in 1670, he died in 1749; and on the whole, as already hinted, he formed an excellent specimen of the old and more civilised chieftains of the north—those who, occupying property bordering on the Lowlands, acquired much of the cultivation of their cities and schools, with an additional touch of French polish, derived through frequent intercourse with the exiled Court of St Germain's. Of such elements was compounded by Scott the inimitable character of the Perthshire Baron of Bradwardine. By the way, it may be here remarked, that the real influence of the Stewart connection with France has been alike misunderstood by modern writers, and by the Jacobites of old days. The latter universally looked to French aid as the grand hope of the Stewart cause. On the contrary, the connection with France alienated from the ancient regal line the hearts of four-fifths of the British nation, awakening equal jealousy and alarm, and that, too, not unnaturally. The liberties and religion of the isles appeared to be deeply en-

dangered by such an union—not to speak of the old animosity existing betwixt the two countries. In short it seems clear, in our eyes, that the establishment of the Stewart court at St Germain, and the countenance of Lewis XIV. and his successors, gave the finishing blow to the hopes of the family of James VII., in place of constituting their main chance of recovering their lost estate. Such was the case, at least, as respected England, if not also a large part of Scotland. When the idea once became prevalent that, by the re-acceptance of a Stewart monarch, not their religious liberties alone were to be put in peril, but that their national freedom was also to be hazarded, and that the claimant of the crown proposed to seize it by the aid of French money and French armaments, alarm and indignation were the feelings awakened in the breasts of a vast body of the people, and all hope for the exiles passed away. Besides, could the inhabitants of southern Britain feel themselves at all at ease, when the Gael of the hills rushed down upon them like a torrent—a race different in customs and language, and, beyond doubt, wild in the main and uncultivated? Bold and striking as his enterprise was, it could not but appear to the men of the south as if Charles-Edward had in view the purpose of overawing civilisation by barbarism. The very gallantry and devotion of the Gael who followed his standard had thus in one sense an injurious effect on the fortunes of the Stewarts. All things told against the success, in brief, of the movements for restoring the expatriated princes; and nothing but the undaunted though irregular bravery of the clans could have given to their cause even the brief successes enjoyed under Montrose and Charles-Edward.

Our steps in this narrative must now be retraced for a short space. It was in the reign of James I., that the clan Donnachie obtained the permanent Lowland appellation of Robertsons, from Robert, son of Duncan, an eminent chief of that epoch. (It is said by various writers that this later Duncan was the true Fat Duncan of the family story. The point is immaterial.) The cause of the change of title to Robertson is pretty obvious. James I. and his sire Robert were among the first sovereigns who made Perth a frequent residence of the court, and the consequence was, that, both as regarded population and names, the county became then extensively Saxonised. It was an epoch in the movement of the Lowland power northwards. The chieftain above mentioned, Robert, son of Duncan, appears to have held the estate of Struan or Strowan, with other considerable properties around Loch Rannoch, in the high lands of Perthshire. He seems to have been at once a most troublesome freebooting neighbour to the Lowlanders, and a most loyal subject to the crown. When the enlightened and ill-fated prince, James I., was so cruelly murdered at Perth in 1437, the chief of the Clan Donnachie pursued the assassins like a sleuth-hound, and brought them to the widowed Queen, Jane of Somerset. The value which she set upon the capture may be judged of by the awful tortures under which she caused them to perish. It would appear, that all the recompense sought for his services by the chief of Clan Donnachie, consisted in the erection of his lands into a barony, to which grant was added the device of "a man in chains" for his shield, and a motto which would seem to tell that his disinterestedness was at least not unappreciated. The motto is, when translated, "Glory is the reward of virtue." However, we have the story told in a somewhat different way, though the two versions are not positively incompatible. It is related that the chief had entered into a dispute, and fought thereupon, with a neighbour, regarding the lands of Little Dunkeld—that parish otherwise famed for outrageous contests—

" They've hangit the dominie, drownit the minister,
They've dung down the steeple, and drucken the bell—
O ! what a parish was little Dunkeld ! "

Whether or not the chief killed his adversary, does not well appear, but one may suppose so from his conduct. Though severely wounded in the head, he bound it up with a white cloth merely, and rode off post haste to the court at Perth. When there, he is stated to have claimed and obtained a new grant

of the lands of Struan, for his former good service. He returned home, it is further said, and died soon thereafter of his injuries.

It is needless to dwell on the intermediate chiefs betwixt this personage and the poet of the family. Their pure Gaelic origin may be looked on as half proven by the fact, that, like almost all of their race possessing lands on the Lowland borders, the chiefs of Clan Donnachie were forced to succumb to the power of the southerly incomers, backed as it was by the sovereign authority of the realm. The Athol Murrays and Breadalbanes were the parties who absorbed the main possessions of the Struan family. Some wadsets gave a colour to the appropriation; and we may well suppose that matters were not mended by the attachment of the poetic head of the clan to the Stewarts, during the Dundee, the Mar, and the Charles-Edward Rebellions. In the two first, he shared actively in person; and when the Chevalier arrived in Perthshire in 1745, Struan said to the personage whom he deemed his prince, "Sir, I devoted my youth to the service of your grandsire, and my manhood to that of your father. Now am I come to devote my old age to the cause of your Royal Highness." Charles is said to have wept as he embraced the chieftain. But, though a portion of the clan followed the Chevalier, the feebleness of their head prevented his going with them personally. The Lord President Forbes thus describes their strength and position about the year 1745: "Struan can raise on his own estate about 200 men. There are 500 more of the Robertsons in Athol, who are followers of the Duke of Athol." It was perhaps well for the bard that he had advanced too far in years to join Charles-Edward. His previous doings had been overlooked, and the attainer, incurred by the Dundee and Mar rebellions, had been reversed in 1731. So that, though he used his influence to raise his clan, he escaped the after vengeance of the Hanoverian government.

The families of Lude and Straloch have ever been regarded as the leading cadet-branches of the Struan house, which is still represented by a male descendant, holding part of the ancient patrimonial property. Faskilly, Muirtown, and others are mentioned as offshoots of the line by Nisbet; and he gives the same family motto to the Skenes, with the "wolves" seen in the Robertson Arms, ascribing their common descent to a famous wolf-killer of old days of the Macdonald house. The Skenes became a strong sept in Aberdeenshire, and are now represented, we believe, by the Earl of Fife, through a marriage with the heiress of Skene of Skene.

The story of the Robertsons cannot properly be closed without a marked allusion to at least one other bearer of the name, the famous Principal Robertson; though others, also, whether called Robisons or Robinsons—for they seem to be all sprouts from one trunk—well merit mention, would our space permit. William Robertson, some time Principal of the Edinburgh University, was born in 1721, and died in 1793. He entered the church early in life, and passed successively through its highest grades and honours. But his fame rests on his historical labours, and mainly on his *Histories of Scotland and America*. He was an annalist of the grand old classical school—that of Greece and Rome—and displayed at once all the brilliancies of his models, with their accompanying faults. To the merit of acute and laborious research, attended with patient and profound reflection, Principal Robertson added the further desert of consummate grace of diction and style, a feature so prominent in the exemplars which he copied. There exists a drawback, nevertheless, on the pleasure derived from the historical essays of Robertson. The comparatively crude annals, left to us by such preceding writers as Burnet, have a warm vitality which we strongly feel the want of in the pages not only of the subject of our notice, but also of his compeers Hume and Gibbon. Their elaborate beauty of expression is overbalanced by the deficiency in simplicity and verisimilitude. The unending sequence of sounding sentences absolutely diverts the attention of readers from the subject-matter before them. In short, mere *style* was too much attended to by our British historians of the Robertson class. But let us not be misunderstood. It would be well if the writers of the present day, while avoiding the excessive stateliness and elaboration of their predecessors, would imi-

tate their unwearied diligence of research, and careful consideration of facts. The works of Robertson will ever be most valuable on this score ; while his style, though defective in liveliness and force, will never cease to be admired for its harmony and grace. One only living historical essayist treads in the proper walk of the three great writers now named, to wit, T. B. Macaulay. May he avoid their defects in pursuing his labours ! He has their virtues.

Nisbet gives the following as the

ARMS OF THE ROBERTSONS OF STRUAN.

Gules ; three Wolves' Heads, erased, argent ; armed and langued, azure.

CREST. A dexter hand, holding up an imperial crown, proper.

MOTTO. *Virtutis gloria merces* (Glory is the reward of Virtue).

BADGE. Fern or Brakena.



CLAN MACNEIL.

The list of the leading clans of the western isles and coasts approaches completion. But the CLAN MACNEIL, now to be noticed, is one of the best known of all, though never one of the most powerful in point of mere numbers. The first of the Macneil chieftains, it is said, appears in the authentic records of the fifteenth century, and was then lord of a strong castle and other property in Knapdale, on the mainland of Argyleshire. As this castle was named Castle Swen—plainly a Norse term—it seems to us probable that the family of the Macneils had either been installed in some of the possessions of the Norwegian colonists—since the isles and coasts of the west were at that very date ceded, and in part evacuated, by the rovers from the north of Europe—or, as it is not less possible, that the Macneils were themselves in part of Norse descent, and kept their lands permanently. The arguments used relatively to the Macleods apply so far, in short, to the Macneils. The clan, it must always be held in mind, was in any case largely Gaelic to a certainty. We speak of the fundamental line of the chiefs mainly, when we say that the Macneils, like the Macleods, appear to have at least shared in the blood of the old Scandinavian inhabitants of the western islands. The names of those of the race first found in history are partly indicative of such a lineage. The isle of Barra, and certain lands in Uist, were chartered to a Macneil in 1427 ; and, in 1472, a charter of the Macdonald family is witnessed by Hector *Mactorquil* Macneil, keeper of Castle Swen. The appellation of “Mac-Torquil,” half Gaelic, half Norse, speaks strongly in favour of the supposition that the two races were at this very time in the act of blending into one people. After all, we proceed not beyond the conclusion, that, by heirs-male or heirs-female, the founders of the house possessed a sprinkling of the blood of the ancient Norwegian occupants of the western isles and coasts, interfused with that of the native Gael of Albyn, and also of the Celtic visitants from Ireland. The proportion of Celtic blood, beyond doubt, is far the largest in the veins of the clan generally. Buchanan of Auchmar calls them wholly Irish Celts of the O’Neil tribe, but we agree not with him here, for the reasons given.

The Macneils were located in several singularly remote points, viewed relatively. Their main possession, Barra, is one of the Hebridean isles, while Gigha, another seat of the clan, is an island lying as far south as the coasts of Cantire. Colonsay, the third of the Macneil properties in the isles, stands midway between the preceding isles, as it were. Taynish, in Argyre county, was long a mainland estate of the house. Barra is about eight miles long, and from two to four in breadth. It is deeply indented by the mighty surge of the Atlantic Ocean, which, playing for ages on the western shores of the British Isles, has gradually washed the looser materials away in countless places, leaving the rocky masses in the form of isolated specks amid the waters. The potent tide has even done much more. Attacking the softer portions of the mainland, it has penetrated for miles on miles into the interior, intersecting the country with sheets of water innumerable. The entire western coasts of Scotland and Ireland, in short, give the most glaring evidences of the might of the ocean, as exerted



Clan Macniel

against the land. On the eastern shores, again, we cannot fail to notice the comparative weakness of the surge of the German Sea, which has scarcely formed one single isle of respectable magnitude from Aberdeen to Dover. On the western side of England, it may however be said, we find as few isles as on the eastern side. This is in part an erroneous idea; since we have firstly Ireland itself, a region very probably thrown into its present insulated shape by the long circumlavations of the Atlantic waves. From its position, besides, Ireland receives and breaks the force of the western billows, which would otherwise fall on England; and its own coasts on that side are thereby as much scooped out and shattered as those of Scotland similarly exposed.

Barra is one of the rocky masses on the west of Scotland, around which the Atlantic has swept for periods unknown, excavating and washing down its softer parts, and leaving its coast-line strikingly but not uselessly serrated and embayed. From the distant position of the isle, its lords were absolute princes, displaying even greater state than many much more powerful chieftains. The custom of the family (it is related) was, after dinner each day, to send a herald to the parapets of the hereditary castle of Chisamil (or Keismul), where he winded a horn, and gave leave to all the rest of mortality to dine. "Hear, O ye people! and listen, O ye nations! The great Macneil of Barra having finished his dinner, all the princes of the earth have liberty to dine!" It is pretty obvious that the language here assigned to the Macneil chief, is but an exaggeration of what might really have been often used in such circumstances. When a chief kept about him scores of lounging retainers, it may well be believed that the blowing of a horn would be used habitually as a signal to announce to such parties that the chief and his family had feasted, and that dinner waited for his minor followers. From the extent of the ruins of Chisamil Castle, the old seat of the lords of Barra, it is plain that no small part of the population actually might have dwelt constantly in and around the place. The inhabitants of the isle number between 2000 and 3000 even at this day; and the castle, which stands on an insulated rock at the south-east end of Barra, is much larger than the majority of the Highland domiciles of past days. Chisamil Castle consists of an irregular four-sided area within a high wall, containing many distinct buildings. A considerable portion of a tower and donjon-keep remain, sufficiently entire to prove the castle to have been strong.

The Macneils of Gigha were the branch next in importance to that of Barra, and indeed claimed the chiefship. It has usually been held, however, that the race of Barra constituted the leading line of the name. The keeper of Castle Swen in Knapdale, an office which is spoken of as hereditary, like the keepership of Dunstaffage, is by some writers viewed as having been the head of the clan Macneil, and of a different branch from either Barra or Gigha, though the Gigha line claim a Knapdale or Taynish origin. Alas! when we look now-a-days at the roll of gentry of Argyle and Inverness shires, we find that the heads of both houses are now successively recorded as "late" of Gigha, and "late" of Barra, indicating serious changes in the holdings of these isles.

The island of Colonsay, which lies a little to the north of Islay, is still in the possession, mainly if not wholly, of a branch of the Macneils. The Colonsay chiefs are called Macphails (otherwise Macduffies or Macphies, and not yet wholly extinct) by Dr John Leyden, in his beautiful ballad founded on the Mermaid superstition.

We must not here omit to advert to an eminent poet who bore the actual name of Macneil itself—to wit, Hector Macneil, author of "Will and Jean." Burns, Ramsay, Cunningham, and Hogg must be ranked before Macneil in the roll of purely Scottish poets of later days, but we doubt if any other may justly assume the like pre-eminence. The songs of Macneil are remarkable for one feature especially; they are all in the form of dialogue, from "My Boy Tammy" to "Mary of Castle-Carey." It would be difficult to say how far the dramatic form enhanced their value, giving them as it did that cast of originality which constitutes the grand element of poetical success. The plan of acting or singing them in character, however—that is, of assuming the diffe

rent parts alternatively—has not fully succeeded in practice, even with the advantage of the most skilful execution.

Be this as it may, the dramatic songs of Macneil have long been standard favourites, and, above all, his “Mary of Castle-Carey,” sung to the air of “Dundee,” one (by the way) which has had more fine verses composed to it than any other in the whole Scottish collection. The “Braes of Gleniffer” and “Lucy’s Flitting” are of the number of popular pieces so set and sung, not to mention the adaptations to the air by Ramsay and Burns. Hector Macneil lived up to 1818, and, though he had gone through sharp struggles in life, he died in comfort finally in Edinburgh, amid the regrets of his countrymen.

There have been various eminent men of the Macneil clan at diverse periods of our national annals; but these cannot be dwelt on here. The following are the

CLAN MACNEIL ARMS.

Quarterly. First, azure, a lion rampant argent. Second, Or, a hand coupee, fess-ways, holding a cross crosslet fitchee, in pale azure. Third, Or, a Lymphad (Oared Galley) sable. Fourth, parted per fess, argent and vert, to represent the sea, out of which issueth a rock, gules.

CREST. A rock, gules.

SUPPORTERS. Two Fishes like Salmon.

BADGE. Sea Ware.

MOTTO. *Vincere vel mori* (Conquest or death).



[Clan Chattan Confederation, including Macphersons, Macintoshes, and other Septs.]

CLAN MACINTOSH.

It is not because the CLAN MACINTOSH appears to us to be the elder branch of CLAN CHATTAN, that they are placed before the MACPHERSONS in the present history. It will be seen immediately to what side our opinions really lean here, though, as a matter of convenience, the Macintoshes are first named. In fact, however, the history of the one sept is so far the history of both. The Clan Chattan, it will be generally remembered, became known and marked as one of the most extensive tribes of the north, after the independent Maormorships or Earldoms ceased to exist in that region. The growing weight of the central authorities of the country extinguished these dignities, but the Gaelic population of each comital district still continued to dwell there as before; and it undoubtedly was mainly at this date, that different chiefs, distinct names, and fixed local positions, were permanently assumed by the numerous branches or septs, into which the breaking up of the Maormorships divided the people. The policy of Alexander II., and of other Scottish kings of this epoch, planted in the north, moreover, not a few mail-clad barons of foreign origin, who there founded families such as the Bissets (who were succeeded by the Frasers), the Comyns, and various other noted houses. The dying words of Robert the Bruce will show well the nature of the policy which that great prince thought it needful to use towards the Gael. He left to his heir a warning, that “in no case should any single personage be allowed to wield the government of the Highland isles or inlands.” *Divide et impera* (divide and govern) was found to be here a wise rule by the monarchs of Scotland. Still, as has been observed, though the power of the great Celtic Maormors was abolished, and new baronial families in part introduced, the people at large were neither expelled nor extirpated, and the issue was, that they became divided into a variety of small clans, taking their names individually from some successful chief, or from the head chosen by them originally. No doubt in numbers of instances, where regal power did not prescribe chieftains, the tribes would almost certainly choose as their heads any offshoots of the old Maormor stocks who might chance to exist. On the whole, we incline to view both the Macintoshes and the Macphersons as of pure Gaelic origin, and as having sprung directly from the ancient chiefs of Clan Chattan. At the same time, it is to be observed that the common account of the Macintosh chieftains runs differently. The whole story may be here condensed from the pages of Nisbet, who, besides



Clan Macintosh

that he wrote before clanahip had become fanciful and fantastic, was also candid and honest, as well as diligent and inquisitive.

After mentioning the common tale of the descent of the Clan Chattan from the CATTI, a people said to have been driven from Germany by Tiberius Cæsar about A.D. 76, Nisbet points out that the same word is traceable in *Caithness*, as well as in the name of the *Keith* family. If the Sutherland house does not show the same nominal peculiarity, its armorial bearings at all events exhibit the Cat, which is held to be the peculiar emblem of all the race of the Catti. It is a prominent feature in the escutcheons of the proper Clan Chattan, and is noticed in the Macintosh motto, "Touch not the cat but (without) the glove." The Highlanders have long indicated an especial connection through this badge betwixt the Sutherlands and the Clan Chattan, by honouring the head of the former house with the title of The Great Cat. Sir George Mackenzie, however, no mean authority in such matters, denies any connection betwixt the Cat and the Catti, and simply refers the emblem to the number of wild animals of that class formerly infesting the north, and from which Sutherlandshire, he says, was styled Cattu. It strikes us that Sir George has given the more rational view of the case; since, if Chattan be derived from Catti, it is plain that the device of the Cat must be based on a mere heraldic pun, and, in short, must descend into the rank of mere canting mottoes. Besides, the Catti are called Germans, and that they should have founded one of the largest of all the tribes speaking the Gaelic language, and using the Gaelic customs from the first period of their appearance in history, is a thing not easily to be received or understood. The German and Gaelic tongues and institutions of old differed so widely, that some traces of the German Catti must have been discernible, had they founded the Clan Chattan. Orkney and Shetland, as yet in part Norse, prove this assertion fully. The possessions of the true Clan Chattan, moreover, lay mainly in the inlands. They ranged betwixt the borders of Moray and the north of Argyleshire. The clan bear the Oared Galley in their arms; which circumstance has been repeatedly pointed to as decisive of a residence by the western seas and lakes, if not always indicative of a common origin from one particular stem of the Celts.

There are indeed objections to any of the explanations given as to the origin of Clan Chattan, since the very best of them involve a strange admixture of languages, if not confusion of races. The probability certainly is, that the word is connected with the "Caith" in Caithness, however that arose—be it from Catti, be it from Cats. Our impression on the whole is, that they were Gaelic, however named originally. The parties who style them Norsemen say that they were driven inland by the Danes, but this seems a very improbable story, if they were Norse. The more rational account is, that the Clan Chattan were Celts who joined the southern Picts, and shared in the defeat, so decisive in its results, which Kenneth II. inflicted on that people. But the clan obtained mercy from the king, and the survivors were allowed to settle in Lochaber. In the reign of Malcolm IV., one Muriach, who was parson of the kirk of Kingussie in Badenoch, became, by the death of an elder brother, the head of the clan, and was so acknowledged by all. He had at least two sons, GILLIECHATTAN and EWAN BANE, the former of whom became chief, as the eldest in succession; but his line terminated in a grand-daughter, usually named Eva. "She was married," according to Nisbet, whose story is now resumed, "to Macintosh, head of his clan, who got with her several lands in Lochaber, and a command of part of the people, for which he was called Captain of Clan Chattan. But Ewan Bane, second son of Muriach, after the death of his elder brother (Gilliechattan) and the son of the latter, was owned as chief of the family by the whole clan. He had three sons, Kenneth, John, and Gillies. From Kenneth, the eldest, is come the family of Macpherson of Cluny, which was then and since known by the name of Macewan." It is true that the clan might in part take the name of Macewan from Ewan Bane, and probably some of the Macewans of this day may be Macphersons; but Muriach also gave them

a name in Gaelic, in the shape, as pronounced, of Clan Vuirich. The permanent and general name, however, came from the Parson of Kingussie, Macpherson being the Highland edition of Macparson. So at least we are told; and no better account has really as yet been supplied in the case. It will be recollected that the clergy of those days were not constrained to live in celibacy.

In the chief points of this statement, Nisbet has been followed. Mr Skene gives an account differing from it in minute particulars, but agreeing in the main conclusions. While claiming the chieftainship of Clan Chattan, as having wedded the sole heiress, the Macintoshes have been wont to ascribe their own origin to the Macduffs of Fife, and the statement has been widely accepted. The MS. of 1450, discovered by Mr Skene, strikes a heavy blow at this view of the case. It does not concur with Nisbet in representing the Macintoshes as strangers or heads of a distinct sept, but deduces them from a younger son of Gilliechattan, the Macphersons being traced to an elder scion. Whether or not descended from a junior son of Gilliechattan the Great, it seems from all the best accounts that the founder of the Macintosh line of Captains of Clan Chattan, either by accident, by merit, by usurpation, or by a marriage, did really step into the place of the direct male heir of the Chiefs of the family. The title of "Captain" has been before mentioned as generally suspicious when used among the Gael, being insinuating of the assumption of a substitutive name for Chief, simply because no fair claim could be laid to the latter title. Moreover, it is remarkable that the word Toshich or Toshoch, from which "Macintosh" is to all appearance compounded, actually signifies the "head cadet," or the next in place after the chief of a clan, such being exactly the position which the MS. of 1450 would assign to the heads of this family. In short, as we shall show, though the Captainship of Clan Chattan, by a series of accidental circumstances, has been assigned to the Macintosh line, and though they have abundance even of written evidence to prove that their pretensions to that title were admitted by successive kings of Scotland, it is yet much to be doubted if any parties could so extinguish the just hereditary claims of the male heirs to the Chieftainship. The documentary evidence about the Clan Chattan Captainship is indeed most extensive. The sixth laird of Macintosh according to one authority, the fifth according to Auchmar, and the fourth according to others, was the party who is said to have wedded Eva, heiress of her house and line. The son of the said Eva was consequently designated, we are told, the "Captain of Clan Chattan," in charters granted by the Lords of the Isles, and confirmed by King David Bruce, in the fourteenth century. This is very possibly true. Duncan, eleventh head of the Macintoshes, was also named similarly in a charter of John of the Isles, of date 1466; and, under the same title, he was mentioned in a subsequent deed of confirmation by James III. Queen Mary likewise styles the Laird of Macintosh Captain of Clan Chattan; and so do various foederal papers that passed betwixt the clans. These are the oldest deeds extant on the subject. Who can fail to be struck by the fact, however, that not one of them ever gives to the head of the Macintoshes the real and current title of *chief*, at a time when the truth must have been well known? They all stick closely to the uncommon style of "Captain." But the one grand point, on which the Macintoshes have ever mainly dwelt, is the admission of the superiority of their sept by the Macphersons themselves in times bypast. True it is that, in the fourteenth century, the Macphersons acknowledged the Laird of Macintosh as—not chief—but (still only) "Captain of the kin of Clan Chattan." Even in 1609, the Macphersons did not accord the grand item in debate; seeing that, although their unprosperous condition compelled them so far to bow before their rivals a second time, they only conceded to the Macintosh the title of "Principal Captain of the hail kin of Clan Chattan, according to the KING'S GIFT of Chieftaincy of the whole Clan Chattan." This language, pertinaciously used for centuries, seems to us to decide the case, and to render more modern evidence of no avail. As the sovereign could make peers and knights, so might he be able to create a Clan-Captain; but the nomination of a Clan-Chieftain, to the detriment of the true claimant by birth and blood, appears to us

to be a feat not in the power of either princes or parliaments. This is the view which we take of the case. If it was legal for the crown to give or to sanction the title of Captain, the honour certainly lies in the Macintosh line; but the representation of the ancient chiefs of Clan Chattan by male descent must be held clearly to rest with the Macphersons of Cluny. The admission of the Macintosh chiefs that they were Macduffs is in truth decisive, unless they added the averment that the Clan Chattan were also wholly and originally Macduffs.

The very strength of the Clan Chattan seems to have led to fatal dissensions among its early members. The Parson of Kingussie lived in the twelfth century, and disputes betwixt the branches of Macpherson and Macintosh appear to have originated not very long afterwards. Moreover, there is good reason to suppose that the Clan Cameron were primarily connected with the Chattan stock. These septs were too powerful individually not to be distracted in time by mutual jealousies, to which the conflicting claims as to the chiefship lent but too much force. In the time of Robert III. their quarrels had become a nuisance to the entire country, until the Regent Duke of Albany persuaded the king to permit a settlement of their feuds by a public and pitched battle between them on the Inch of Perth. The memorable contest in question, which took place in 1396, is usually said to have lain betwixt the Clan Chattan and the Clan Kay, and Clan Kay has for the most part been interpreted into Mackay. But there are many reasons for believing that the combatants were none other than the discordant sections of the Clan Chattan—the Macintoshes, Macphersons, and (at least in part) the Camerons. Besides the singular fact that these three septs alone have preserved any private traditions of the engagement, a still more striking circumstance is, that the disputes of those concerned obviously hinged almost entirely on a question of precedency. There were no mutual charges of rapine and slaying advanced, nor any redresses sought on such grounds. The losers were simply to succumb and vail their bonnets to the victors in the time coming. This fact cannot be explained in any one rational way, save by holding the disputants to have been the rival sections of Clan Chattan. Besides, when the contest had actually taken place, and a few years had passed away, we find the united Clans Chattan and Cameron acting in full concert, according to John Major, at the skirmish betwixt James I. and Alexander of the Isles, in Lochaber, A.D. 1426. Unitedly they left the insurgent ranks, and so gave to King James the victory. Major very especially notes that the Chattans and Camerons came of the “same stock,” and followed “one head of their race as chief.” So that the conflict at the Inch of Perth had produced at least temporary fruits. Of the submission of the MacKays, on the other hand, to the Clan Chattan in any way, or at any time, history tells us nothing; and indeed, being planted in the far north of Sutherlandshire, with many miles of country and various other tribes between them, the MacKays and the Clan Chattan were most unlikely to be at feud so bitterly. The sole fighters on the Perth Inch, we therefore hold, must have been the contending septs of the Clan Chattan. It can scarcely be doubted that the Camerons took part in the Inch contest, and on the side of the Macphersons. The point will be more fully noticed in the sketch of the Clan Cameron.

Mr Skene ably advocates this view of the case; and it is a point that has been dwelt on here at length, because the matter has long formed a historical problem of the deepest interest to the Gael, and one which even Sir Walter Scott failed to solve. His beautiful tale of “The Fair Maid of Perth,” as all know, is based chiefly on this remarkable Gaelic tournament. And now—the character of the combatants being commented on—let us say a word on the incidents which occurred at that Passage of Arms—unparalleled since the Horatii and the Curiatii fought a similar battle for the predominance of their several nations. The Roman and Alban heroes, however, were but Three in number; whereas the Clan Quhele and the Clan Kay—subordinate names adopted by the two parties, probably because they mainly fought to decide who should be called the Clan Chattan—brought not less than Thirty men on each side into the field. It was in truth the cruel policy of Albany to ensure in any

case the destruction of the best and most active warriors of both septs; and he was seconded in his views by Moray, Douglas, and the savage Crawford, the latter of whom, though then but a boy, was the most active promoter of the bloody conflict. As "Earl Beardie," he was well known in the subsequent civil broils of Scotland.

"The better day, the better deed." So says our old Scottish byword. Palm Sunday, in March 1396, was the day appointed for what the Highlanders on both sides deemed an honourable trial of bravery betwixt their two septs, but which the Regent and the Lowland lords certainly considered as a most promising way of cutting off both the parties. The king, Robert III., then lay at Perth, with his court, and a numerous body of the nobility. A large space of the Inch was enclosed for the encounter, and seated platforms erected for the hosts of spectators whom the spirit of the times drew together to behold the mutual massacring of the two hostile parties.

The following account of the combat is not long, but it is the foundation of all the other versions, being from Boece, as rendered by Bellenden. It will be here again seen that it is vain generally to form any judgment from names. The Clan Chattan are termed by Bellenden "Glenquhattanis;" and the matter is further obscured by the mention of the others as "Clankayis." The author of the description was nearly a cotemporary, and, in so prominent a business, could not err greatly. Let the pointed word *Irsmen* be also noted here.

"At this time, mekil of all the north of Scotland was hevely trublit be two clannis of Irsmen, namit Clankayis and Glenquhattanis; invading the cuntre, be thair weris, with ithand slauchter and reif. At last, it was appointit betwix the heidis-men of thir two clannis, be avise of the Erlis of Murray and Crawford, that xxx of the principall men of the ta clan sal cum, with othir xxx of the tothir clan, arrayit in thair best avise; and sall convene afore the king at Perth, for decision of al pleis; and fecht with sharp swardis to the deith, but ony harness; and that clan quhare the victory succedit, to have perpetuall empire above the tothir. Baith thir clannis, glaid of this condition, come to the North Inche, beside Perth, with jugis set in scafaldis, to discus the verite. Ane of thir clannis wantit ane man to perfurnis furth the nowmer, and wagit ane caril, for money, to debait thair actionn, howbeit this man pertent na thing to thaim in blud nor kindness. Thir two clannis stude arrayit with gret hatrent aganis othir; and, be sound of trumpet, ruschit togidder; takand na respect to thair woundis, so that thay might destroy their ennimes; and fauchtin this maner lang, with uncertane victory: quhes ane fel, ane othir was put in his rowme. At last, the Clankayis war al alone except ane, that swam throw the watter of Tay. Of Glenquhattannis, was left xi personis on live; bot thay war sa hurt, that they might nocht hald thair swardis in their handis. This debait was fra the incarnation, mcccxcvi yeiris."

Sir Walter Scott relates the story of the battle in his own admirable way, and there is no fiction in his account, at least, of the conduct of the standard-bearers and pipers on both sides:

"They (the standard-bearers) attacked each other furiously with the lances to which the standards were attached, closed after exchanging several deadly thrusts, then grappled in close strife, still holding their banners, until at length, in the eagerness of their conflict, they fell together into the Tay, and were found drowned after the combat closely locked in each other's arms. The fury of battle, the frenzy of rage and despair, infected next the minstrels. The two pipers, who, during the conflict, had done their utmost to keep up the spirits of their brethren, now saw the dispute well-nigh terminated for want of men to support it. They threw down their instruments, rushed desperately upon each other with their daggers, and each being more intent on despatching his opponent than in defending himself, the piper of Clan Quhele was almost instantly slain, and he of Clan Chattan mortally wounded. The last, nevertheless, again grasped his instrument, and the pibroch of the clan yet poured its expiring notes over the Clan Chattan, while the dying minstrel had breath to inspire it. The instrument which he used, or at least that part of it called the chanter, is preserved in the family of a Highland Chief to this day, and is much honoured under the name of the *Federan Dhu*, or Black Chanter."

The great novelist here alludes to the chief of the Macphersons. In a subsequent passage, Sir Walter rather markedly calls the chanter a trophy of the "presence," merely, of the Macphersons at the battle of the Inch. That the Macphersons were the losing party on the occasion, and, as elsewhere explained, were the main opponents and rivals of the Macintoshes, is partly demonstrated, or at least receives strong confirmation, from the fact that the preserved chanter is emphatically termed the "Black Chanter." Why should the records of a victory be so named—if the Macphersons were on the successful side?

This quotation gives the main events of that extraordinary tournament, which may have many parallels in Anglo-Norman history, but has few or none in that of the Gael. How well Sir Walter has woven the main incidents into a continuous romance, the reader needs not to be reminded; but few may be aware of the origin of one feature in the story of special prominence. We refer to the constitutional timidity, if not positive cowardice, ascribed to Conachar, the presumed chief of one of the contending clans; which characteristic Scott works up most skilfully into his plot. In a private company, some person made the remark that novelists had thrown a sort of lustre over fools and villains of all shades, but not one had ever attempted to invest with interest the character of a coward. The great novelist, then one of the assemblage, uttered some remarks on the subject, and was afterwards observed to sit musing, as if over some new idea. That his fertile imagination soon suggested a mode of working out this

"Thing unattempted yet in prose or rhyme,"

the tale of the "Fair Maid of Perth" well shows. Besides, the whole incidents connected with Harry Wynd and the battle on the Inch must often before have struck his ruminating fancy, as forming a theme worthy of his pen. He certainly developed the idea of a timid character with great art and delicacy in the case of Conachar, softening the failing by the supposed doe-nursing and other circumstances, so as to prevent us from viewing the young Highlander with positive contempt. But he could not make a hero (even a novel hero) out of a coward, and so far the attempt was a failure. He made one, however, of Harry Wynd, a smith of Perth, who joined the Clan Quhele to make up their accidental numerical deficiency, and did much to decide the victory.

The strange tournament on the Inch left the Macintoshes in the position of Captains of the Clan Chattan, and, at least *de facto*, its heads. The Cluny chieftains, indeed, advanced their claims to precedence at the close of the sixteenth century; but their opponents, as before stated, actually constrained them to sign a bond in 1609, admitting the superiority of the Laird of Macintosh. As soon as the opportunity occurred, however, the chief of Cluny renewed his family claims; and, in 1672, he satisfied the Lyon Office of his right to have his Arms matriculated as "the only and true representer of the ancient and honourable families of Clan Chattane." The sword would have shortly before been the weapon wielded in answer to this claim; but now society had become a little more tranquil and civilised, and the Macintosh chief appealed to the laws. He referred to the various evidents in his possession, styling his forefathers Captains of Clan Chattan, in order to procure a reversal of the grant of the Lyon-King-at-Arms. He obtained his wish. The clear written proofs which he produced of Captainship overpowered all the testimony, on the other side, of Chiefship. From this time forward, Macintosh of Macintosh has retained in common parlance the title of Captain of Clan Chattan, carrying, also, the proper armorial bearings of the head of the tribe.

The direct feuds of the Macintoshes and Macphersons may be said to have now closed. The disputes with the Camerons may be fully noticed afterwards; and it may only be mentioned here, that in consequence of the Macdonalds of Keppoch having succeeded to the possession of part of Lochaber in the seventeenth century, they drew down on themselves the wrath of the Macintosh chief, who claimed nearly all that district on the score of the old grant from the Lords of the Isles. Confiscations and fresh charters had annulled all such pretensions, properly speaking; but Macintosh collected his vassals, and moved against the Keppoch Macdonalds. He was defeated after a fierce skirmish, and was taken prisoner by his adversary. But here occurred a singular proof of the strength of the brotherly feeling of clanship. A large body of Macphersons appeared on the field at the close of the battle, being summoned thither simply by the intelligence that the general honour of the Clan Chattan stood in peril. They were so formidably strong, that Keppoch was forced to negotiate with them, and to deliver up the captive chief of the Macintoshes. The Macphersons had thus the glory of freeing one who had ever been the rival of their own parti-

cular chief and house, and had no claim upon their aid, saving that resulting from a community of blood. To his lasting honour, the Cluny of the day exacted no conditions from the party thus placed in his power, but conducted him to his home in safety, and left him in the bosom of his family. Nearly from this time forward the Macphersons, however, kept their place as an independent clan, acting as such throughout the whole civil wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The lairds of Cluny, indeed, continued ever to claim the chiefship of Clan Chattan, while the Macintoshes held fast by their pretensions to the captainship. They stand in the same position at this day. Our own views of the rights of each have been already given. If the crown could make a captain of Clan Chattan, that captain is the Macintosh. If hereditary descent be held to constitute a Gaelic chief, Cluny Macpherson is the head of the Clan Chattan.

Some readers may conceive this subject to have been too largely commented on; but the excuse is, as already remarked, that no other genealogical question in the whole Gaelic annals has been so keenly disputed, or possesses greater interest to the Gael generally, the Macdonald controversy alone excepted.

The gallant feats in war of the Clan Chattan septs would occupy volumes. During the Scottish Rebellions generally, both the Macintoshes and Macphersons distinguished themselves highly in the cause of the Stewarts; and it pains us that our arranged plan of clearing up family histories, rather than dwelling on family anecdotes, will allow us so little space to notice the especial doings of the two great branches of Clan Chattan. Two parties of the house of Macintosh were noted most peculiarly during the risings of 1715 and 1745, the one being Macintosh of Borlum, a brigadier in the insurgent army, and the other none other than the lady of the chief for the time being. The lady deserves, in courtesy, the first word of notice. Her husband was a sworn servant of government, holding (in 1745) a company in the Black Watch, and being to all appearance ready to serve the side to which he was vowed. However, Lady Macintosh (as she was commonly called) took a different view of matters, and raised the clan in the absence of her lord from his seat of Moy Hall, in Inverness-shire. The spirited dame conveyed her followers in person to the main army of Charles-Edward at Inverness, and had the satisfaction shortly afterwards of seeing her husband taken prisoner by the insurgents. The Chevalier very prudently gave him in charge to his lady, saying, that "he could not be in better security, or more honourably treated." The Lady Macintosh is also represented by General Stewart as the heroine of another adventure in the civil wars. Lord Loudoun, then commandant for King George at Inverness, had been informed that Charles-Edward was to sleep on a certain night at Moy Hall, a dwelling both securely and beautifully planted on an isle in the Lake of Moy, and that he would be attended but by a guard of two hundred Macintoshes. Hoping to terminate the rebellion by one clever blow, Loudoun marched with a strong force by night to Moy Hall. But the commandress had her scouts abroad, and was not to be taken by surprise. She gave no alarm to the Chevalier, who was in reality her guest for the time, but made her preparations for the reception of the royalist troops with a degree of skill and foresight which would have done honour to the best Guerilla captain in the world. She sallied out at the proper time with her comparatively small body of clansmen, and planted them in divisions at different points on each side of Lord Loudoun's line of march. The noble commander approached, and, in place of surprising others, was himself astounded to hear loud signals uttered and repeated along a distance of half a mile. He heard the order given for the Macintoshes, Macgillivrays, and Macleans to form here; the Macdonalds to form there; and the Frasers to form somewhere else. In short, Lord Loudoun was led to imagine that the whole insurgent army lay before him, and he not only retreated upon Inverness, but gave instant orders for the evacuation of that town by his forces; nor did he rest until he had crossed three arms of the sea, and had placed that barrier betwixt him and the supposed rebel army.

This story is given here as told by Garth. It may be true in the main, and Lord Loudoun may really have been led to his retreat from Moy by the clever

stratagem of Lady Macintosh; yet Loudoun commanded but a division of the royal army, and his retreat from Inverness rested, it is probable, on more serious grounds than the single trick of the Lady of Moy. However, we have no doubt but that the anecdote is based on fact; and a woman of spirit the Macintosh dame must have been assuredly. General history will have made most readers aware, that the youth, fascinating address, and romantic position of Charles-Edward caused the Gaelic ladies to adopt his interests with much more ardour, in many cases, than did the Highland gentlemen; and we have it on the indubitable authority of President Forbes, that one chieftain's wife, being unable to prevail on her lord to join the rebels, put an effectual bar on his purposed junction with the royalists by pouring scalding hot water on his legs, as if by accident, at the breakfast-table. There may have been "wheels within wheels," however, in these affairs. The unmatched, and indeed unmatched, double-dealing of Lovat shows that some, at least, of the Highland chiefs were no mean adepts in finessing. But the Lady Macintosh seems in truth to have been a Jacobite in heart and soul. We must demur somewhat to the further encomiums passed upon her by Stewart of Garth. He says, "Of all the fine ladies (of the Jacobite party) few were more accomplished, more beautiful, or more enthusiastic, than the Lady Macintosh." This lady had a curious style of expression and orthography, it must be allowed, for a woman of high gifts and attainments. A letter to the Duke of Athol will put this fact beyond doubt. Her ladyship thus writes and spells:—My Lord Douke—The Beraer of this is a veray Prettay fellow, Brother to M'enzee of Kilcoway. He had a companay resed for the Prince's servace, but was handred by Lord Siforth to keray them off, which meks me give this trobal to beg of your Grace to give him an order for resing his men, and thene he can wous a lettel force. My God presearf your Grace, and all that will searf ther Prince. A. McL." A few words more are added, and the letter is closed. Mr Burton asks pointedly, in his "Life of Lovat," if we are to take this dame's orthography as a fair specimen of the training which the ladies of the Jacobite party had received, and which they displayed at the celebrated balls held (in 1745) in the palace of Holyrood?

"Borlum and his men's coming." Such is the mention made, in one of the most noted Jacobite songs, of Macintosh of Borlum, a cadet of the clan much more famed than any of its chiefs during the Rebellions. "Old Borlum," as he was called, was a veteran trained in the wars abroad, and acted as the principal leader of the Macintoshes under the Earl of Mar in 1715. He had the credit of heading the best appointed corps of the rebel army; which, perhaps, was no great credit after all, since the majority of the mountaineers are described as "almost naked, or at least wearing little more than one shirt-like garment." Their cavalry, of which class of troops Huntly and others brought in a few squadrons, were very properly, and perhaps rather sarcastically, designated "light horse," being composed of "bulky Highlandmen mounted on shelties," and unprovided not only with boots and other proper accoutrements, but even riding, if we understand aright the accounts given, in their kilts. They were "the derision," it is said, "of friends and foes." Sir Walter Scott makes a similar remark in the "Legend of Montrose," when describing the effect of Dugald Dalgetty's appearance, sheathed in armour, and mounted on the large-framed Gustavus, on the minds of men whose equestrian experiences were confined to the sight of "a sheltly waddling under a Highlander far bigger than itself." As in the case of Homer, it is the poetry of Ossian which we must admire, and not his veracity, in perusing his sketches of the splendid cars and the wind-winged steeds of the Gael of old. With his foot on his native heather, his limbs free, and his broadsword in his hand, the Highlander was indeed formidable as a warrior. He had neither the experience nor the means to make him effective in the department of cavalry.

We have digressed, however, from the story of "Old Borlum." The Earl of Mar, at the rising of 1715, selected him for an expedition into the Lowlands, chiefly to gather the friends of the cause together, and to pave the way for his own advance. Macintosh had under him above two thousand men, and, by

the most adroit management, he carried sixteen hundred of them across the Firth of Forth, in the very face of three English frigates. He had not been instructed to march on Edinburgh, but, hearing of its utterly defenceless state, he moved thither, and occupied Leith. Had Mar pushed southward with his whole army at the same time, the capital of Scotland must have been taken with great ease. By not doing so, he committed a fault ruinous to the Stewart cause in 1715. The expedition of Borlum, in place of calling out Lowland recruits, merely gave the alarm to government and its friends, and proved worse than useless. After holding the citadel of North Leith for a single night, the arrival of the Duke of Argyle, and the strong defensive preparations set on foot in Edinburgh, caused the Brigadier to decamp by night into East Lothian. He got off safely, and even contrived, by an old soldier's trick, to send tidings of his movements to Lord Mar. He put off some of his men in a boat upon the Firth, and by firing away at them, as they rowed off, with the fort-cannon, he cheated the other party into the belief that the crew must be on their side, by which means the little boat was not pursued. Macintosh stopped at and fortified Seton House, under the idea that he would be followed; but, as he was not, he moved to the Borders, where he met the expected English insurgents. Now commenced a fatal dissension betwixt these parties, however, the English being as unwilling to quit their own confines as the Highlanders were eager to get back to their northern friends.

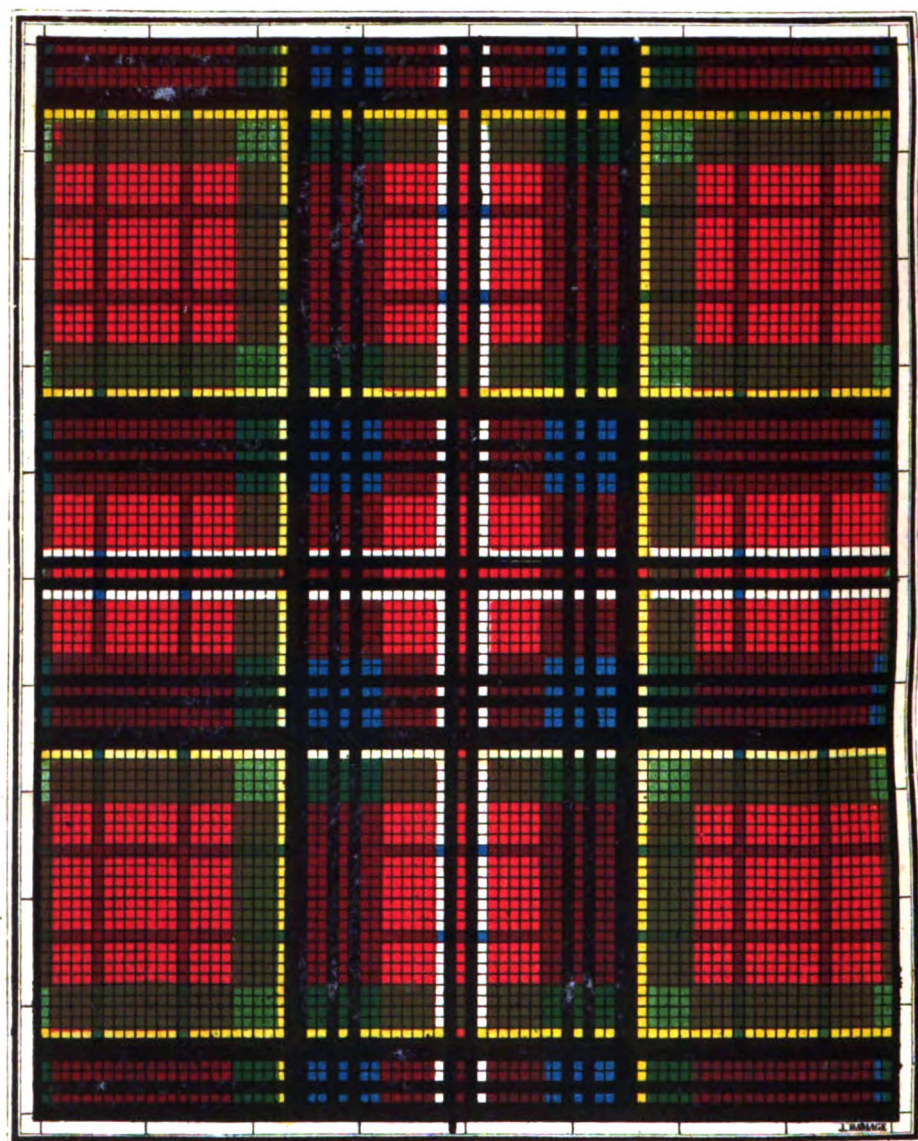
Several hundreds of the Highlanders went north, and it was with great reluctance that Macintosh consented to enter England with the rest. The Englishmen were under Mr Forster, and Old Borlum expressed his opinion of the southern recruits to his new leader in no very flattering terms. "Are these the fellows that you intend to fight the enemy with?" said he; "good faith, man, I would engage to beat ten thousand of them with one squadron of regular dragoons." When the government party prevailed, Macintosh was one of the hostages for an unconditional surrender, after having exceeded all his fellow-leaders in the gallantry of his defence. He was sent to London; but, before his trial-day, he broke out of Newgate with fifteen other prisoners, and escaped to the continent. Such was the career of the brave old leader of the Macintoshes (whose chief was at the time a minor) in the insurrection of 1715. Since we have quoted his opinions of the English insurgents, it is but fair to give his description of his own Scottish party. He styled them all "people of desperate fortunes," in characterising them to the commander for King George.

The minorship of the Macintosh chief in 1715, and his singular position in 1745, together with the conduct of his lady, had the effect of engaging the clan in both rebellions, without comprising its head. The house retained part of its possessions, though the transition from comparative barbarism to civilisation ere long materially changed the position of this family, as it did of others similarly placed. Immediately after the doings of 1745, the Act abolishing Heritable Jurisdictions in Scotland was passed; and we find the Laird of Macintosh to have claimed what was in those days a large sum for his local rights. As Steward of the Lordship of Lochaber, he asked a compensation of £5000 sterling. A Scottish historian justly remarks, that the Scottish nobles and chiefs had assuredly long contrived to make their presumed offices well worth the compensation-money demanded. Their irresponsible power over property and life was in fact limitless; and those who regret the changes attendant on progressing civilisation would do well to turn the picture, and look at the evils thereby remedied.

The Macintoshes were received into favour after the Rebellions. Aeneas (a Latinised version of Angus) Macintosh of Macintosh was created a Baronet by George III. Leaving no male heirs of the body, however, the title expired, and he was succeeded by Angus Macintosh, the male heir, whose immediate sires had settled in Canada. Alexander, his son, is now Macintosh of Macintosh. The seat of the family is Moy Hall, Inverness-shire.

ARMS OF MACINTOSH.

Quarterly, or, a lion rampant, gules [borne as cadet of Macduff, but mainly proving the tradition of that descent to have been early]. Second, argent, a dexter hand couped fees-



Clan Macpherson

ways, grasping a man's heart, pale-ways, gules. Third, azure, a bear's head, couped, or. Fourth, or, a lymphad, her oars erected in saltier, sable.

CREST. A Cat saliant, proper.

SUPPORTERS. Two Cats.

BADGE. Red Whortleberry [a badge so closely resembling the Box evergreen, assigned to the Macphersons, that there has been a dispute about which is the true emblem of Clan-Chattan].

MOTTO. Touch not the cat but (without) the Glove.



THE CLAN MACPHERSON.

While granting to Macintosh of Macintosh the seemingly just right to be accounted Captain of Clan Chattan, if the supreme authorities of the land had power to create and bestow such a title, and if custom is to be viewed as of avail in the case, we most distinctly hold, as the reader will have seen, that Cluny Macpherson (the name usually given to MACPHERSON of MACPHERSON or CLUNY) is and has ever been the chief of the Chattan confederation by right of blood and male descent. From Gilliechattan, who founded the coalition either in the eleventh or twelfth centuries (for there were three Gilliechattans, and it is not quite clear which was styled Mhor or the Great *par excellence*), the line of the Macpherson chieftains can be traced, without one breach in the male succession, up to the present day. Of course, the history of the two septs is nearly one and the same before the quarrels leading to the Battle of the Inch, where the Clan Quhele, almost unquestionably the Macintoshes, obtained the superiority. So far the Macphersons adhered to that paction as to rescue their rivals from the Keppoch Macdonalds, as they had before done from the Camerons at Invernahaven, with both of which tribes the Macintoshes had long contested the possession of Lochaber. The uncertain terms of tenure, common to the times, caused all these disputes; Keppoch deriving his claims as a renter under the Island Lords, and the Camerons being viewed by Macintosh as holding their estates merely as subordinate members of the Clan Chattan.

During the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, Cluny Macpherson appeared as the independent head of at least his own sept, no claim being preferred to any superiority over him on these occasions. The great personal merits and northern influence of the chief of the time rendered him indeed one of the most important leaders in the last insurrection. Perhaps the fact of the Macintoshes not being commanded by their proper chief tended largely to prevent the opening up anew of the conflicting pretensions, still set forth by both parties, to lead Clan Chattan collectively. Cluny was one of the warmest and most trusted personal friends of Charles-Edward, and not only fought for him with all his especial followers (numbering then four hundred or five hundred active men), but exerted himself earnestly to secure the escape of the Prince after Culloden, if not to revive his fallen hopes. The Macpherson chief, moreover, was the party principally entrusted with the charge of the relics of the money originally collected for the enterprise of 1745. This fact is proven by a note in which the Chevalier, before quitting Scotland, gives to Cluny instructions, that "not one farthing" is to be assigned away without an order from the Prince. Another order to Cluny, who knew "where the (said money amounting to) £27,000 lay," is dated from the French vessel on board of which Charles-Edward at length found a refuge; and it directs £750 to be divided among the Magregors, Stewarts, the Macdonalds of Glengarry and Keppoch, and the "Lokel clan." Such is his spelling of "Locheil." Charles directs especial care to be taken, moreover, of "rings, sels (seals), and other trifels" belonging to him, and all lying in certain "boxks"—for so is the word set down. Much more is said in the same fashion in the letters to Cluny; and, saving the direction to accord such pittancees (out of a comparatively large sum) to men who had risked their lives, and lost their all in his cause, we find less practical sympathy shown by Charles than has usually been reported, with the miseries brought on the Gael by their devotion to his family interests. Above all, be it remembered that the Prince, in sending these orders through a district crowded with foes, risked afresh the life of the

chief of the Macphersons. Cluny was at the moment a hunted fugitive, with a high price set upon his head, and with the certainty of perishing on the scaffold if captured. He stood even more deeply involved than most of his brother-chiefs, because he had shortly before accepted a command in Loudoun's loyal Highland regiment. His defection is said to have been caused mainly by the urgency of his wife and the *dunnewassals* of his clan, whom the hope of plunder as much as loyalty, we grieve to say, seems to have stimulated to the descent on the Lowlands. He continued to receive orders for the employment of the Insurrection-funds left in Scotland for several years after 1745, and was all the while personally situated in a position equally perilous and romantic. Stewart of Garth thus tells his story:

"His life was of course forfeited to the laws, and much diligence was exerted to bring him to justice. But neither the hope of reward nor the fear of danger could induce any one of his people to betray him, or to remit their faithful services. He lived nine years in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which was burnt to the ground by the king's troops. This cave was in front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighbourhood, in order that no vestige of their labour might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time had slackened the rigour of the search. Upwards of one hundred persons knew where he was concealed, and a reward of £1000 was offered to any one who should give information against him; and, as it was known that he was concealed on his estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties occasionally marching into the country, to intimidate his tenantry, and thereby induce them to disclose the place of his concealment. Though the soldiers were animated with the hope of the reward, and though a step of promotion to the officer who should apprehend him was superadded, yet so true were his people, so prudent in their conversation, and so dexterous in conveying to him the necessities he required in his long confinement, that not a trace could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. At length, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year."

The present Ewan Macpherson of Cluny, nearly the twentieth in a direct line from Ewan Bane, was born in 1804, and wedded into the house of his kindred, the Macdhais, or Davidsons, of Tulloch. The principal seat of the chief is Cluny Castle, in Badenoch, Inverness-shire.

The Branches of the Clan Chattan, assuming ultimately different names, were undoubtedly numerous. The Shaws and Farquharsons have always been accounted as springing from Shaw Macduff, whom, as stated, many authorities view as the founder of the Macintosh line. Farquharson is the first form of the last of these patronymics. Muriach (Vuirich) being quite the same as Murdoch, (!) the Murdocksons are traced to the Clan Chattan source. The Davidsons have been alluded to already. Believing so far in these especial derivations, we must leave the reader to judge for himself as to the Macgillivrays, Macbains, Macqueens, and others, all of whom have been referred to the Clan Chattan stem. "New lairds, new laws," is a wise saying; but the Gael may well reverse it, and say, "New laws, new lairds." The Clan Chattan held much of the county of Inverness, part of the north of Perth and Argyle, and even dipped into Aberdeen, Nairn, Moray, and other districts. They are now to be found mainly in Inverness, though a section of the family is yet well estated and pretty strong in Aberdeenshire, the house of Farquharson of Invercauld, in Braemar, having long been deemed the principal one of that name in these regions. Auchmar states them to be the same tribe as the Mackinlays, that term (properly Macfinlay) being a mark of descent from Finlay Mhor, a great chief who fell at Flodden. He styles Shaw of Greenock, now Shaw-Stewart, the chief of that branch of the sons of Ferquhard Shaw or Macduff.

ARMS OF MACPHERSON.

Parted per fess, or, and azure, a lymphad or galley, her sails furled, her oars in action, of the first; in the dexter chief point, a hand coupee, grasping a dagger pointed upwards, gules, for service done against the Cumins; in the sinister point, a cross crosslet, fitchee, gules.

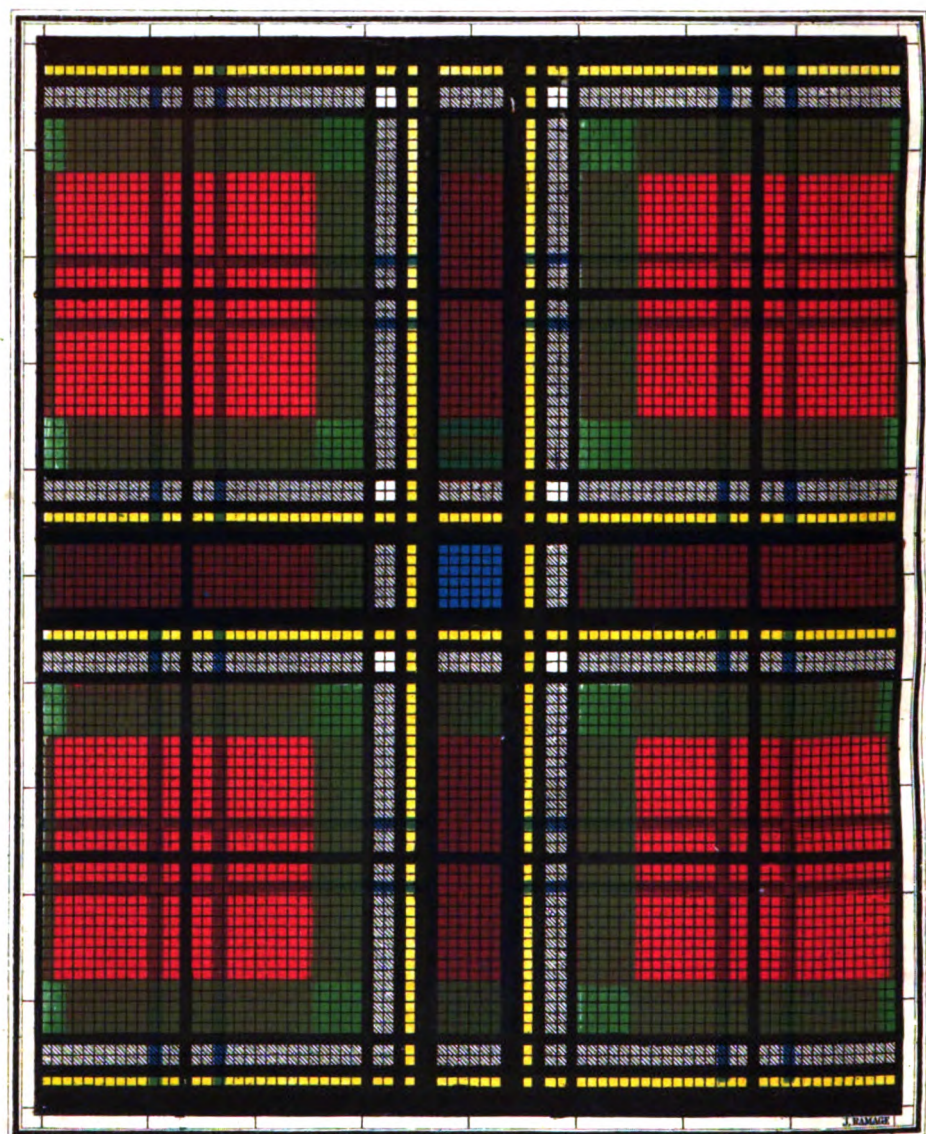
CREST. A Cat, sejant, proper.

SUPPORTERS. Two armed Highlandmen (or in some cases, for Clan Chattan, two Wild Cats).

MOTTO. Touch not the Cat but (without) the Glove.

BADGE. Boxwood.

XVII



Chm. Mclean

CLAN MACLEAN.

The CLAN MACLEAN, otherwise named MACGILLEON or MACILEAN, has usually been viewed as of Irish origin. Two brothers or cousins of the great family of Fitzgerald founded, it is said, both the Maclean sept and that of the Mackenzies. The Fitzgeralds, again, owed their descent to a Tuscan or Italian follower of William the Conqueror, or rather to his grandson, Maurice Fitzgerald, who went over to Ireland with the famous Strongbow. The gallant Earl of Surrey, conqueror of the field of Flodden, and equally eminent for his poetical talents, thus speaks of a lady whom he named his Geraldine, and who is universally held to have been of the Irish house of Fitzgerald :—

“ From Tuscany came my lady’s worthy race ;
 Fair Florence was sometime their ancient seat ;
 Bright is her hue and Geraldine she hight ;
 Windsor, alas ! doth chase me from her sight.”

The Fitzgeralds of Ireland, who have been thus markedly ascribed to the Geraldini of Florence, sent offshoots, we are told, to Scotland in the thirteenth century, who founded the Maclean and Mackenzie clans. Certain it is, that Alexander II. did at that period make a decided and successful effort to bring the western coasts and isles under the authority in part of new lords. He settled the Campbells, for example, in the sheriffship of Argyle, and gave to other tribes, who acknowledged his supremacy, regular grants of new lands, or of lands before held irregularly. As the MS. of 1450 does not notice the Macleans among the native Gael, there appears the more reason for not discrediting the story of their Irish origin. Those writers who deny all such intermixtures of foreign blood with the Gaelic, might as reasonably deny the Norman conquest, or the settlement of Angles among the Scots, though a new language was given to the latter thereby. If there be disgrace in these incorporations with other races, the Scots proper (who spoke a Gaelic dialect in the time of Bede) must bear a tenfold share of shame. The proof that the Gaelic people—the true Gaelic commonalty—remained unchanged and unexpelled, lies in the fact that their language and customs were never overturned by any incomers. In like manner, the Normans, though they made their bastard French the language of the laws, the palace, and the castle-hall, failed completely to abolish the Saxon effectively, and simply because it was ever the true vernacular tongue of the great body of the nation. Though the story of the settlement of a Fitzgerald chief were to be admitted, therefore, it would no more follow that the Macleans were or are wholly foreign, than that the people of England were or are wholly Norman, or the Macleods wholly Norwegian. It seems most unlikely that the Macleans could partake of the Norse blood, like the last mentioned tribe or the Macneils. It was by their very feats against the Norsemen (Danes) at Largs in 1264, that both the Maclean and Mackenzie septs are held to have earned their leading possessions at the hands of Alexander III. “ *Gilleon ni tuoidh* (Gilleon of the Battle-axe)” seems to have given their clan-name to the Macleans. In 1296, he is found signing Ragman Roll as “ Gillimore Macilean,” or “ Gilleon the Great, son of Gilleon ;” and his acquired possessions then lay in the southern corner of Perthshire, or rather in the north or north-west of what is now Argyle county. John Macgillimore, head of the Macleans in the time of Robert Bruce, and one of those who fought at Bannockburn, is usually held to have been the ancestor of the branches of Duart, Lochbuy, and others of the name. In the days of the earliest successors of Bruce, the Macleans had become a considerable clan ; but they appear ere long to have decidedly espoused the cause of the Lords of the Isles against the Lowland monarchy, or, in other words, to have joined the Gael against the Saxon. Their valuable support was repaid by liberal grants of island territories, which they have held in part up to the present day. The Isles of Mull, Tiree, and Coll, with the extensive peninsula of Morvern on the

mainland, fell under their sway, and formed in all a large estate. While in the course of receiving these holdings under the Macdonalds, they seem to have pushed out a less lucky sept attached to the same house, namely the Mackinnons. A bitter feud with the latter was the consequence, and led to a most unusual and daring act on the part of the chief of the Macleans. Being called out to follow the Lord of the Isles, along with the Mackinnons, he seized an occasion to attack the chief of the latter sept, and slew him. Afraid of the issue, Maclean next captured the Macdonald himself, and only released him on obtaining large concessions of island property.

Lachlan Maclean, son of John Gillimore, received in marriage the hand of a daughter of John I., Lord of the Isles, by his wife the Princess Margaret Stewart. This high union conciliated and bound together the two families. Lachlan founded the Duart line, and his brother Eachin (or Hector) that of Lochbuy, both of them estated in Mull. Red Hector of the Battles, son of Lachlan, followed Donald of the Isles to Harlaw, and commanded there as his lieutenant. He perished on the field singularly. His sires had been at feud with the Irvines of Drum, a Scottish house of some note, and Maclean recognised either the banner or the armorial bearings of his foe in the *melée*. The laird of Drum made a like discovery; and, although neither had ever before looked the other in the face, they at once commenced a desperate single-handed fight. It proved a most fatal one, as both of the combatants were left dead on the scene of its occurrence.

At the battles of Flodden and Pinkie the Macleans seconded the Scottish monarchs, and fought bravely. Generally speaking, however, the successors of Lachlan in the chiefship of the Macleans continued to follow more peculiarly the Lords of the Isles, until the direct line of that house came to a close, when charters were accepted from the crown in place of those previously obtained from the Macdonalds. No island-tribe profited more than the Macleans by the downfall of their former superiors; and they became divided into several distinct and powerful branches, as those of Ardgower and Morvern, besides the lines of Duart, Lochbuy, and Coll. The jealousy of the Macdonalds was strongly aroused by this increasing prosperity on the part of their recent vassals or inferiors. The feeling appears to have been shared in by other less fortunate septs, and a story of revenge and blood is told, as having in consequence signalised the close of the sixteenth century. Buchanan makes the Macneils the chief actors, while Mr Skene considers the Macdonalds of Kintyre to have been the main parties concerned. It is probable that both clans took a share in the business; but as Kintyre is mentioned by each of these narrators as the scene, the Macdonalds, who held that peninsula, may be considered as the most active in the plot. Be this as it may, Angus, chief of Kintyre, is said to have taken deep offence at the power and popularity of Lachlan Mhor Maclean (his own brother-in-law), who added to his family influence the advantages derivable from superior talents and a liberal foreign education. After in vain attacking him by arms, Macdonald affected to seek a reconciliation with Maclean, visited him at Duart, and invited him in turn to Kintyre. With some forty or fifty of his chief men, Maclean in due time crossed the sea to his brother-in-law's residence. Buchanan thus relates the issue:

"They arrived at Kintyre, Macdonald's residence, early in the morning, and the day was spent in feasting and merriment. At night, after they had retired to rest, Macdonald beset the house in which Maclean and his company were lodged, and calling for them, invited them to come and renew the conviviality. Maclean replied, they had already drunk enough, and wished to be left to their repose, as it was now time to go to sleep. 'But it is my will,' said Macdonald, 'that you rise and come out.' On which Maclean, suspecting treachery, arose, dressed himself, and opened the door, when, perceiving Macdonald standing with his sword drawn, he asked him if he meant to break his faith! 'I gave no faith,' said the inhospitable savage; 'and I now mean to have my revenge on you and yours for the wrongs I have suffered.' Maclean had that night taken his nephew, a little child, to bed with him, and, being put to his defence, held the boy upon his left shoulder as a target. Macdonald, perceiving that he could not hurt Maclean without injuring his own son, and the child crying for mercy to his uncle, promised to spare his life if he would give up his weapons, and surrender himself his

prisoner. Maclean, who saw no other alternative, yielded to the ruffian, and was conveyed to a place of confinement. His attendants, with the exception of two, submitted to necessity, and followed the example of their chief. These two defended the door with such obstinate desperation, that the banditti found it impossible to force it, and in their rage set fire to the house, which was burned, together with its resolute defenders. They who had submitted to the mercy and promise of the barbarian, were brought out, part next morning, and the remainder on the day following, and beheaded in presence of Maclean. Maclean himself, who was reserved for the same fate, would have perished also, but Macdonald was disabled by a fall from his horse, and the execution was delayed. In the interval, information was sent to the king of the horrible transaction, who immediately despatched a herald to demand that Maclean should be delivered to the Earl of Argyle; but the message was treated with contempt, and the unfortunate chief detained, and compelled to yield to the most unreasonable conditions before he obtained his liberty."

The Maclean chief, we regret to say, though termed by Buchanan a man of polish and education, is recorded by the same authority to have taken a fearful subsequent revenge on his enemies, firing their domiciles, and putting "man, woman, and child to the sword." It would appear that he now also imposed "unreasonable concessions" in turn on his adversaries. The Macdonalds, however, entrapped him finally. A second meeting having been arranged to settle all disputes, John, son of Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, fell on Lachlan as he was landing to hold the concerted council, and, surprising him in his stranded boats, killed him after a brave defence. The Macneils certainly took part in these proceedings, though we have followed Mr Skene in holding the Macdonalds to have been the main actors. The son of Lachlan avenged his death by a terrible inroad on the Islay Macdonalds. Both the Macleans and the Macdonalds were eventually ousted from their Argyleshire possessions during the seventeenth century, by the Campbells, which great clan moved against them with all the weight of the Lowland regal authority. There are various accounts, before and about this date, of the existence of daring freebooters of the Maclean name. One Lachlan Maclean, for example, attained to a very bad eminence in the time of James II. or James III. These things no doubt rendered their partial suppression almost compulsory, and explains why the Campbell chiefs, always prudent and potent upholders of the Lowland power, supplanted so many others of the Gaelic tribes in their western possessions. "Quell these troublous tribes, and take their lands for your pains." So spoke the Scottish kings. The more remote isles being less accessible, there the Macleans, as well as other septa, found their durable places of abiding.

The Macleans, like so many of the Gael, transferred their full affections to the Stewarts, when that family mounted the throne of Great Britain. The feelings of the people of the north, before divided, coalesced so far on that great occasion; and the Highlander, even much more than the Lowlander, took pride in the thought that a Scot had ascended the general throne of the British Islands. The Macleans joined in all the wars consequent on the civil discussions of the time of Charles I. At the battle of Inverkeithing, fought between the royalists and Oliver Cromwell's troops, five hundred of the Maclean followers, it is said, were left dead on the field. On this occasion an incident, finely turned to account by Scott in his "Fair Maid of Perth," occurred in the heat of the battle. Seven valiant brothers of the clan stood around their chieftain, Sir Hector Maclean, who fought bravely, and again and again endangered his life. On every such emergency, one of the seven—as well deserving of fame as those of Thebes—rushed forward betwixt his person and the enemy. Man by man they fell; and still each survivor, as he took the place of the preceding victim, exclaimed, "*Bas air son Eachin* (another for Hector)!" The heart swells to think of such devotedness, while reason bids us regret alike its mode of development and pity its issue.

The Macleans, though they joined in Mar's insurrection of 1715, and suffered accordingly, refrained from rising in 1745, being persuaded (like the Macleods) of its fruitlessness by Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Session, and having felt the leniency of the crown for former misdemeanours. Besides, they were too far off to be visited by Charles; and

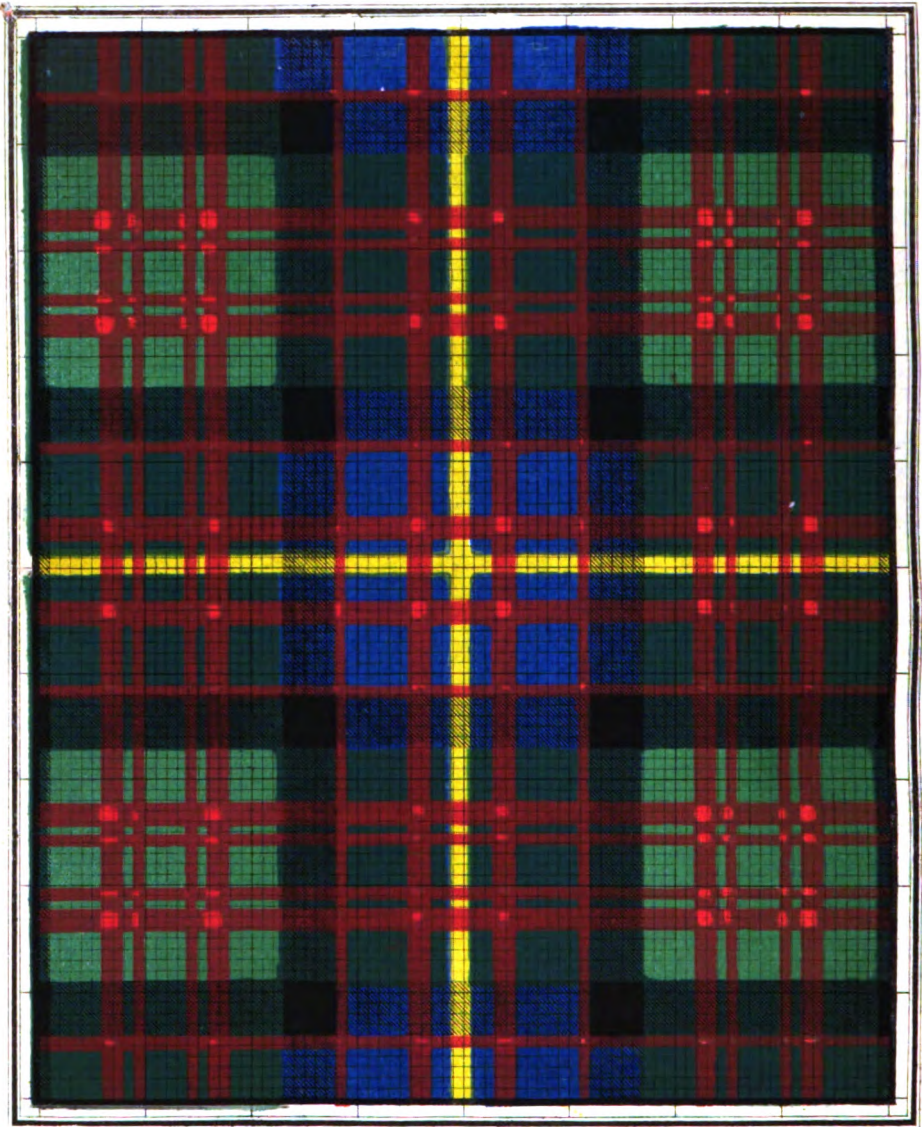
wherever the magic effect of his personal presence was wanting, the Highland chiefs generally showed no strong inclination in 1745 to rise in arms. In truth, the chiefs had by degrees become much better educated, and had now formed many dear Lowland connections. They no longer desired to enrich themselves and their clans by forays or *creaghs* at the cost of their southern neighbours, even had they not felt that the improved state of the laws would no more permit such things to be done with impunity. The Macleans were saved from the terrible consequences of 1745, and retained at least part of their properties. We chance to have an account of the Macleans (particularly of Coll) from the pen of Dr Samuel Johnson. It is curious to notice how the cell-bred scholar of Oxford, and the midnight essayist of a London garret, was affected by the honours paid to chieftainship in the remote Hebrides. He positively counselled Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat to take up arms, and proclaim his independence of the British crown! Luckily, Sir Alexander knew better the existing state of the country. And when the Doctor came to Coll to be a guest of the young chief, he was extravagantly delighted with the piper playing during dinner, and all the other marks of family grandeur visible. Humanity is an odd compound. Sir Walter Scott displayed similar feelings, and, with all the sterling sense which leavened his genius, would rather have been honoured as a moss-trooping Johnnie Armstrong, than immortalised as the Author of *Waverley*. Dr Johnson, as observed, seems to have caught a similar infection; but, for our part, we prefer greatly to canonise him as the eminent lexicographer and essayist—and, above all, as the conversationalist depicted by Boswell—than as a Gaelic chief in wish or intention.

The Macleans of Duart, usually admitted as the chiefs of the clan, were raised to a Nova-Scotian Baronetcy before the union. Sir John Maclean was the head of the family at the time of the Mar rising in 1715; and we find it represented by Sir Allan in 1773, when Dr Johnson traversed the Hebrides. Though the estates of his house had been partially recovered, as already mentioned, Sir Allan Maclean was yet but master of a sadly dilapidated fortune, and resided on one of his minor islands in comparatively humble style. He entertained his visitors handsomely, nevertheless; and the following anecdote proves that he still retained his high claims as a chieftain. "The Macginnises are said to be a branch of the clan of Maclean. Sir Allan had been told that one of the name had refused to send him some rum, at which the knight was in great indignation. 'You rascal!' said he, 'don't you know that I can hang you, if I please? Refuse to send rum to me, you rascal! Don't you know that if I order you to go and cut a man's throat, you are to do it?'—'Yes, an't please your honour! and my own too, and hang myself too!' The poor fellow denied that he had refused to send the rum. His making these professions was not merely a pretence in presence of his chief; for, after he and I were out of Sir Allan's hearing, he told me, 'Had he sent his dog for the rum, I would have given it: I would cut my bones for him.' It was very remarkable to find such an attachment to a chief, though he had then no connection with the island, and had not been there for fourteen years. Sir Allan, by way of upbraiding the fellow, said, 'I believe you are a *Campbell*.'"

Poor Sir Allan had some reason to dislike the Campbells, since, in the time of his immediate sires, the Maclean estates had been evicted for debt by the Argyll house, which misfortune, with the losses through the rebellions, left but a small remnant behind.

The Macleans served actively under the established government during the American and continental wars. Though no regiment was formed of the clan solely, scarcely one corps was raised in the western Highlands without its quota both of officers and men of the name.

The Duart house appears to have expired in the direct line, and the Lochbuy branch, always claimants of the chiefship, are now usually deemed the heads of their clan. The Maclean Baronetcy of 1631 is indeed held by Sir Fitzroy Maclean, styled of Morvaren or Morvern, though the loose way in which the order has often permitted such titles to be assumed, renders this fact of lesser



weight. The Coll and Ardgowder lines are still represented, as also the branches of Borreray, Pennycross, Kinloch, and others.

ARMS OF THE CLAN MACLEAN.

Quarterly: First, argent, a rock gules. Second, argent, a dexter hand fessways, couped gules, holding a cross crosslet fitchee, in pale azure. Third, or, a lymphad sable. Fourth, argent, a salmon naiant, proper; in chief, two eagles' heads.

CREST. A tower embattled.

SUPPORTERS. Vert, two seals proper.

MOTTO. Virtue mine honour.

BADGE. Blackberry heath.



CLAN CAMERON.

An ancient manuscript history of the CLAN CAMERON commences with these words:—"The Camerons have a tradition among them that they are originally descended of a younger son of the royal family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of Fergus II. He was called *Cameron* from his *crooked nose*, as that word imports. But it is more probable that they are of the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country." Mr Skene quotes these words, and concurs in the latter conclusion, which indeed seems the most feasible in the case. John Major, moreover, writing on the subject of the Clan Chattan and the Camerons in the sixteenth century, uses the expression, "*Hæc tribus sunt consanguineæ* (these tribes are akin by blood);" and, though his authority can scarcely be held as perfectly decisive, any more than that of the ancient MS. cited, the two derive no slight value from their mutual agreement. Besides, as shown in the history of the Macintoshes and Macphersons, connections long existed betwixt the Camerons and these clans, scarcely explicable on any other supposition than that of their being one and all branches of the Clan Chattan confederation. Their very dissensions, continued for centuries, tend to prove the same fact, indicating, as they do, a family rivalry of no common kind, and not unlike that of the similarly "consanguineous" Macdonald septs.

Even if there ever lived a Crook-nose or CAMBRO—which somewhat Welsh-looking name has been assigned to the Danish founder of the Cameron line, and which has rather the appearance, certainly, of having been concocted *de post facto* to explain a rather odd clan-designation—it would not alter our belief that the tribe were almost wholly, if not wholly, of the pure and antique stock of the Scottish Gael. As little would we be affected, were it demonstrated that their name came from some *camerarius*, or chamberlain, of the Scottish kings. The Camerons never spoke any other language than the Gaelic, and Gaelic were all their customs. Following a common rule on such occasions, the advocates of a Cambro lineage represent that personage as having wedded the heiress of the Macmartins of Letterfinlay, the alleged original heads of the tribe. This is the view given of the case by honest Buchanan of Auchmar, who wrote at the outset of last century; and doubtless the tradition is one of very old standing in the West Highlands. The story is at least sufficiently clear and connected, and seems in any case preferable to that representing the Camerons of Lochiel, so long the heads of the tribe, as a junior or cadet-branch which usurped the chiefship from the Macmartins. If we discard the Danish tradition, we certainly give up, at all events, the strongest argument in favour of the claims to chiefship of the Macmartins, since the evidence of the original juniority and inferiority of the Lochiel house is otherwise weak and inconclusive exceedingly. It is true, that at one time the Lochiel house took the title of Captains; but, as has been suggested already, they acknowledged Cluny as the common chief of their whole Chattan race, and might deem themselves entitled but to the style of Captains of their own sept. Ere long, however, the appellation merged in that of Chief; and for many centuries the Lochiels have ruled

the Camerons in peace, and commanded them in war, without having their rights anywhere practically disputed. Not so stood matters with Mackintosh and Clanranald. Their claims were ever denied.

As for the name of the Camerons, another suggestion may be made—to wit, that, like the majority of the clans bordering most closely on the Lowlands, they received from Saxon historians a Saxonised appellation long before they used or perhaps knew of it themselves; and that family pride invented for it afterwards a much more remote origin than accorded with the truth. Whatever might be the source of their name, they appear assuredly to have ever been, we repeat, a Gaelic tribe in respect alike of customs, dress, and language. And, beyond this conclusion, in the present instance, as in a hundred others, the closest inquiry will not justify us in going, nor could any good end be served by attempting to do so. The masses of the Camerons are Gaelic; and in the knowledge and admission of that fact lies all that can be desired.

Donald Dhu, or Black Donald, is the first of the chiefs of the house mentioned in authentic history; and he gave to his line the Gaelic appellation of Mac-Donald-Dhu, otherwise Mac-Connel-Dhuy, and finally softened into Mac-Coilduy or Macilduy. The latter form of the name has been borne by the Camerons in all the native annals of the clans. Having, with the rest of Clan Chattan, left the standard of Alexander of the Isles, when he was attacked by King James I. in Lochaber, Donald Dhu was fiercely assaulted in consequence by the Macdonalds, his clan dispersed, and himself forced to seek safety at a distance. The long imprisonment of Alexander of the Isles permitted Donald Dhu to return and restore the Clan Cameron to strength and security. He drove out the Coll Macleans, who had been planted in Lochaber; and the house of Coll narrowly escaped extinction at the time, as the following story, told by Dr Johnson, sufficiently proves:

“Very near the house of Maclean stands the castle of Coll, which was the mansion of the laird till the house was built. On the wall was, not long ago, a stone with an inscription, importing that ‘if any man of the clan of Maclonich shall appear before this castle, though he come at midnight, with a man’s head in his hand, he shall there find safety and protection against all but the king.’ This is an old Highland treaty made upon a very memorable occasion. Maclean, the son of John *(Gervas)* [one of the ancient lairds], who recovered Coll, and conquered Barra, had obtained, it is said, from James II., a grant of the lands of Lochail, forfeited, I suppose, by some offence against the state. Forfeited estates were not in those days quietly resigned; Maclean, therefore, went with an armed force to seize his new possessions, and, I know not for what reason, took his wife with him. The Camerons rose in defence of their chief, and a battle was fought at the head of Loch Ness, near the place where Fort Augustus now stands, in which Lochail obtained the victory, and Maclean, with his followers, was defeated and destroyed. The lady fell into the hands of the conquerors, and being found pregnant was placed in the custody of Maclonich, one of a tribe or family branched from Cameron, with orders, if she brought a boy, to destroy him, if a girl, to spare her. Maclonich’s wife, who was with child likewise, had a girl about the same time at which Lady Maclean brought a boy, and Maclonich, with more generosity to his captive than fidelity to his trust, contrived that the children should be changed. Maclean, being thus preserved from death, in time recovered his original patrimony; and, in gratitude to his friend, made his castle a place of refuge to any of the clan that should think himself in danger; and, as a proof of reciprocal confidence, Maclean took upon himself and his posterity the care of educating the heir of Maclonich.”

Donald was succeeded, at his death, by his son Allan Macilduy, in whose time the clan became fixed in the estates of Locharkaig and LOCHEIL. The latter of these properties gave to the tribe a “local habitation and a name,” connected with them up to the present day, and made illustrious by their deeds in song and story.

The Camerons supported the Macpherson claims to the Clan Chattan chiefship, and consequently formed, during the fifteenth century, the objects of repeated attacks to the Mackintoshes. Allan Macilduy is said to have made thirty-two campaigns in the course of his career, and to these should be added, as a Gaelic MS. quaintly says, “three more for the three-fourths of a year that he was in his mother’s womb.” He at last fell in battle, his adversaries on the occasion being the Mackintoshes and Keppoch Macdonalds.

Ewan, son of Allan Macilduy, appears also to have been a man of spirit and

ability. On the forfeiture and failure of the main line of the Lords of the Isles, he obtained feudal charters fixing him in his own proper possessions, and in a large portion of the Macdonald estates on the mainland. He supported the subsequent claims of the Moidart branch of that family, and was in consequence involved in quarrels with Lovat and Huntly, the Frasers and the Gordons. Ewan surprised and slew Lovat, with his son and three hundred of his clan, at the head of Loch Lochy; but the victory proved a fatal one. Enraged at the action, Huntly, who claimed even to be feudal superior of the Cameron lands, hurried to Lochaber at the head of an irresistible force, seized the person of Ewan, and, after bearing him to Elgin, caused him there to be beheaded.

The Clan Cameron sustained a severe loss on this occasion, but the direct line of their chiefs was continued uninterruptedly; and the tribe maintained its place in spite of the great power of its foes. In the terrible civil wars of the reign of Charles I., the Camerons were headed by the most renowned of all the chieftains of the name, Sir Ewan Cameron, or Evan Dhu, as he was called by the Gael. He fought under Montrose and Dundee, and, in short, took a prominent share in all the contests for the Stewart cause in Scotland for fully half a century. In his early days, he is said to have killed with his own hand the last wolf, or wild hill-dog, ever seen in Scotland.

The garrison of Inverlochy was planted in the close vicinity of the Camerons, in order to overawe them. Its officers had particular orders from Cromwell, not only to carry off the cattle, but to cut down and destroy the woods of the Highlanders, with the view of depriving them of their usual refuge. Evan Dhu resolved to make the red soldier, as he said, pay dearly for every bullock and tree destroyed on the black soldier's property. Expecting a visit from the troops of Inverlochy, he took to the woods with fifty picked men of his clan, and lay in wait for the enemy. They did appear at length, but in such force as would have appalled any one almost but Locheil. Three hundred men, half of them under arms, and half of them equipped with hatchets and other tools, had sallied out to devastate the Cameron lands. "Did you ever know the Great Marquis (of Montrose)," said Evan Dhu to his most tried followers, "encounter a foe with such unequal numbers?" They could recall, they answered, no such instance of temerity. "We will fight nevertheless," said the chief, "and if each of us kill a man—no mighty matter—I will answer for the result." He prepared for the contest accordingly; but that his family might not perish, in any case, he tied perforce its remaining hope, his young brother Allan, to a tree—a fruitless step, since Allan induced a boy to cut his bonds, and soon threw himself into the thick of the fight with the rest. The contest was begun by the Camerons, whom their leader restrained in close covert until they were able to pour in a shower of shot and arrows with such destructive effect that thirty men fell by the first fire. The Highlandmen then rushed on the astounded enemy, and made awful havoc with their broadswords. A stratagem, practised by Locheil, had here nearly proved fatal to him. The Englishmen, after fighting bravely, moved backwards towards the lake from which they had disembarked, and where their boats lay. Hearing the bagpipe sounded behind them, however, and the war-cry of Locheil shouted, by a party sent for the purpose, the soldiers grew desperate, and turned on their pursuers with a ferocity equal to their own. They were driven into the lake, nevertheless, and few of the three hundred returned to Inverlochy to tell the tale of their defeat. Locheil himself was several times saved almost by miracle. He had followed the enemy into the water till he stood nearly chin-deep, and only escaped a musket-shot which he saw aimed at him, by diving instantaneously beneath the waves. He had previously undergone a far more fearful peril. An English officer, of great personal strength and stature, singled out the chief, and engaged with him in a desperate hand-to-hand combat. Locheil was fortunate enough to disarm his adversary, but the latter sprang forward, and, after a struggle, both came to the ground, the officer uppermost. He was in the act of stretching out his hand to grasp his fallen sword, when the Highland chieftain seized with his teeth the neck of his antagonist, exposed by being extended in the same di-

rection, and quitted not his hold until the very wind-pipe was torn out. Locheil was afterwards heard to say, that the throat of the officer was "the sweetest morsel he had ever tasted in his life!" Yet Evan Dhu Cameron was the very model of a Highland gentleman of those times.

Locheil cut off a second party which had the boldness to assail his woods, and then departed with his clan to join Middleton and the royalists elsewhere. The garrison took advantage of his absence to harass and harry Lochaber anew, and so brought down on themselves the fresh vengeance of the chief. Returning home with amazing speed, he surprised a large body of the fortress-troops, and slew of them nearly one hundred men. These actions were unequalled for daring and success even in those days of guerilla warfare.

It is related of Evan Dhu, that he trained his men to such hardihood by precept, practice, and example, that a bed of snow was to them equal to a "thrice-driven bed of down." Being benighted on one occasion with his followers, the chief laid himself down with the rest to sleep in the snow. But, ere he had composed himself to slumber, he observed that one of his sons or nephews had rolled together a huge snow-ball as a resting-place for his head. Indignant at what he deemed a mark of effeminacy, he kicked the heap from under the head of the sleeper, exclaiming, "What! are you become so luxurious that you cannot sleep without a pillow?"

After the accession of James II., Locheil went up to London to beg grace for a clansman who had forfeited his life to the laws, having fired on a body of Athol men by mistake. His request was granted, and he himself treated with high distinction. On the occasion of his audience, the king, desiring to knight him, asked the chief for his own sword to perform the ceremony. Locheil had ridden up from Scotland on horseback, and his well-proven weapon had become rusted in the scabbard, so that it could not be drawn. Stung at the thought that, before so many onlookers, he could not even draw his own claymore, the chief burst into tears. "Regard it not," said James, kindly; "your sword would have unsheathed itself, had our cause so required." He then knighted Locheil with the royal sword, and presented it to him afterwards.

The character of this Cameron chief was chivalrous and even romantic in the highest degree, friend and foe esteeming his simple pledge as above all bonds. For example, General Monk, commander for the Commonwealth in the North, exacted from the chief of the Camerons no oath of submission to the Protectorate, as he had done from every other Highland chieftain without exception. "All that was asked of Locheil was, that he should give *his word of honour* to live in peace. He and his clan were allowed to keep their arms, as before the war broke out, they behaving peaceably. Reparation was to be made to Locheil for the wood cut by the garrison of Inverlochy. A full indemnity was granted for all acts of depredation and crimes committed by his men. Reparation was to be made to his tenants for all the losses they had sustained from the troops." These are the very words of Monk himself in his despatch to England. Certainly, the terms are more like those exacted by a conqueror from the vanquished, than such as are usually conceded in the reverse position of things. A certain ceremony of submission was indeed gone through by Evan Dhu, but still the honour was all on his side. The proud chief marched down with his men to Inverlochy; and there, before the assembled garrison, the Camerons grounded their arms in the name of King Charles, and lifted them again in the name of the States, without any mention of Cromwell or disowning of the sovereign. The influence of Sir Ewan among the Gael must have been great indeed, since Monk deemed it so important to ensure his mere neutrality.

Other interesting anecdotes have been related of Sir Ewan of Locheil. Though advanced at the time in years, he joined Viscount Dundee, and was present at the battle of Killiecrankie, where, strange to say, his second son served on the opposite side, as captain in the Scotch Fusileers. It is said, that as General Mackay "was observing the Highland army drawn up on the face of a hill, a little above the house of Urrard, to the westward of the great pass, he turned

round to young Cameron, who stood next him, and, pointing to the Camerons, "Here," said he, "is your father with his wild savages; how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," replied the other, "what I would like; but I recommend to you to be prepared, or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like." And so it happened.

A striking instance of the devotion of a follower occurred during the engagement. "In this battle Locheil was attended by the son of his foster-brother. This faithful adherent followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his sword, or cover him from the shot of the enemy. Soon after the battle began, the chief missed his friend from his side, and, turning round to look what had become of him, saw him lying on his back, with his breast pierced by an arrow. He had hardly breath before he expired to tell Locheil that, seeing an enemy, a Highlander in General Mackay's army, aiming at him with a bow and arrow from the rear, he sprung behind him, and thus sheltered him from instant death. This is a species of duty not often practised, perhaps, by our aid-de-camps of the present day."

The Camerons were present at Sheriffmuir in 1745, under the Earl of Mar, the leader of the clan being the son of Sir Ewan. With various other Highland septs, they retired without striking a blow, the officers and gentlemen alone excepted. It had been said of them, that if too long withheld from action, they would tire and go home; if victorious, they would plunder and go home; and if beaten, they would fly and go home. Which of these causes, often characteristic, beyond question, of the Gaelic conduct on campaigns, had effect at Sheriffmuir, it would be difficult to say; but certain it is that the leader of the Camerons in that battle felt deeply ashamed, and long tried to conceal the events of the day from his sire, Sir Ewan, then nearly ninety years of age. Throughout the whole of his lengthened career, the Clan Cameron had never left a scene of combat save as victors.

The civil war of 1745 brought prominently forward another chief of the Camerons, who rivalled, if not surpassed, in deserved celebrity, his grandsire, the famous Sir Ewan. Donald Cameron (then younger) of Locheil was a man on whom the exiled Stewarts rested stronger hopes than on any other chieftain in the Highlands. Individually, he headed a powerful and warlike clan, who so loved him that they would have gone at his lightest word into the very jaws of death; while his personal character exhibited a rare union of happy qualities—his warm loyalty and dauntless bravery being commingled with a considerate calmness of temperament, which alone could make bravery and loyalty available. All the Highlands, from end to end, looked up confidently to Locheil; and though, as will appear immediately, he did his utmost to prevent the rash insurrection of 1745, his final accession to the cause of Charles did more to determine the rising of the Gael generally, than any other influence called into force on the occasion.

Locheil had never shunned or ceased to avow his loyalty to the exiled Stewart family; but, when Charles landed almost alone on the western coasts, without either the expected troops or money, the Cameron chief beheld in prospective, not only for his own clan, but for all his countrymen, merely a wild and fruitless sacrifice of human lives. He would not desert his prince, however; he would go to him and point out how wretched were the chances of success at such a moment, and under such circumstances. He would go to him and respectfully demonstrate that a more favourable time should be chosen for so great an enterprise, and that they must and ought to wait for such a period of vantage. So thought, so felt Locheil. On his way to visit the royal adventurer with such intentions, he met his brother Fassifern, and told the latter that he was going to pay his duty to Charles, and to counsel him strongly against any rising for the time being. "Write," said Fassifern, "and do not go, my brother. I know you better than you do yourself. Once with this prince, he will make you do as he pleases." The kind-hearted kinsman judged but too correctly. When Locheil and the Chevalier met, the former used all the arguments that a man of sound sense and good feeling could do, to prove the in-

utility and hopelessness, for the time, of the proposed undertaking. He spoke in vain; and at last Charles tauntingly exclaimed, "In a few days I will raise the royal standard. Locheil, whom my father has often spoken of as our warmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince!" "No!" cried Locheil, in tears, "I will share the fate of my prince, come weal, come woe! And so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me power!" On these words, we may almost say, the civil war of 1745 hung—so great was the influence of Locheil among his countrymen, and so high his repute alike for honour, courage, and sagacity.

The very same scene had taken place previously betwixt Clanranald and the Chevalier, and with the same issue. One man of note only, Macdonald of Boisdale, had the mental fortitude to hold out against the entreaties of the adventurous prince; and he, as he proved afterwards, was not the least devoted adherent of the Stewarts. Such cases as those of Locheil and Clanranald display strikingly the folly of representing Charles as having been received with open arms by the Gael, and all the more warmly because he came alone. His own obstinate and blinded resolve to go forward solely moved the chiefs mentioned, as well as others, to join his standard. They could not stand idly by and permit him whom they deemed their true and rightful prince to rush alone into the maw of destruction. They preferred to share his fate, be that what it might. Such a view of their conduct—and it is the just one—is far more honourable to their character than the one usually taken. They foresaw well the fearful price which they would too probably have to pay for their loyalty, and yet they remained loyal. This high-minded devotion on the part of the Gaelic chieftains has few parallels in history. In almost all similar enterprises, the actors have been stimulated by high hopes of success. Here the sole animating cause was the principle of pure loyalty. We speak here of the chiefs, because the clansmen but obeyed their chiefs generally. In truth, the sight of Highland gentlemen at the meetings of Celtic societies, and even of Highland pipers at piping competitions, can give us moderns but a poor idea of what the commonalty of the Gael were in 1745. A lady was lately alive who saw them on their march southwards, and who remembered with fear to her dying day, "their squalid clothes and various arms, their rough limbs and uncombed hair," with their faces in which were blended "pride, ferocity, and savage ignorance." The commands of their chiefs must have formed the true law by which such men were guided, in as far as they acknowledged any law.

Locheil returned home after seeing the Chevalier, and proceeded to raise his clan with as much activity as if he had counselled, instead of endeavouring to dissuade the prince from the adventure. He had given his word, and, like a brave and honourable man, he sought to fulfil it by all means at his command. The poet Campbell has beautifully pictured the forebodings of the seers of the Cameron clan on this occasion. He has represented one of them as anticipating the hour which beheld—to vary the words slightly—

"Proud Cumberland prancing, insulting the slain,
While their hoof-beaten bosoms were trod to the plain."

In Glenfinnan, a narrow vale betwixt Moidart and Lochaber, Charles had summoned his friends to assemble on the 19th of August, 1745. The adventurer himself arrived there, with his small party, early in the morning. To his deep chagrin, no man was present to cry, "God save him!" Who appeared first on the scene? Locheil, at the head of fully seven hundred Camerons—

"All plaided and plumed in their tartan array!"

The spectacle of this fine body of the Gael, unsurpassed at any time in the insurgent army in point of regular equipments, personal appearance, and soldierly qualities, reanimated the drooping spirits of Charles; and his standard—a banner of red silk, with a white space in the centre—was immediately unfurled to the winds—a harbinger of trouble and bloodshed to the isles!

It would be out of place here to follow Locheil through the campaign of 1745.

Ordinary history tells the tale. Suffice it to say, that the leader of the Camerons was noted throughout the whole unhappy proceedings alike by his valour and prudence—by his courage in the field and his sagacity in council. He led the party which first entered Edinburgh, and admitted the Chevalier to the halls of his ancestors—to the saloons of Holyrood. Locheil and his clan had also the greatest share of merit, admittedly, at the victory at Prestonpans, being the first in action, and bearing almost the whole heavy fire of the yet orderly enemy. To them belongs the credit of routing the famous Colonel Gardiner's dragoons, as well as those of Colonel Whitney. The Camerons, in short, left to their comrades but the task of pursuing a force already overthrown. [After this battle, as we are told by the staunch Jacobite Lockhart, "great numbers deserted to carry home their spoils"—a sufficient indication of the primary motives of great numbers for leaving home.] The Camerons, for their marked deserts, were honoured with the task of announcing the victory of Prestonpans at Edinburgh, to which city they returned with their pipes playing, and all the signals of triumph and rejoicing.

Locheil and his clan entered England with Charles, and, after sharing in all there done, returned with him to Scotland. This retreat has been often spoken of as the result of the timidity of individuals; but it is very plain that the complete failure of the attempt to raise the English people was the true cause of that proceeding. Had a march been made into Wales, the war might have been protracted, though the end must have been the same. The Gwaels of the eastern coasts were in reality prepared to join the Gael of the north, their brethren by blood; but in central England, the inroad of Charles was only looked on as the irruption of an enemy. Speaking the truth, and yet drawing therefrom an untrue inference, the author of the histories of the Rebellions ("Constable's Miscellany") says, that the parties wounded at Gladsmuir fled into England, showing wherever they went the dreadful gashes made by the scythes and other such-like weapons of the Highlanders; and he adds, that "a salutary terror" was thus spread throughout the country destined to be "invaded." The expedition was indeed viewed as an invasion, and terror certainly was excited; but the fact of his being ranked as an invader proved fatal to the hopes of Charles, and the terror inspired was the reverse of salutary. The same usually intelligent author lauds the moderation and general good conduct of the insurgents on this campaign, and yet, almost in the next page, he shows to us that their grand object was spoliation, and regard even for their royal leader quite a secondary consideration. A Liddiesdale farmer had aided the army in getting food, and had received half-a-guinea from the Chevalier for his trouble. Two Highlanders had observed this donation, and, waylaying the honest man, they demanded and forced from him "ta haalf keenie." On another occasion, a Gaelic officer ordered his men to desist from robbing a certain house, adding, however, "If you see anything worth while, bring it along with you!" Such incidents go far to explain the utter discomfiture of this rash enterprise. The southern population, even of Scotland, regarded the Highlanders generally with fear, and all the bravery of Locheil and his brothers in arms was therefore thrown away.

It is needless, and would indeed be out of place, to follow the clans through their adventures up to the fatal day of Culloden. The Camerons stood in the front rank on that memorable field; and the mode in which they and the other septs around them advanced to the charge, has been picturesquely described by eye-witnesses. With their bonnets pulled tightly over their brows, their bodies half-bent, their shields raised so as to cover the head and vital parts, and their broadswords quivering in their nervous gripe, they sprung forward upon their foes like crouching tigers, their eyes gleaming with an expression fierce and terrific to the last degree. In this charge the front rank of the Camerons fell almost to a man, and few of their leaders escaped, saving Locheil himself. He received a number of severe wounds, however; and it proves how useful must have been the mode of advance above depicted, when we find that the chief was injured only o' mainly in the lower limbs.

After the defeat at Culloden, Lochail continued in hiding up to the period when, with about a hundred other Highland gentlemen, he sailed with Charles for France. The expatriated leader of the Camerons in 1745 had the additional pain of being compelled to take his aged father with him into exile. The future fortunes of Charles, his forcible ejection from France, and the unfortunate habits in which his activity of spirit sought and found a fatal vent and refuge, are well-known to the world. Lochail and the other Scottish exiles, when deprived of his presence, lost all their importance in the eyes of France, although permitted to dwell there peaceably. They still hoped, indeed, and projected, and plotted; and an ill-fated scion of the Cameron house perished in consequence. Dr Archibald Cameron, brother of Lochail, and involved with him in the last insurrection, having visited Scotland, was seized and executed in 1753. His fate was deeply lamented, both on account of his amiable personal qualities, and because the government, it was thought, had so little real reason to dread serious evil from the Jacobites at that late epoch. Dr Cameron was condemned on the old attainder for being "out" in 1745, though he stood likewise charged with having returned to the Highlands for fresh insurrectionary purposes. He denied this accusation, and, beyond doubt, most truly. James Hogg mentions, in the notes to the "Jacobite Relics," an affecting incident which occurred as Dr Cameron was on his way to London—in short, to the scaffold. He was escorted into the town of Linlithgow by soldiers, seated on horseback, with his arms tied behind his back, and his legs strapped to the horse's body! Even in this position his look was cheerful and his air noble. As he lay in the town-prison for the night, the inhabitants gathered around his place of durance, shedding tears of pity and sympathy; and their feelings were still more strongly touched when they heard from the little dungeon the affecting strain of "Lochaber no more! We'll maybe return to Lochaber no more!" The captive might well con over that sad melody. He indeed revisited his native Lochaber no more. He proved the last victim of the Rebellions—the last public sufferer for the cause of the Stewarts.

The estates of the Lochail family were preserved to them to a considerable extent, partly by the aid of the gentlemen of the Cameron name, and partly by the leniency of the king and government, the high character of Lochail being even to the last appreciated and honoured. The family, from the era of the 1745 Rebellion, have shown themselves loyal to the established throne. A noble regiment of infantry, ranked as the 79th, or Cameron Highlanders, was raised in 1793-4, in consequence of letters of service issued to Allan Cameron of Erroch. One thousand men, chiefly Camerons, constituted the corps originally; and nearly two thousand more were enlisted subsequently, though much more mixed in name and origin. At Waterloo the Cameron Highlanders concluded an active career of twenty-two years' duration, in the course of which they had exhibited all the hardihood and courage of their kin and race. Though not attached to the 79th, but to another body abounding similarly in Highlanders, namely—

"The gallant Ninety-second, a favourite regiment reckon'd,"—

Colonel Cameron of Fassifern, an eminent cadet of Lochail, distinguished himself so highly at the great battle of Quatre Bras, that the Prince-Regent raised his father to a baronetcy. The brave soldier could not be so honoured personally; he had fallen on the field of fight,

"When wild and high the Camerons' Gathering rose."

The connection of the Camerons with Clan Chattan is countenanced so far by the account given of their presumed branches. Buchanan of Auchmar says, that the "MacClerichs or Clerks," with the "MacPhails or Pauls," are Camerons. The first, at least, of these names may refer to the parson of Kingussie, the original founder of the race Macparson, or Macpherson; but *Clerks* were too common a class of old, as now, to give much weight to this supposition. Another name, of no mean eminence in the nineteenth century, is traced by Auchmar to the same fountainhead. He says, "The Camerons also contend

X X



Clan Colquhoun

that the name of Chalmers is derived from a cadet of their surname." The name of Chambers, though nearer to Cameron, appears to be derived from another source. Some prominent attendant of a prince or peer of high rank most probably left it to his posterity in the shape of *de la chambre*, just as Durward (door-ward), and even Stewart (Steward), had their origin. A John or James "of the Chambers" would naturally leave the patronymic to his offspring, after the antique rule of nomenclature. Indeed, though Auchmar gives a Cameron origin also to the Chalmers family, it may be doubted if the latter were not named on the same principle as the line of Chambers, the French *chambres* being merely, in the Scottish form, *chaulmers*. We have mentioned that Cameron itself was, by some persons, viewed as springing from *De Cumera*, or *Camerarius*, a word with the same meaning, and arising from an office. Our readers so titled have here their choice, at all events. Besides the families of note still existing in the West Highlands, the Camerons have now spread widely over Britain, and their descendants seldom fail strongly to present the leading physical characters of the Gaelic race.

The proper or original country of the Camerons was Lochaber. To a small extent, their lands lay in the shire of Argyle, but mainly in that of Inverness, their centre being traversed by the Caledonian Canal. Loch Lochy and Loch Arkaig are within the bounds of the Cameron district; as also Loch Eil, from which the house takes its far-famed territorial appellation. Loch Eil is an arm of the sea, connected through Loch Linnhe with the Atlantic Ocean.

The present Donald Cameron of Locheil is great-grandson of Donald, the eminent warrior of the year 1745, who was grandson, again, of the famous Sir Evan Dhu. After his father's death in France in 1748, John, son of Donald, served for a time in the French army, and in the Royal Scots. He returned to his native country in 1759, and died in 1762. He was succeeded by his brother Charles, whose son Donald was father of the existing Laird of Locheil and Chief of the Camerons. Born in 1796, he wedded Lady Vere Hobart, daughter of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and by her has issue Donald, and other children. Achnacary, in the county of Inverness, is the seat of the family.

[One of the points most difficult here of ascertainment is the proper form of the Armorial Bearings of the various clans. They are given by no two heraldic writers alike. The older authorities, such as Nisbet, seem in such cases preferable, and are here adopted. As to Badges, the confusion is equally great. Mr Skene, for example, gives Oak to the Camerons; Mr Logan, Crowberry; and Mr Stuart something else. The worst of the matter is, that the leading branches of the several Clans are equally at variance among themselves on the subject of Arms and Badges; and to refer to them is by no means to ensure accuracy. Great indulgence is here required, accordingly, at the hands of the reader, who is most likely himself to err in hastily pronouncing such and such things to be errors, or proofs of carelessness, merely because some other authority gives them differently.]

ARMS OF THE CAMERONS OF LOCHEIL.

Or (according to some Argent), paly, barry, gules.

CREST. Dexter arm, embowed, in armour, the hand grasping a sword—all proper.

SUPPORTERS. Two savages, wreathed about the loins, each shouldering a pole-axe—all proper.

MOTTO. *Pro Rege et Patria* (For King and Country.)

BADGE. Oak (or, according to others, Crowberry).



CLAN COLQUHOUN.

The family of COLQUHOUN is ranked here as one of those in the west of Scotland, who, if not of the purest Gaelic descent, have ever been placed among the clans practically, although the closely-neighbouring Lowlanders gave to them early Saxon names. Like the Buchanans, however, the Colquhouns seem to have been at least primitively of Gaelic origin, and to have sprung from a party named Gilliephadrig or Kilpatrick. To Humphrey Kilpatrick, in the reign of Alexander II., Maldwin, Earl of Lennox, gives the lands of Colquhoun by charter, if Auchmar states the truth. These lands are said by the best authori-

ties to have been only conjoined to those of Luss (afterwards the main estate) at a later period, when Humphrey Colquhoun of Colquhoun wedded the daughter and heiress of Godfridus de Luss. Buchanan of Auchmar, who could scarcely fail to know well the family annals of his friends and neighbours, admits such a marriage, but appears to hold, at the same time, that the Colquhouns and the Luss family were all of one common and native line.

The word Colquhoun (pronounced by the Scotch Co-whoon) is derived commonly from a term signifying "a promontory;" and as the family possessions lay all between an arm of the sea and an inland lake—Loch Long and Loch Lomond—such jetties were of course abundant about the property. Ingram, one of the sons of Humphrey, is recorded as the first who assumed the Colquhoun name. The third from this personage was another Humphrey, the party said to have married the Luss heiress, in the year 1394, and during the reign of Robert III. That this individual belonged to the line of the original Humphrey Kilpatrick, is half proven by his name of Humphrey, one of so peculiar a description, and long a favourite with the whole generation. As for the occurrence of the Luss marriage itself, at the exact date given, there can be little doubt entertained on the subject. Godfrey of Luss witnesses a charter of the Lord of Lennox in 1349. This is the apparent sire of the heiress. In 1394, Humphrey "of Colquhoun" is witness to another charter of the Lennox house; and in the succeeding year, 1395, the same person witnesses a third deed, in which he is now designated "of Luss." The union must have occurred, therefore, in the interval. Some writers say, indeed, that the Luss chief married a Colquhoun, but these documents disprove the assertion fully.

It must appear from the remarks now made, that we view the Colquhouns as of the western Celtic race. Most probably they were of the old and great house of Lennox, of which so many other lesser clans similarly planted about the Lennox, as the Buchanans and Macfarlanes, were also scions. The original Luss family (that existent before the Colquhoun marriage) had a similar origin, we are told, being sprung from a son of one of the same Lennox earls, natural or legitimate. So a blood-connection must almost certainly have existed betwixt the primary Colquhouns and Lusses; or, at least, their conjunct posterity may be viewed as alike Celts by distant ancestry. Gilmore, the first of the Luss line, was followed by several distinct generations of lairds (one of whom fought at Bannockburn), before the heiress wedded Humphrey Colquhoun of Colquhoun. The increase of importance, derived by the house from that union, is seen immediately from their high succeeding marriages. The son of Humphrey was styled Sir John of Luss, and all his successors received the same knightly designation, until they became Nova-Scotian baronets. Sir John fell a victim to the disturbances created in Scotland, in the minority of James II., by the ambitious and overgrown house of Douglas. The Earl of Douglas of the time either encouraged the clans of the isles to make descents on the mainland, or failed to repress them, as he should have done, being lieutenant of the kingdom. Two most noted robbers, Lachlan Maclean and Murdoch Gibson, led a strong body of islesmen into the Lennox about the year 1439, and ravaged the lands and possessions of its inhabitants without let or mercy. Sir John Colquhoun then held the island castle of Inchmurin on Loch Lomond, and the plunderers seemingly dreaded reprisals at his hands. They invited or inveigled him to a parley, and cut him off, by means of an ambush, most treacherously. So writes Buchanan; but Boethius states that the laird of Luss had ventured out to check the robbers, and fell bravely in open fight.

Five or six knights of Luss, Johns and Humphreys, succeeded in due order, and their growing importance may be noted from their intermarriages with the houses of the Lords Erskine, Boyd, Lennox, and Menteith. In 1603, Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, then chief of his name, contracted a quarrel with the Macgregors, memorable for its fatal consequences.

The dissension was founded on general causes, the Colquhouns having taken part in the execution of the letters of fire and sword issued by the crown against the Macgregors. But the following special circumstance led to a fresh

outbreak of the feud. Two of the Macgregors, being benighted near Luss, sought food and shelter; and, as the request was refused, they seized a sheep and killed it, for which act they were summarily executed by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun. This harsh exercise of feudal power so exasperated the Macgregors, that under their chief, the laird of Glenstrae, they marched against the Colquhouns in strong force. Apprised of their design, the knight of Luss collected his kin and vassals to the number of four hundred men, and, being joined by the Buchanans and Grahams of the Lennox, with a body of Dumbarton citizens under their provost, Tobias Smollet (ancestor of a more famous Tobias), he marched against the invading Macgregors. The parties met at Glenfruin, or "the Vale of Lamentation," not far from Luss, and engaged in a bloody conflict. The ground was unhappily chosen for the Colquhouns, being a boggy spot, which rendered their horse nearly useless; and the Macgregors, though much inferior in numbers, soon began to obtain the superiority. They inflicted a merciless slaughter on their enemies in a very brief period, leaving betwixt two and three hundred of them dead on the field. The horses, which had been thus unserviceable in the fight, mainly enabled the survivors, with Sir Humphrey Colquhoun himself, to escape the swords of the victors. The loss here fell chiefly on those of the name of Colquhoun.

An act of the Macgregors, which followed the conflict of Glenfruin, shows by what a fearful thirst for blood they were impelled. A large stone is pointed out near the scene, bearing the name of the Leck-a-Mhinisteir, or the Minister's Stone. It received that title, according to tradition, from the murder of a party of students, said by some to have come accidentally from Glasgow, but more probably mere Dumbarton school-boys, tempted thither by curiosity to witness the engagement. One of the Macgregors, named Dugald Ciar Mhor (or the Mouse-Coloured), was entrusted by his chief with the charge of these students or school-boys, and by him they were butchered in cold blood. Being asked by Glenstrae afterwards what had become of them, Ciar Mhor replied, holding up his bloody skene-dhu, "Ask that, and *God save me*"—alluding, in the latter words, to the unheeded appeals made by the youths for mercy. Such is the common legend of the country on this subject. The Macgregors themselves deny the fearful crime imputed to Ciar Mhor; and they moreover assert, that the two men originally executed by the Colquhouns offered to pay for the sheep killed by them when hospitality was refused. The fact of the Glenfruin battle and its savage character cannot be contradicted; and it seems plain, from all the circumstances, that the Macgregors had taken their foes by surprise. On their own side there fell but one man of note, the brother of the chief; but the clan paid dearly in the end for their success. Eleven score women, widows, mothers, and daughters of those slain on the part of the Colquhouns, attired themselves in deep mourning, and, mounted mostly on white palfreys, appeared before King James VI. at Stirling, demanding vengeance on the heads of the Macgregors. The spectacle must have been one deeply impressive, and the more so, as each of the petitioners bore on a spear the bloody shirt of him she mourned. The consequence was, that measures of extreme severity were taken against the Macgregors, their very name being abolished. The bitter ban lasted for a long period; and hence it is that the grandson of Dugald Ciar Mhor, the famous Rob Roy, is found bearing the adopted name of Campbell.

Soon after the time spoken of here, James VI. left Scotland to mount the English throne, and the restless tribes of the Highland borders were freed from even the slight check that his near presence had before imposed on their frays and forays. In a contest that occurred some time subsequently to that of Glenfruin, Sir Humphrey Colquhoun fell a victim to the ire of the Macfarlanes. They surprised him in Benachra Castle, and slew him at the instigation, it is said, of a man of power whom Luss had offended, rather than from private motives of enmity. A curious letter from Alexander, brother and successor of Sir Humphrey, to James VI., has been preserved. It bears date 1606, and shows that Alexander had proceeded actively against the Macfarlanes for their murder of his brother, as well as for many other alleged injuries. The list of

their misdeeds is awful, including "slaughters, murthers, hairscheps, thefts, reivings, and oppressions, fire-raising, demolishing of houses, cutting and destroying woods and planting"—a goodly list of crimes! For merely civil compensation, the courts of Scotland had decreed to the Laird of Luss sixty-two thousand pounds Scots—a large sum in those days. But, as advised, the laird refers his whole injuries, civil and criminal, to the royal consideration. He might have found decreets of court not very effective on the Braes of Arrochar. What a state of society that must have been, on the whole, when two neighbouring gentlemen stood so at variance, as the chiefs of Colquhoun and Macfarlane!

The house of the Lairds of Luss was continued uninterruptedly in the male line down to the middle of last century. The Sir Humphrey of that day left a sole daughter, Anne, wedded to James Grant of Pluscarden, second son to the Laird of Grant. Becoming in time chief of that old northern house, by his brother's decease, James Grant, to perpetuate both of the ancient lines which he now headed, by birth and marriage, assigned to his second son, Ludovic, the Colquhoun estate and name; but, Ludovic becoming in turn Laird of Grant by an elder brother's decease, James, the third son of the heiress of Colquhoun, obtained the Luss estate. The Laird of Luss had been one of the earliest baronets created by Charles I. when he called (in 1625) the Nova-Scotia order into existence. To prevent the title ceasing with the male line, Grant of Pluscarden received from Queen Anne in 1704 a new entail of the honour, fixing it on his second son, the destined successor to the Colquhoun property. But, as stated, that party became chief of the Grants; and the Colquhouns of Tillyquhoun, as eldest cadets, claimed and held the honour for more than half a century. Indeed, as a compensation seemingly, a British baronetcy was conferred on the Grant-Colquhoun house in 1786. At this day, indeed, on the failure of the Tillyquhoun branch, we find the old title assigned back to the Laird of Luss, Sir James Colquhoun, who claims to be thus doubly a baronet. However, heirs-male are solely mentioned in the original charters as inheritors of the titular honours of Nova-Scotia; and if Queen Anne had really the power, which (as the Union had not yet taken place) she probably had, to devise the Nova-Scotian baronetcy anew, it seems probable that the Laird of Grant (now Earl of Seafield) is the proper owner of the title. If Pluscarden, however, had specially provided for the third son succeeding the second in the honours as well as estates of Luss, by the new entail of Queen Anne, there can be no doubt but that the baronetcy rests with Sir James Colquhoun.

Buchanan of Auchmar, besides the Colquhouns of Tillyquhoun, the chief branch after Luss, mentions the inter-connected lines of Camstrodden and Garscadden, Kilmardinny and Craigtown. Changes have doubtless taken place of late, as regards titles as well as possessions; but the houses of Glenmullan, Ardenconnell, Killermont (Garscadden), and others of note, are still in existence in the Lennox. Two names considerably extended over Scotland have been traced to Colquhoun, though changed so far by spelling. Going to the Lowlands, some of the Colquhouns, it is said, founded the line of the COWANS; while some others, moving northward to Appin and Upper Lorn, gave origin to a numerous sept of MACACHOUNICHS, which name may be held as the best Gaelic form of Colquhoun. Both of these conjectural derivations are far from being improbable.

The lands of Luss, as already observed, occupy a beautiful neck of land between Loch Lomond and Loch Long; and, near to the little fishing village of Luss, is situated Rosdhu, the fine mansion of the Colquhoun chieftains.

The ARMS of Colquhoun are in part indicative of a connection with the old Lennox house, presenting, as they do—

Argent, a saltyre engrailed, sable.

SUPPORTERS. Two hounds sable collared, argent.

CREST. A hart's head coupee, gules.

MOTTO. *Se Je puis* (If I can).

BADGE. Bearberry.



Clan Macquarrie.

CLAN MACQUARRIE.

Of the purely Celtic origin of the CLAN MACQUARRIE, no doubt has ever been entertained, though opinions may differ respecting the immediate stock from which they sprung. By one account, they are to be referred to the Macdonald stem; but, as a similar descent was vulgarly ascribed to one and all, almost, of the septs holding lands in the isles and on the coasts of the west, under that great family, absolute credence cannot and should not hastily be given to such a view of the Macquarrie case. It is true that in most instances the story of a Macdonald connection was probably the correct, as it certainly was the natural one; only, in place of saying that this or that clan sprung from the Macdonalds, we should rather say that they formed part of that numerous association of Celts, ultimately headed by the Lords of the Isles. In respect of the Macquarries, probabilities certainly seem to be in favour of the supposition that they constituted one branch of the Celto-Irish immigrants. Their mere name connects them strongly with Ireland—the tribe of the Macquarries, Macquires, or Macguires (for the names are the same) being very numerous at this day in that island, and having indeed been so at all times. The clan were there powerful enough to do battle with the armies of princes; and the deeds of their chieftains have been sung by family bards in strains not unworthy of Ossian. The Macquarries of Scotland, on the other hand, never attained to importance either in point of numbers or possessions, the small isle of Ulva and a corner of Mull forming their entire holdings; and it does not appear likely, therefore, that the Irish tribes of the name, who were strong long before the days of authentic history, could possibly have been mere branches of the Scottish tree. Besides, they are found located in the very places first colonised by Irish rovers. As remarked in reference to the settlement of Iona in the sixth century, this class of new-comers certainly obtained a footing originally in the smaller western isles only—regions then thinly populated, and perhaps in some cases not even inhabited at all by the native Gael.

These and other somewhat weighty circumstances are opposed, however, by a manuscript account of the family, left by one of its members. He ascribes them to the Alpinian or Albionie race—that is, to the stock of the native Gael of Scotland, represented primarily by the Macgregors; and he calls their presumed founder, Godfrey (whence, by the story, MacGodfrey, MacGorry, or MacQuarrie), a son of Alpin Ruodh or Roy, the Red, a party said to have lived betwixt the years 790 and 834 A.D. Alpin, King of the Scots, certainly flourished exactly at the latter date; and his son Kenneth, the overthrower of the southern Picts, was the apparent perpetuator of the name of MacAlpin, it any one individual may so be called with propriety. But neither in story nor in song do we hear of any Godfrey descended from Alpin, though history mentions his son Kenneth fully. So does Wynton:—

“Quhen Alpin the king wes dede,
He left a sone wes called Kyned.
Doughty man he wes and stout,
All the Pichtis he put out.”

A Gregory there was of the Alpinian race surnamed The Great, and called by native writers Grig, who flourished betwixt 875 and 892 A.D.; and with his name, very possibly, that of the Macgregors may be connected, though common history makes him childless. But we find no evidence of note in support of the story of the Macquarrie annalist, as respects the supposed Alpinian origin of his house, save that of the MS. of 1450. There, however, the ancestral Godfrey MacAlpin is brought so far down as the twelfth century. “The descent of the Macquarries from Clan Alpine,” says Mr Skene, “which has constantly been asserted by tradition, is established by the manuscript of 1450, which deduces their origin from Guaire or Godfrey, a brother of Fingon, ancestor of the Mackinnons, and Anrias or Andrew, ancestor of the Macgregors. The history of the Macquarries resembles that of the Mackinnons in many respects

like them they had migrated far from the head-quarters of their race, they became dependent on the Lords of the Isles, and followed them as if they had become a branch of the clan."

We are asked to admit a great deal here on the sole authority of the MS. of 1450, since the story of the family annalist of the Macquarries, referring, as it does, to the close of the eighth century, is totally different from that of the MS., which speaks of the founder of the line as striking off from "the Macgregor genealogy about the year 1130." In these circumstances, what can we do but fall back on general history and seeming probabilities? It is painful to us, and may be offensive to many, to do this so frequently; but it would be wrong and paltry to shirk the truth. In the Macquarrie case, besides the probabilities already stated in favour of an Irish origin, we have the fact of geographical position and distance speaking forcibly against the idea of a Clan Alpine connection. Clan Alpine, as its name indicates, formed undoubtedly the purest relic of the Albiones, or native Gael of Scotland; and its branches were assuredly numerous. But, if the Macquarries were of the line, they had indeed migrated far, very far, from head-quarters, having much land and much of water to traverse, ere they reached the most distant or western side of Mull, and lighted on the islet of Ulva; though the Mackinnons, if of the same brotherhood, made an equally remarkable move in going to Scalpa on the northerly coasts of Skye. For the assumed origin of the Mackinnons, however, there is at least some little additional evidence; and no such difficulties lie in the way, as in the Macquarrie case. Clan Alpine was ever a race of inland-men, not island-men; and the strong distinction of a ship, or galley, marks the arms of the Macquarries from theirs. On the whole, we must conclude the chances or likelihood to be in favour of an Irish origin; and unwise are the prejudices which scout such a descent. Yet some parties among the Gael hold so strongly by prepossessions of this nature, that they appear eager to deny the landing of even one Irish Celt on Scottish soil. Iona and St Columba, "great facts" both, should put an end to such negations.

Ulva, about two miles in length from east to west, and betwixt a mile and a quarter of a mile in average breadth, was the especial possession of the Macquarries for several centuries. They long held, moreover, the isle of Staffa, the wonder of the Hebrides, from its natural grandeur, columnar and cavernous. They also held a portion of Mull. Their general history is absorbed in that of the Macdonalds, whose banner they long followed in war, like the Macleans and other islesmen. When the race of Somerled lost its independent position at the close of the fifteenth century, the Macquarries, like other septs, attained to comparative independence; and from this period they remained in close connection with their nearest and most potent neighbours, the Macleans. We find constant intermarriages taking place betwixt the houses of the two chiefs. So things stood, up to the last half of the eighteenth century, when the Macquarrie chieftain of the day had to dispose of his ancestral possessions. The case of this gentleman was a singular one, and paralleled, perhaps, but by that of Graham of Balgowan, who entered the British army at Toulon as a volunteer, after he had reached the mid period of life. It was to soften the loss of a beloved wife, that Graham devoted himself to an active military life, and he died a peer of the realm, by title Lord Lynedoch. The Macquarrie, being necessitated to sell his estates when he had reached sixty-two years of age, nevertheless enrolled himself in the army in 1778, and served most honourably in the American and other wars. He possessed, in true perfection, the hardy constitution of the islesmen, and died in 1817 at the great age of 102.

In the time of this gentleman, the last of the chiefs of Ulva of the direct male line, Dr Johnson and Boswell visited that island. They found the mansion of the laird mean in aspect, though the late season of the year (October) might be partly answerable for the bleak and barren look ascribed to the general scene. However, somewhat to the surprise of the travellers, the Macquarrie proved to be a polite and intelligent man of the world, quite as competent to tackle in argument with the literary colossus, and much less afraid to do so seemingly,

than any of the members of his own famous club. They took different sides on the curious question of the *mercheta mulierum*, of which Caleb Balderstone gives the most modest account presentable. "Vassals were obliged (says honest Caleb) to ask the Lord of Ravenswood's consent before they married in auld days, and mony a merry tale they tell about that right as weel as others." Dr Johnson quoted Blackstone, who has recorded his disbelief that any such strange claim on the part of landlords ever existed; but Macquarrie, referring specially to the Highlands, met him with the argument that the eldest children of marriages were not esteemed among the Gael as among other nations, most of whom adhered to distinct laws of primogeniture. This arose from the parentage of the oldest child, Macquarrie argued, being rendered doubtful; and hence, also, brothers were very commonly preferred to the proper heirs-apparent by birth. That such preferences were often exhibited is indubitable; but we should rather refer the circumstance to the fact, that the minorities of chiefs were fatal in the troublous times of old, and that the clans found it more advisable to place themselves under adult brothers of their deceased chiefs than to acknowledge the rightful juvenile successors. Macquarrie further stated to Dr Johnson, that a sheep was still accounted due to himself on the occasion of every marriage in Ulva, though he had substituted a tax of five shillings in money, and he thought this a remnant of the singular and barbarous custom in question. On the whole, the travellers, Johnson and Boswell, felt pleased and surprised at the highly cultivated intelligence of Macquarrie of Ulva, who seems, indeed, to have been a man of the true Bradwardine School. The tourists differ amusingly about their accommodations under his roof. Boswell says that an "elegant bed" for each was provided in the same room; whereas Dr Johnson hints in his letters that "his feet were in the mire" in that same and said bedroom. Boswell indignantly denies that the Doctor meant to imply his having slept with his body in the bed, and his feet in the mud. All that he intended to say was, according to his biographer, that his feet were exposed to damp whilst undressing; and this circumstance (says Bozzy, innocently) arose from "the broken windows letting in the rain!" If Macquarrie was not of the Irish stock, his chambers, at least, must have been Irish in "their elegance." The same chief, now spoken of, was the member of the family compelled to sell the property which they had held, as he himself averred, for nine hundred years. His career as a soldier has already been the subject of allusion. In the meantime, before quitting this point, a remark may be made on a second-sight story, told gravely by Macquarrie to Johnson. The chief had gone to Edinburgh, and an old female domestic prophesied that he would come home on a certain day accompanied by a new servant in a livery of *red and green*, as, in due time, he did. Macquarrie declared that the idea of the servant and the dress only occurred to him at Edinburgh; this was held to be a clear instance of second-sight, and struck the great lexicographer most forcibly. Had he taken into account the fact that the tartans (in other words livery) of the Macquarries were of a mixed red and green; and had he reflected that an old domestic of the house was most likely to have heard her master express a wish again and again for such a body-servant as he brought home with him, the marvel might have been diminished marvellously.

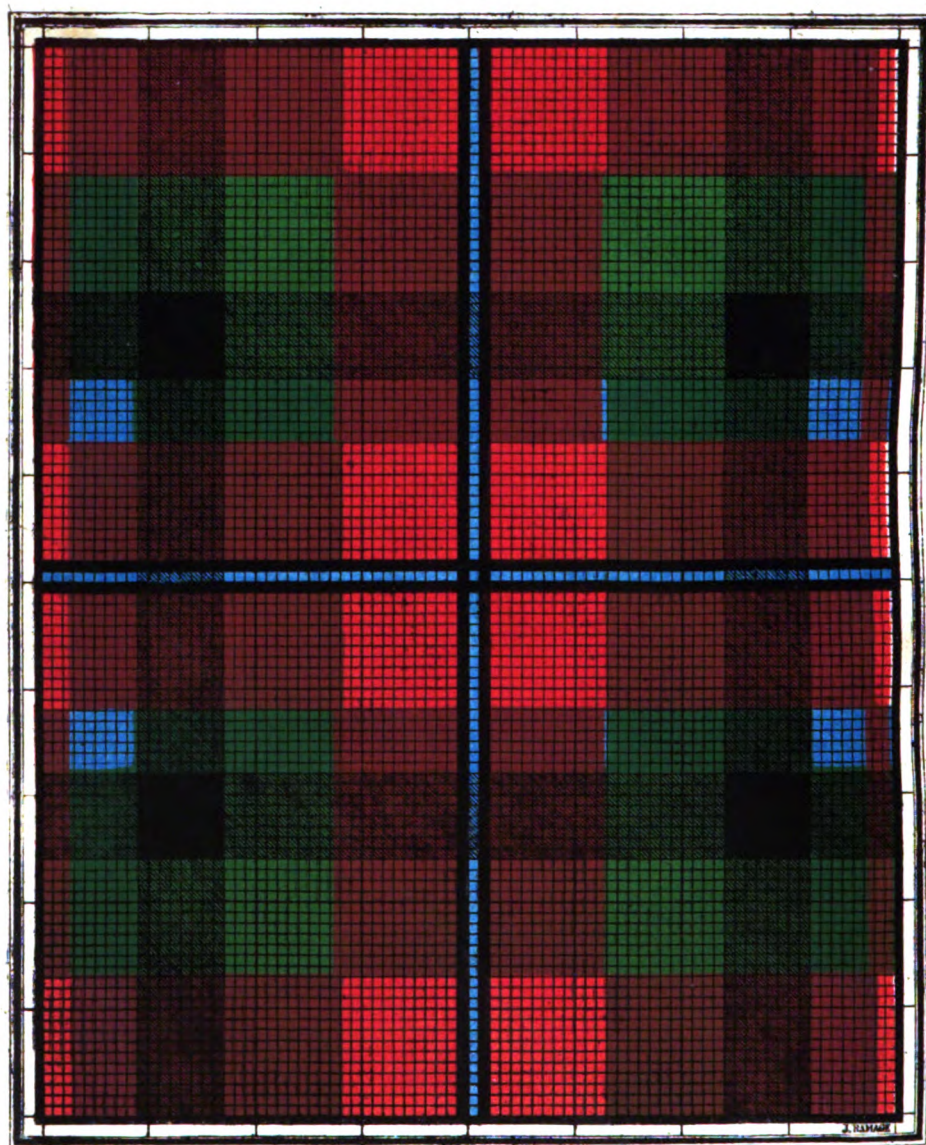
The Macquarrie chief who received Johnson and Boswell was not only the last holder of Ulva, but the last also of the direct line of the family. It however follows not, as will be noticed by and by, that the male branches of the family became then extinct.

Various anecdotes are told of the Macquarries of old, though the part they usually played was, from their position, only subordinate. Sir Walter Scott relates a tale proving that the Macquarries were a shrewd race in old days. It was thus: Maclean of Duart had had an intrigue with a beautiful young woman of his clan, and a boy was the fruit thereof, named Allan-a-Sop, or Allan of the Straw, from the accidental scene of his birth. The mother, notwithstanding her frailty, was wedded by Maclean of Torloisk, a respectable though elderly

gentleman of the clan, residing in Mull; but his love for the mother did not extend to her poor illegitimate boy. On the contrary, when the lad came to see her at times, Torloisk sought to drive him away by affronts; and on one occasion he accomplished his aim effectually, by putting into the youth's hands some cakes, burning hot, which his mother had been *girdling* for his breakfast. Allan's hands were severely scorched, and he returned no more to Torloisk. Allan-a-Sop was young, strong, high-spirited, and brave. He entered as a mariner on board one of these piratical flotillas which, after the Sea-king fashion, then infested the western isles. By his desperate bravery, he soon arose to a separate command, and his name became alike famous and terrible. At last, he came again to Torloisk. His mother was dead; but her crafty old spouse received Allan with great affected cordiality, and tried to make him an instrument of revenge upon a personal foe of his own, Macquarrie of Ulva. In consequence of his wily representations regarding that island, thither Allan, it is said, went with his boats. The chief of the Macquarries was alarmed, as he well might be, at the appearance of Allan-a-Sop with his band of pirates; but he dissembled for the time, and prevented any hasty assault upon him or his people by a warm affectation of hospitality. He gave the visitors food and drink in plenty, and played in all respects the part of the kind entertainer, anxious to please, and anticipating neither ill-will nor injury. So excellently did he go through this performance—though well aware all the time that his life hung by a single hair, which a breath almost might have severed—that Allan-a-Sop at last rose from the friendly board with a sigh, after a whole day's feasting. "Ah! this has cost me dear," said the corsair. Macquarrie inquired how his own free hospitality should or could have burdened the guest. "It has quite altered my purpose," said Allan-a-Sop, "which was to cut your throat, and take from you your island for a personal residence." This was no very agreeable announcement to Macquarrie, but he kept his countenance, and said, "Ah! Allan, this proposal is not of your framing. It comes from old Torloisk, who hates me. But would it not be better for you to take his property than mine? If you are disposed (as is very natural) to make a settlement for life, it is much better that it should be at the expense of an old churl who never showed you kindness, than of an old friend like me, who has always loved and honoured you."

Allan-a-Sop was struck by the remarks of Macquarrie, and went off with his men, without extirpating the old race of Ulva. He passed, without delay, to the house of Torloisk; and when the lord thereof hastened to meet him, in the hope of hearing of the death of his personal foe Macquarrie, Allan confronted him frowningly, and said, "You would have made me kill a better man than yourself. Have you forgotten how you *scorched my fingers with the cakes?*" So saying, as Sir Walter Scott relates the story, "he dashed out the old man's brains with a battle-axe." Taking possession of his lands, Allan founded there a distinguished branch of the Clan Maclean. They are proud of Allan-a-Sop, and the way in which he got his estate.

Most of the family papers of the Macquarrie house were consumed by fire in 1688, leaving their early annals more dubious than they might have otherwise been. It is said by the family historian before mentioned, that Cormac Mhor, the chief in the time of Alexander II., joined that prince in his efforts to reduce and tranquillise the western coasts and isles, and fell in a skirmish with Haco, the Norwegian. Alan and Gregor, his sons, fled thereupon to Ireland, and Gregor, it is related, remained in that island, founding the great branches of the Irish Macguires. It is impossible, as already observed, to accept this story, the Macguires having been far too strong and numerous in Ireland in the fourteenth century (to go no farther back) to have sprung from a solitary fugitive in the thirteenth. Among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum, some beautiful poems have been found by Mr Hardiman, the production of O'Hussey, bard of Hugh, one of the ancient chiefs of the Macguires of Ireland. O'Hussey finely sings of his beloved lord:—



Clan Macnaughton

Thou joy ! thou promise ! thou sprightly salmon !
 Thou beauteous azure ocean-wave !
 Thou pourer of panic into the breasts of heroes !

Hugh marched, though it grieved me, with his host to battle,
 And his tresses, soft curling, are now hung with ice.
 Mournful I am for Hugh Maguire,
 This night in a strange land,
 Under the embers of the thunderbolts, amid the showers flaming,
 And the keen anger of the whistling clouds.
 Cold weather I consider this night to be for Hugh !—
This, however, brings the warmth
 To his tranquil, clear countenance,
 His warriors charging like bright billows of the sea,
 Wafted in fleeces, wind-borne, fire-flashing.
 Causes of warmth to the hero are the shouts of war,
 And the many mansions, lime-white, which he has laid in ashes.”

The thoughts of the bard of Macguire are Ossianic; and they are all spoken to and of one who was a prince among his people. The Irish Macguires were eminent enough so late as 1627, as to receive a peerage from Charles I., the title being “ Lord Enniskillen;” but it was lost to the house at the close of the great Civil Wars, and does not seem to have been afterwards regained, though representatives lived abroad, and held considerable military commands both in France and Hungary.

Alan Macquarrie, mentioned as one of the two brothers who fled when their sire was killed by the Norwegians, returned ere long to Scotland, and continued the line of the family there. From him sprung in direct descent Hector Macquarrie, who wedded a Macneil, and obtained with her as a dowry, “ two men, two women, and two pie-bald horses.” In mentioning this fact in his Baronage, Douglas rather quaintly says, the descendants of “ *these people* are tenants on the Macquarrie lands at this day.” Donald left two sons, the eldest of whom, Alan, was followed by several generations of chiefs, until the line ceased (seemingly) in the person of the friend and host of Johnson and Boswell.

Hector, brother of Alan, obtained as his inheritance the lands of Ormaig, in Ulva, which are yet held by his lineal male posterity.

ARMS OF CLAN MACQUARRIE.

Vert, quarterly, in chief, three towers embattled, argent; second, three cross crosselets fitchee; in middle base, a ship and a salmon naiant, proper.

CREST. Out of a crown, proper, an arm embowed, in armour, grasping a dagger, argent.

SUPPORTERS. Two grey hounds leashed, and collared, proper.

MOTTO. *Turris fortis mihi Deus* (God is to me a tower of strength).

BADGE. Pine.

[The Badge of the Macquarries is the same as that of the Clan Alpine. We call attention in fairness to this circumstance, though it does not seem to us to counterbalance the arguments, before stated, against a Clan Alpine origin.]



CLAN MACNAUGHTON.

In very ancient times, few of the secondary clans of Scotland attained to a more independent position than the MACNAUGHTONS, or MACNACHTANS, as they were originally called from their founder, or earliest leader of note, NACHTAN. Mr Skene views them, on the authority of the MS. of 1450, as a branch primarily of the great Moray tribes, to which the Clan Chattan are also referred. Their own traditions report their ancestors to have been Thanes of Lochtay or Strathtay, but more lately their lands lay wholly in the central parts of Argyleshire. Their inheritance comprised, says Auchmar, “ a great estate betwixt the south of Lochfyne and Lochawe, parts of which were Glenjira, Glenshira, Glenfyne, and other places.” The Macnaughtons, accordingly, must be held to have shifted their place of residence more than once. The first

removal from the north southwards occurred, it is said, when Malcolm IV. attempted to tranquillise and civilise the Moray and Inverness districts, by planting there such parties as the Bissets (predecessors of the Frasers) and other strong baronial families from the south. The same king, we are further told, made compensation to Nachtan of Moray, founder of the Macnaughton name, by giving him lands in or near Strathtay in Athole (some say, Strathispey). Nisbet, in his *Heraldry*, furnishes an explanation of the further movements of the sept southwards and westwards, or into Argyleshire. The same Nachtan, he says, "an eminent man in the time of Malcolm IV., was in great esteem with the family of Lochawe (the Campbells), to whom he was very assistant in their wars with the Macdougals, for which he was rewarded with sundry lands." All this seems very feasible, and indeed stands uncontradicted by other accounts or probabilities. We may therefore accept the conclusion that the Macnaughtons originally formed an offshoot of the central or northern Gael of Scotland, and had moved first towards Athol, and finally into Argyleshire, where they are found dwelling throughout the times of authentic history.

It was probably in the reign of Alexander II., that the Macnaughtons became properly and rightfully settled in their Argyleshire possessions, if indeed they did not then acquire the largest part of all that they ever held there. The active monarch in question, as has before been related, turned various rebellious septs out of their lands about A.D. 1221, and conferred them on others better disposed, among whom seem to have been the Macnaughtons. In the time of Alexander III., Gilchrist Macnaughton, chief of his clan, was entrusted with the keeping of the royal castle of Frechelan in Lochawe, and used it as his family residence. The grant is dated A.D. 1267, and bears that the monarch is to be entertained in the castle whenever he visits it, at the cost of the lands attached. In the early Bruce and Baliol troubles, Duncan Macnaughton joined the Lords of Lorn against the former party, and lost a portion of his estate in consequence, the gainers thereby being, as usual, the Campbells. The same Duncan, however, or rather perhaps his son, subsequently sided with Robert Bruce, and is mentioned by Barbour as serving that monarch very efficiently against the Macdougals of Lorn.

In the reign of David Bruce, the Macnaughtons continued to adhere to the crown loyally, and also remained about that time on good terms with the Argyle family. "In the reign of Robert III.," says Mr Skene, "there is a charter by Colin, Earl of Argyle, to Maurice Macnaughton of sundry lands in Over Lochawe, and at the same period Morice Macnachten occurs in the genealogy previously alluded to (of 1450)." There is some error here, as the Argyle house was not raised to an earldom until the time (A.D. 1457) of James II., fifty years after the death of Robert III.; but the point is only worthy of remark as showing that the author quoted sometimes errs in his anxiety to establish the authority of the MS. of 1450—a valuable record, but not exclusively valuable. The Macnaughtons appear assuredly to have held lands under the Campbell chiefs, though ultimately destined, like so many minor septs, to have their whole estates absorbed in those of that predominant family. After all, bitterly as some of the Highlanders speak even to this day of the appropriative tendencies of the Campbells, the matter is so far capable of easy and rational explanation. While it seems ever to have been the nature of the Saxons to seek representative government, and to disseminate power and possessions as widely as possible among the general members of their social fraternities, it has been an equally marked characteristic of the Celts, from time immemorial, to favour and permit of the accumulation of wealth and authority in individual hands. Not only does the long existing system of Highland chiefship establish this fact, but the same principle operates, wherever the Celts are found, up to this present day. The Irish have their O'Connells, and the French their Napoleons, even now as of old; and to them they look as to heads, guides, and protectors. The rule of your Maccallumores, therefore, has only been accordant with the Celtic temperament; and we need not be surprised to find the individual chiefs of that house (often men of high talent besides) again and again extinguishing

their smaller neighbours. And, while this general tendency favoured the fortunes of the Campbells, they had always the further advantage of lying close on the Lowlands, and of being usually selected to repress Gaelic insurgents situated farther off, for which service they seldom went unrewarded. Their growth, in short, seems as natural as that of the rolling snow-ball, which licks up still the more, the longer its course and the larger its superficies. But this point has been discussed already.

The Macnaughtons underwent, then, the common fate of all the lesser clans of the Argyle territory. In the time of James VI., however, the Macnaughton property was still large, and the chief, Malcolm, was first page to the king, and then acting Sheriff of Argyshire. The Stewart troubles finally ruined the family. The last of the house, able to make any figure in public affairs, was Sir Alexander Macnaughton, a brave and accomplished gentleman, who adhered warmly to the interests of Charles I. At the Restoration, Charles II. made him a knight, and even compensated his services and losses by a liberal pension for life. Sir Alexander spent his later years in London, and died there. In the time of his son, "the estate was evicted by creditors for sums no way equivalent to its value, and, there being no diligence used for relief thereof, it went out of the hands of the family." We are not specially told by Buchanan of Auchmar, here quoted, that the Argyle house were the creditors; but it is likely that such was the case, as one of the main ways by which that family more lately acquired the estates around them, was through lending money upon bonds and mortgages. The pride of the borrowing chiefs was here largely in fault for the issue. Such men as Sir Alexander Macnaughton would have disdained to take the field without appearing in a style suitable to their rank; but, though they had men, they had neither money nor any other necessities for their equipment. Formerly, a creagh or foray might have done much to supply the deficiency; but the country had progressed beyond that point in civilisation, and borrowing upon bonds constituted the only available resource. The potent and wealthy Lords of Argyle were often referred to, almost of necessity, in these emergencies; and, as the civil wars of the Stewarts seldom left the chiefs engaged more rich than previously, the impawned properties usually fell, by an easy purchase, into the hands of the mortgage-holders. Though chiefs now-a-days borrow money for other purposes than war, and obtain it from a very different order of lenders, yet Highland estates are still too frequently passing from the old possessors on the same principles. Chieftains cannot live befittingly in cities without drawing rents at home; and to pay monetary rents never formed a part of the system of clanship and chiefship. The blood and lives of the men of the various tribes—their cattle and all that was theirs—the chiefs might command; and eminent sources of strength they were in the days of old. But the debts resulting from fashionable city-life never could or can be so discharged; and hence have some of the most patriarchal of our modern Highland proprietors become broken men—if they have not indeed wholly lost the lands of their sires.

All this has been so far stated and explained already; but it is part of the plan of this work to point out impressively to the Gael that the changes, which have of late taken place in their country, are the inevitable results of circumstances over which men have no control. Civilised and uncivilised life cannot by possibility long co-exist in the same neighbourhood. The struggle between them is to a great extent over with us here. Civilisation, as it always does finally, has gained the predominance; but the consequences of the collision are not yet ended or effaced. Happy it is, that the nationality of the Celtic character—that feature which stands forth so markedly among all its other brilliancies and defects—is now to be found in part applying the remedy required to soften the evils of the period of transition and change. We find men who have the blood of the Gael in their veins—Morrison, Mathieson, and Mac-kinnon—stepping in with large fortunes, acquired through talent and industry elsewhere, to fix or reinstate their kindred families in the domains of their sires, and to keep the commonalty on a level with the march of civilisation. It is by

such means only that the Gael can be preserved in the Highlands of Scotland. To mourn over the days of chiefship and clanship is vain—to restore them, impossible.

John, son and heir of Sir Alexander Macnaughton, continued the family loyalty to the Stewarts, and was able to muster a considerable body of men to assist Dundee at Killiecrankie. In recompense, James VII. signed a deed, restoring to the house all its old lands and rights, but the document was rendered useless, if not injurious, by his own fall, and the whole estate was evicted, as already said, for debts. John, grandson of the preceding John, was left estateless in the world. He long acted as Collector of Customs at Anstruther in Fife, and was finally made Inspector-General in the same department. He lived at the beginning of last century, and, if he left heirs, the direct male line seems since to have become extinct. The castle of Dundaraw, on Lochfyne, was the chief seat of the house latterly; and they are said to have had residences in Lewis and Strathspey, respectively called Macnaughton and Dunnaughton Castles.

The Mackenricks are ascribed to the Macnaughton line, as also families of Macknights (or Macneits), Macnayers, Macbraynes, and Maceols. There are still in Athol families of the Macnaughton name, proving so far what has been stated respecting their early possession of lands in that district. Stewart of Garth makes most honourable mention of one of the sept, who was in the service of Menzies of Culldares in the year 1745. That gentleman had been "out" in 1715, and was pardoned. Grateful so far, he did not join Prince Charles but sent a fine charger to him, as he entered England. The servant, Macnaughton, who conveyed the present, was taken and tried at Carlisle. The errand on which he had come was clearly proven, and he was offered pardon and life if he would reveal the name of the sender of the horse. He asked with indignation if they supposed that he could be such a villain. They repeated the offer to him on the scaffold; but he died firm to his notion of fidelity. His life was nothing to that of his master, he said. The brother of this Macnaughton was known to Garth, and was one of the Gael who always carried a weapon about him to his dying day. With the prejudices both of a soldier and a Highlander, General Stewart admires such a trait; but alas! what a state of society is really indicated by the custom of arms-bearing, whether for offence or defence!

ARMS OF CLAN MAGNAUGHTON.

First and fourth, argent, a hand fess-ways, proper, holding a cross crosslet, fitchee; second and third, argent, a tower embattled gules.

CREST. A demi-tower, embattled.

SUPPORTERS. Two roebucks proper.

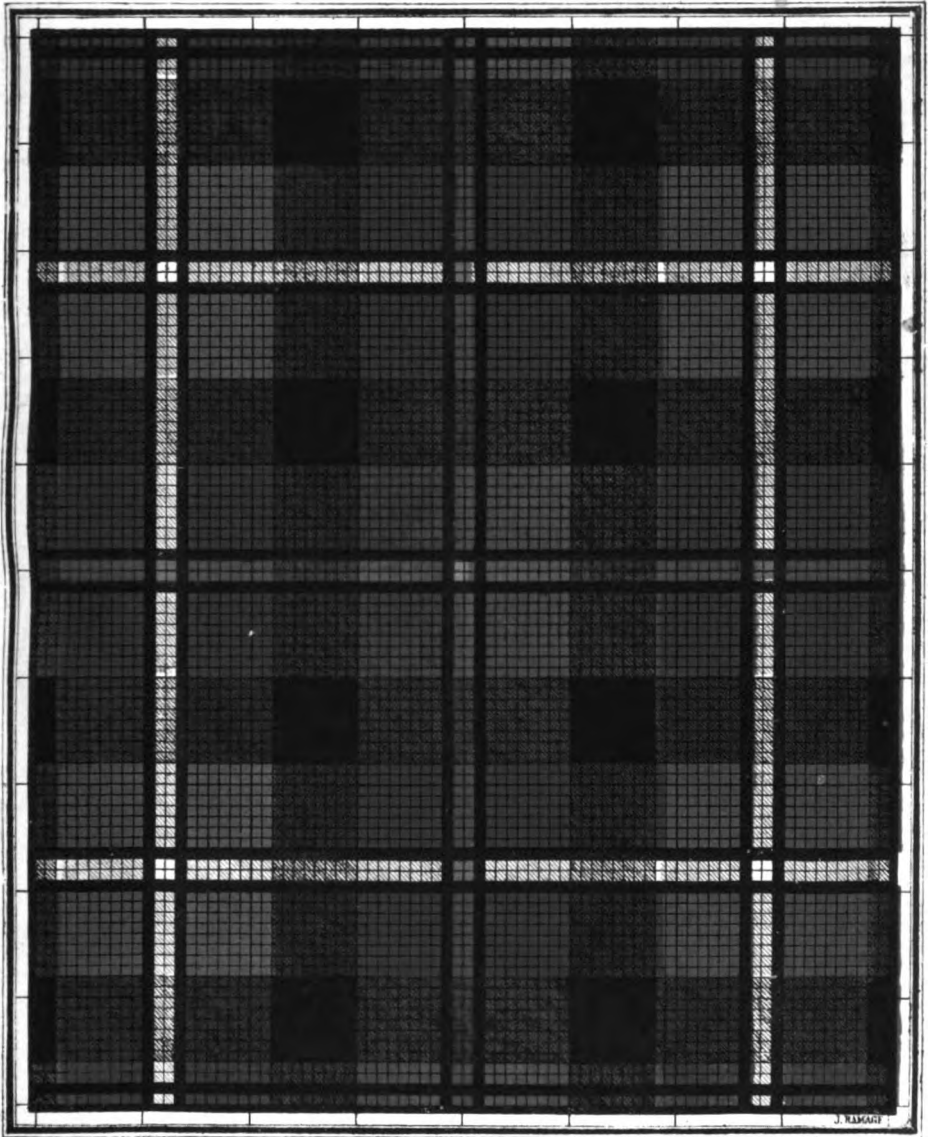
MOTTO. I hope in God.

BADGE. Trailing Azalia.



CLAN MACKENZIE.

Although so far compelled to depart from the principle of presenting continuously such clans as belong to the same distinct section of the Gael, we have yet been able hitherto to give those of the isles and coasts of the west of Scotland in a somewhat regular series. The MACKENZIES have been alluded to in the notice of the MACLEANS. Common family tradition, supported partly by facts, has long assigned these septs to certain early visitants from Ireland, of the Norman or at least continental house of the Gerald, named by the Irish Fitzgeralds. The elder of two brothers of that line, by name COLIN, is the person presumed to have been the ancestor of the Mackenzies. This is the old story; and, after all, modern inquiry has discovered nothing better in the shape of a different genealogy. A fragment of the old Iona records seems decisive, indeed, on the subject. They describe the first of the Mackenzies as "a



noble *stranger* and Hibernian, of the family of the Geraldines, who, being driven from Ireland and received graciously by the king, remained thenceforward at the court, and fought strenuously in the battle of Largs," in the year 1263.

Leaving out of the question a charter of Alexander III., which is also quoted on the subject by genealogists, we cannot but consider the words of the fragmentary records of Icolmkill as very decisive on this subject. They give a clear account of the arrival of such a personage as the Fitzgeralds are said to have sent to Scotland. The grant of Kintail by Alexander III. to Colin Fitzgerald is held by Mr Skene to be inconclusive, because it gives lands merely "*Colino Hiberno*" (Colin the Hibernian), the word *Hiberno* being, according to him, a common appellation for the Gael of Scotland. If it ever was so, the circumstance goes far to prove that these said Gael came largely from Ireland. But "*peregrinus*" (stranger), added in the Iona fragment to "*Hibernus*," cannot be so explained away. In brief, the ordinary story seems to us decidedly the best authenticated. And, if these Fitzgeralds came from Ireland, did good service in war, and were finally rewarded with liberal grants of land, where were these grants more likely to be made than in the Highlands? In the north and north-west of Scotland, the kings of old could most easily apportion out properties to favourites and deserving parties, though they could but very ineffectively secure such gifts to the grantees. But that was the affair of the latter solely. Where we find so many undoubted instances of regal Highland charterings of this kind, why should we hesitate about the Mackenzie case—one in which family traditions, and common histories, all tell the same uniform tale? Honest Nisbet informs us, for example, that the first of the Mackenzies was "one Colin Fitzgerald," of the house of Kildare or Desmond in Ireland, "who signalled himself by his bravery at the battle of Largs, in the year 1263; so that King Alexander III. took him into favour, and bestowed on him the lands of Kintail in Ross-shire." Abercromby, in his "*Martial Achievements*," again, mentions one foreigner as "singularly remarkable" at the battle of Largs, namely, "Colin Fitzgerald, son and heir to the first Earl of Desmond in Ireland. Upon this gallant gentleman, the grateful King Alexander was pleased to bestow the lands of Kintail," in Ross-shire. The charter of the Kintail barony to Colin Fitzgerald was dated at Kincardine A.D. 1226. The son of the same Colin bore the name of Kenneth; and the son, successor, and heir of the latter gave the name of MACKENNETH, or MACKENZIE, to the whole of the numerous sept founded by him, or enrolled under his banners.

The family seem to have become prominent at an early date, since the first Kenneth wedded a daughter of the Lord of Lorn, and the second one of the daughters of the Earl of Athol; while a third Kenneth was united to Fynvola Macleod, of the house of Lewis. The offspring of this latter pair was a man of note in his day, being known by the name of Murdoch Dhu or Dow. This party occurs in the M.S. of 1450 as *Murcha*; but the designations are held to be the same. There is a sort of "*fatal facility*," however, to use the phrase of Byron, in the task of assimilating Gaelic names. The simple word, now usually set down as Murdoch, can be traced through Murdoch, Murchach, Murdo, Murcha, Muriach, Muirich, and many forms besides, until it reaches the startlingly discordant form of *Vuirich*. All this serves but to prove, as Dr Samuel Johnson says, that the Gaelic language was not "*a written one*" up to a very late date, there being "*no visible manuscript (of any antiquity), no inscription in the tongue, no correspondence, no transaction of business, of which a single scrap remains in the ancient families.*" Had the Celts ever been able to write Celtic, their alphabetic letters, from the undeniably vast antiquity of the race, must have been original in form, and distinguished as much from the Saxon as the Greek from the Hebrew. The oldest Erse writings, on the contrary, are in the common letter of the Saxons. Among the Gael, as Dr Johnson further observes, "*the learned, if any learned there were, could write; but, knowing by that learning some written language, in that language they wrote, as letters had never been applied to their own.*" Indeed, if ever a people habitually held inter-communication by symbols, apart from words, the Gael were that people.

They were called to war by symbol—that of the Fiery Cross. Their very dress, indeed, was so far symbolical. Such facts, however, only strengthen the probability of their having preserved songs and legends orally for a most unusual length of time. In the absence of the *littera scripta*, other modes of communicating and perpetuating knowledge could not fail to be prized and cultivated. In the meantime, this subject is adverted to, chiefly with the view of explaining the multitudinous variations to be found in Highland orthography. In the early stages of every written language, the case has been the same. So unsettled was the English tongue in the time of Shakspeare, that his own name is given in two different ways in his last will—and that, too, by himself! To understand all this, we must reflect that men spelled in those days by sound merely, not having, like us, the advantage of venerable precedents and long-fixed rules.

Murdoch Dow had a consolidating charter from David II. of the estate of Kintail in 1360 or 1362. He married Isabel Macaulay, with whom he obtained the lands of Lochbroom, and by whom he had a son and successor, also named Murdoch Mackenzie of Kintail. His name is found in charters from Robert II. about 1380; and his son Alexander, the offspring of an inter-marriage with the Harris Macleods, figured considerably in the reign of James I. Though then young, he seems to have been one of those northern chiefs whom that active prince summoned to Inverness, and he took the part of the monarch strenuously against the last Earls of Ross, or rather against the Macdonalds, when they attempted to regain that earldom. It was indeed his interest to act thus, in all points of view. He and his sires had been but servitors, or at least dependents, of the Lords of Ross and of the Isles, though during the early part of the fifteenth century they could muster, it is said, a separate following of two thousand men. Be this as it may, Alexander Mackenzie, as well as his immediate descendants, obtained the reward of their loyalty to the crown, in the very natural shape of grants of Ross-shire lands. Immediately after John, last lord of Ross, had ceded that earldom (A.D. 1476), the chief of Kintail obtained charters of Strathconnon, Strathgarve, and other properties. By the Lady Agnes Campbell, daughter of the first Earl of Argyle, he left a son and heir, Kenneth; and, by a lady of the house of Macdougall of Lorn, he had two other sons, Duncan and Hector, from whom sprung some of the most ancient cadet-families of the Mackenzie name, as those of Gairloch, Hilton, Logie, and others.

Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail appears to have been a person of high consequence at the court of James IV., by whom he was knighted. At the fatal battle of Flodden, his eldest son and successor, John, attended the king, and had the good fortune to escape with life, where so many of the heads and heirs of the noble and knightly houses of Scotland were stricken to the earth. That scene of slaughter, indeed, was only paralleled by the fight of Agincourt in France, where, as Shakspeare says, in describing the field—

“Of princes,
And of nobles bearing banners, there lie dead
One hundred twenty-six; added to these,
Of knights, esquires, and gallant gentlemen,
Eight thousand and four hundred. . . .
So that, in the ten thousand they have lost,
There are but sixteen hundred mercenaries;
The rest are princes, barons, lords, knights, squires,
And gentlemen of blood and quality.”

The Scottish loss at Flodden lay chiefly among the same high class. The heads of the (afterwards) ducal houses of Buccleugh and Gordon escaped alive, though with difficulty. The lords of Argyle, Montrose, and Queensberry fell, with the chiefs or heirs-apparent of the families of Tweeddale, Errol, Rothes, Mar, Cassilis, Cathness, Nithsdale, Winton, Galloway, Lauderdale, Wemyss, Dalhousie, Southesk, Traquair, Pannure, Breadalbane, Kenmure, Borthwick, Cathcart, Semple, Kilsyth, Elphinstone, Sinclair, Lovat, Blantyre, Napier, and Kirkcudbright—most of them noble at the time of the battle, and

others soon afterwards ennobled. Twelve of the slain, at least, held the rank of Earls. Death, it must be allowed, quenched his thirst with high blood on this memorable day! Of the knights and gentry who fell, it is impossible to give any account; but their numbers may be guessed from the fact, that, with the Earl of Errol, perished not less than eighty-seven gentlemen of his own house and name. It is painful to assail even a fiction that has been long embalmed in verse; and yet assuredly the "Flowers of the Forest," so pathetically bewailed, were far from being the chief sufferers on the occasion of this great national overthrow. Besides that peers and gentry constituted the main victims generally, a portion of the march or border men did not escape the suspicion even of treachery; and, though these may not have been the proper men of "The Forest," Miss Elliott at all events (when she wrote the old lay) sung of, and among, the very people who were stigmatised for their doubtful conduct at Flodden—the people, namely, of the eastern marches.

John, chief of the Mackenzies, was one of the few of his rank who survived the conflict of 1513. His father Sir Kenneth had left, by Agnes, daughter of Lord Lovat, several other sons, and from these sprung numerous existing branches of the family. The foundation of so many subsidiary lines, all partly gifted with estates, is explained as much by the peculiar nature as by the extent of the Ross-shire property, rendering it widely divisible without risk of family dissensions. To allow a younger son to get a patch of wild hill-land was a small matter of old to the heads and heirs of the house, and indeed took the endowed party most quietly off their hands. Time only has made such allotments valuable, and has left the cadet-shoots of the Mackenzies in the position of landed gentry of respectability. John, continuator of the principal line, fought bravely at Pinkie in his old age (A.D. 1547). His only son Kenneth, by a daughter of the Athol house, gave birth to his heir Colin, and to Roderic, ancestor of the Redcastle, Kineraig, Rosend, and other Mackenzies. Colin was a member of the Privy Council of James VI., and raised his family greatly in the world, being the founder, moreover, of some of the most eminent branches of the sept yet in existence. His eldest son Kenneth, by Barbara Grant of Grant, became the first Lord Kintail; and his second, Roderic, originated the house of Tarbet or Cromarty, afterwards raised to an earldom. The branch of Scatwell also came from Roderic. The family of Kilcoy, and others, descended from remaining sons of the same marriage. From a second union of Colin with a lady of the Mackenzie name, sprung the lines of Applecross, Coul, Deloin, Assynt, and others yet high in station in the world.

KENNETH, heir of Colin, after receiving various charters indicative of royal favour, was honoured (as said), on the 19th November 1609, with the title of LORD MACKENZIE OF KINTAIL. He enjoyed it scarcely two years, when he was succeeded by COLIN, his eldest son by a first marriage with Anne Ross, of the Balnagowan house. Colin, second Lord Kintail, obtained the higher title of EARL OF SEAFORTH, in 1623, from James VI. He had two daughters, both highly married; but he left no sons, and was succeeded in the earldom in 1633, by GEORGE, his half-brother, son of Isabel Ogilvie, of the family of the Ogilvies of Powrie. Simon Mackenzie, uterine brother of the said George, second Earl of Seaforth, was father to Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, King's Advocate in the reigns of the two last Stewarts, and only too famous as the chief legal adviser of these sovereigns against the Scottish Covenanters. Even their military persecutors, the steel-hearted Claverse and the savage Dalryell, were not more cordially feared and hated by them than their civil and judicial foe, by them called "the bluidy Mackinyie." But, as Wordsworth finely says—

"Bodies fall by wild sword law;
But who would force the soul, tuts with a straw
Against a champion cased in adamant."

To compensate for his (vain) attempts to repress the religious feelings of Scotland, this distinguished member of the Mackenzie house served the laws and literature of his country ably in many respects. Besides his standard works on the legal institutions of Scotland, he wrote learnedly and elegantly on

heraldry. In spite of a most careful testament, his name fell into oblivion, because the inheritors, through a daughter, obtained the much richer succession of the English Wortleys (Lords of Wharnclyffe)

GEORGE, second Earl of Seaforth, was a sufferer in the cause of Charles I., being outlawed, and having his estate sequestrated. Joining Charles II. in Holland, he was nominated Secretary of State for Scotland.

KENNETH, his son by a daughter of Lord Forbes, succeeded his sire in 1651. He partook in all the troubles attendant on loyalty during the rule of Cromwell, and indeed bore a long imprisonment in consequence of his opinions, being only released in 1660, on the restoration of Charles II. By Isabel, daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbet, he had several sons and daughters, his heir being KENNETH, who succeeded as fourth Earl of Seaforth in 1678. He adhered, unluckily for himself, to the fortunes of James VII., who had made him a Privy Councillor and Knight of the Order of the Thistle (revived in 1787). The earl followed the ill-fated king through all his later mishaps, in France and Ireland, and was rewarded with a Marquisate, which of course, being conferred after the abdication, never proved more than a nominal title. He wedded Lady Frances Herbert, daughter of the Marquis of Powis, and had by her WILLIAM, fifth Earl of Seaforth, who succeeded to the title in 1701.

The government of William III. and Queen Anne appear to have permitted the quiet re-assumption by the Seaforth family of their previous possessions and dignities. But the Mackenzie house was one of those most deeply attached to the Stewarts. In all the early rebellious movements against the Brunswick family, at least, William, fifth Earl of Seaforth, partook largely. In 1715, he was a prominent head of the Jacobite insurgents who met on the Braes of Mar, in the autumn of that year, to concert a rising in arms. The leader of the movement was their entertainer for the time, John Erskine, Earl of Mar, a personage who, but a few months before, had not only welcomed the accession of George I. with a fulsome profusion of lip-loyalty, but had gone about among the Highland chiefs, gathering signatures to a general address of a similar adulatory purport. Cluny Macpherson signed this document; as did the chiefs of Glengarry, Macintosh, and Lochell, with many others who rose in arms, ere a year had elapsed, against the sovereign thus hailed with words of welcome. The Jacobite apologists say that this address was but a *ruse-de-guerre*, and had been actually dictated at St Germain's. Worse and worse the proceeding, if such was the case. Mar, beyond question, acted in 1715 chiefly from motives of personal spite, having been turned out of office by George I. and his advisers. These parties were even aware, it is said, of the St Germain's origin of the Highland address mentioned, and can scarcely be blamed, therefore, for viewing the Earl of Mar with distrust, if not with contempt. We find not the name of Seaforth at any such document, but he was an active promoter of the rising which ended virtually at Sherriffmuir. The main body of the Mackenzies naturally followed their chief in his perilous course. A letter of Lord Mar, to his land-factor in the north, shows well upon what principle even the leader of the insurrection raised his tenants: "Jock, ye was right not to come with the hundred men ye sent, as I expected four times the number. . . . Let my tenants know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. . . . By all that's sacred, I'll put this in execution." Ought we not to pardon all the minor agents in this unhappy rebellion, when we find them to have been stirred by such instigations?

The Earl of Seaforth appears to have raised about fifteen hundred men, of his clan and dependents, in 1715. Before joining Mar, he was very active in Inverness-shire, endeavouring to rouse the friends of the Stewarts, and to suppress their adversaries. He required the Monroes (among others) to surrender, telling their chief, Sir Robert of Foulis, that "he was about to execute what he had so long determined, namely, to set King James upon his throne, matters being so ripe that it would be executed without stroke of sword." Monro, as became the head of a house which has produced a greater number of emi-

nent soldiers than almost any other in the Highlands, sent back an answer of defiance, fortified his house of Foulis, and raised his clan, to the number of four hundred men, in support of government. Seaforth, however, being joined by Sir Donald Macdonald with seven hundred followers, obtained the complete mastery of the district around Inverness, in which town Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, his kinsman, held rule for the insurgents, with a strong garrison. At length, the earl was called to join Mar at Perth, and commanded three battalions at the subsequent military puzzle of Sherriffmuir. The issue of this conflict rendered it necessary for his lordship to retreat to the north, and soon afterwards to make personal tenders of submission to government. These were accepted; but the tidings of the landing of the Pretender (nominally James VIII.) caused the Mackenzie chief at once to retract his concession, and to stand out again in opposition to the powers that were. His conduct can only be excused on the plea that he, like so many more, deemed the call of loyalty paramount to all others. He never again had the opportunity, however, to serve his adopted cause effectually. The Earl of Mar found the presence of the ill-fated prince who joined him to be anything but an advantage. Driven from Perth by the advance of the royal army, James shed tears as he left it, saying that his partizans, "instead of bringing him to a crown, had brought him to a grave." According to a vulgar saying, he truly proved a "wet blanket" to his own cause; and, in the end, he fled by stealth from his followers in their extremity. Mar went with him basely; the Earl of Seaforth remained with other Jacobite chiefs in Ross-shire, and the Isle of Lewis, till all hope for the cause became extinct. He then escaped to France. However, he again proved his attachment to the Stewarts by joining the Lords Tullibardine and Marischal in their descent with a Spanish force on the north of Scotland in 1719. At a place called Glenshiel, in Ross-shire, they were met and defeated by General Wightman, and the earl became once more a fugitive and exile. Receiving a pardon in 1726, he returned home, and lived in retirement up to the period of his decease, which occurred in 1740. In 1733, an act had been passed, enabling him to inherit and hold any real or personal estate, whence, by the clemency of government, the house seems to have regained a large part of its possessions. The title still stood under attainder; but Kenneth, grandson of the late earl, was created in 1766 Viscount Fortrose and Baron Ardelve in Ireland, and finally received, in 1771, the honour of Earl of Seaforth, in the peerage of the same country. This title was a new one, of course; and when its holder died in 1781, leaving an only daughter (who wedded the Count of Melfort, an exiled member of the Drummond family), the male heir, Colonel Thomas Frederick Humberstone Mackenzie, great-grandson of the third Earl of Seaforth, did not inherit the Irish earldom. He fell in battle at Gheriah, while commanding the Bombay army, in the year 1783. Partly by right, and partly by purchase, his brother Francis ultimately re-acquired the main part of the old Mackenzie estates. Francis Humberstone Mackenzie was raised to the title of Baron Seaforth, in the English peerage, in 1796. He had a large family by his lady, Mary Proby, of the house of the Earls of Carysfort: but he had the misfortune to see the male heirs of his house extinguished in his lifetime, and under circumstances peculiarly distressing. His eldest daughter, Mary Frederica Elizabeth, was married, firstly, to Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, Bart., in 1804, and after his decease, to J. A. Stewart of Glasserton, a cadet of the house of Galloway. On this union taking place, the latter gentleman assumed and bore thenceforth the appellation of Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth. The family resulting from his marriage with Lady Hood are the direct successors, by the female side, of the Seaforth Mackenzies. Mackenzie of Allangrange claims the honour of being representative of the house in the male line. But it has still many descendants of the pure masculine blood; and, among others, there are four Nova-Scotia baronets of the name—those of Tarbet, Coul, Gairloch, and Scatwell. Three other families—namely, the Delvin, Fairburn, and Kilcoy branches—have been raised to similar honours since the union, in the baronetage of the United Kingdom.

The second ennobled branch of the Mackenzie name was that of Cromarty, descended from Sir Roderic Mackenzie, brother of the first Lord Kintail. Like his father Colin, he was in high favour with James VI., and acquired large possessions by his union with Margaret Macleod, heiress of Torquil Macleod of Lewis. It was observed in the memoir of the Macleods, that some arrangement seems to have been made betwixt Roderic and his father (or his elder brother Kenneth), since the heirs of the latter are to be found holding permanently the Macleod lands of Lewis, while those of Roderic settled in the inland parts of Ross-shire and Cromarty. The excambion must have taken place about the beginning of the seventeenth century. Roderic died in 1628, and left Sir John, his heir, created a baronet in the same year by Charles I. Sir John Mackenzie, styled of TARBET (on Cromarty Firth), where the family had a castle and property of the name, left a son and successor, Sir George, who made a distinguished figure in the reigns of Charles II., James VII., Queen Anne, and King William III. Born in 1630, he succeeded his father in 1654, and was nominated a Lord of Session in 1661. Afterwards, and at various times, he held the high offices of Lord Justice-General and Clerk-Register of Scotland. Adhering to Lord Middleton, however, against the Duke of Lauderdale, Sir George fell with his superior before the ascending star of Maitland. After the death of the Duke, and up to the close of the reign of James VII., Sir George had the chief say and sway in Scottish affairs. King James created him **VISCOUNT TARBET** in 1685. He enjoyed little weight under William III.; but on the accession of Queen Anne he was made **EARL OF CROMARTY** (A.D. 1703), and nominated Secretary of State for Scotland, an office resigned afterwards for his old post of Justice-General. The earl recompensed the queen's favours by warmly advocating the union of the kingdoms, both with voice and pen. He died in 1714, at the great age of eighty-four.

The abilities of the first Earl of Cromarty were undoubtedly of a very superior cast; but, as a politician, he appears to have been wholly unsettled in his principles, and, as a judge, addicted to the old practice of considering the litigants rather than their causes. Carstairs says, that he habitually falsified the minutes of parliament, and recorded in its name decisions and orders never really made. This is a heavy charge to be brought against any statesman. In private life he was allowed by all to be a refined gentleman; and he moreover wrote well, his chief productions being essays on the Union Question and the Gowrie Conspiracy, with a "Plain Explication" of the prophecies of Daniel and St John. His fate in the latter instance proved much the same as that of Edward Irving, who, having declared that young Napoleon was destined to figure as the Tenth Horn of the Beast, lived unluckily to see the poor lad die of pulmonary consumption. So perilous is it at all times for the human intellect to cope with matters divine.

George, Earl of Cromarty, left several sons by his first lady, Anne, daughter of Sir James Sinclair of Mey. The second son, Kenneth, obtained a baronetcy, with his grandfather's patent of creation, and was installed in a large part of the proper Cromarty estate. It passed from the hands of his son, who left no heirs. A third son of the earl, James, became a lord of session, and took the title of Lord Rayston, from a property in Mid-Lothian left to him as his patrimony. This branch also failed in the male line. The family of Cromarty, however, was continued in the person of John, second earl, who, notwithstanding the deductions mentioned, still inherited noble estates in the counties of Ross, Inverness, Elgin, and Fife. He made no figure in the world comparatively, if we except his appearance in the Scottish courts on a charge of murder, in the year 1791. Lord Macleod (as he was then called in courtesy, such being the title of the eldest son of the Earl of Cromarty) was accused of causing the death of one Elias Poirer, Sieur de la Roche, at Leith; but he obtained an acquittal from the court and jury. He wedded firstly, in 1685, Lady Elizabeth Gordon, and secondly, the Honourable Mary Murray, daughter of Lord Elibank, by the latter of whom he had issue, George and other children, male and female.

George Mackenzie, third Earl of Cromarty, succeeded his sire in 1731. He

had the misfortune to live in the troublous times of the last Stewart risings, and to adhere to that family, being present at the head of four or five hundred Mackenzies at the battle of Falkirk. He was ultimately taken prisoner, with his eldest son, Lord Macleod, by the Earl of Sutherland, on the very day of the battle of Culloden, having left the main body of the rebels to seize Dunrobin Castle and repress the government adherents in the far north. Lord Cromarty must have felt fearful misgivings when sent a captive to London, because he had tried, like Lord Lovat, to play fast and loose with the Lord President Forbes, even so late as October, 1745. The earl, in a letter of that date, asserts himself to be striving actively in the cause of government. Making all allowance for the strong and mingled influences which bore on the Gael at this epoch—loyalty, hope, fear, and interest being all more or less called into action—we cannot pardon such cases of deceit as those of Lovat and Cromarty. Well might the latter dread the issue, we repeat, when carried captive to London. He saw the necessity—to preserve one hope of life—of making a complete submission and confession of guilt. Such was his adopted course. He pleaded that he had been ever well disposed towards the existing government, but had been misled by false counsels and pretences. He might more truly have said, perhaps, that erroneous hopes of personal and family aggrandisement had formed his main actuating motive in joining the rebellion; though we must always make allowance, as already observed, for the natural fears of injury from those who had actually first risen as insurgents. "Join us, or you will be treated as foes." Such was the common cry at the time. Though the high-minded conduct of such a man as old Balmerino in the same emergency, when he stood before the peers of England, erect and even proud of his cause, excites sympathy of a higher nature, yet the miserable position of the Earl of Cromarty—whose wife was then about to increase an already large family, and whose youthful heir, Lord Macleod, had been also drawn into the insurrection, though confessedly a mere instrument in the hands of others—affects one with feelings of sincere compassion. We may not honour, but we must pity. Such were the sentiments entertained, seemingly, by George II. and his advisers. It is said that the countess led her ten children to the feet of the king, as petitioners for the lives of their father and brother. The appeal was irresistible. Though condemned with his associates to the scaffold, the Earl of Cromarty was not executed along with them, but, after a term of confinement, received a pardon, and died in London in the year 1766.

His son John, Lord Macleod, who was only eighteen years of age in 1745, pled his youth at trial, and did so effectually. He also was pardoned, and went abroad, where he entered the military service of Sweden, and, having distinguished himself highly, received the title of Count Cromarty. His lordship—for his title of courtesy was always accorded to him—returned in 1777 to Britain, and raised two battalions of Highlanders for the East Indian wars. The strong attachment of the Gael to their chiefs appeared strikingly on this occasion. Though absent for not less than thirty years, and having as yet recovered not a rood of his forfeited lands, Lord Macleod had no sooner announced his wish to raise a corps, than 840 Highlanders, chiefly from his ancient family estates, enlisted for the service, and were followed by others so speedily that Lord Macleod found himself at the head of 2200 men. Of the entire body, nearly 1800 were countrymen, and the mass of them of his own clan. Being formed into two battalions, one of them sailed for India with Lord Macleod in 1779, being termed the Seventy-third (afterwards Seventy-first) or Macleod's Highlanders. They distinguished themselves highly in the wars with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib. Above an hundred of the corps fell into the hands of Hyder, and remained in a wretched state of captivity for three years, loaded with chains and systematically fed on damaged provisions—"slow poison," as Mrs Grant well says. It is a singular fact, that, while only thirty of the men survived their hardships, the officers lived—not because they were better treated, but because the men actually picked out for their superiors all the more wholesome food allowed to the whole. The burning heats of day and the rank dews o

night added to their sufferings; and yet, though the offer of pardon was made to them daily, and though comrade after comrade dropt off, not a man would assume the turban and serve the Indian tyrant. Sir David Baird was one of the officers who lived to commemorate the noble conduct of his companions on this occasion. It is a sad *down-taking* in this case to record what his mother, an old Scottish lady of the "Grippy" school, said, on hearing of her son being fettered (as they were, pair by pair) to a fellow-captive in Hyder Ali's dungeons. "God help the puir lad that's *cheened* to our Davy!" Such was the mother's lament, founded on her ideas of the hot temper of her son—a most brave soldier, nevertheless.

Macleod's Highlanders behaved admirably in various engagements with the Mysore army, and a spirited piper of the corps was so much admired on one occasion by the commander-in-chief, Sir Eyre Coote, that he promised to the regiment a pair of silver pipes on the battle-field, which the Seventy-first probably have to this day. One of the corporals of the corps, who fell at this time in India, was John Doune (Mackay), son of the famous Gaelic bard, Rob Doune, and almost equal to his father in poetical extemporising. After all their eastern services and losses, the Macleod Highlanders had the honour to be named "the precious remains" of the Seventy-third.

Their Colonel, Lord Macleod, returned home in 1782, with the rank of Major-General. On paying the sum of £19,000, to relieve existing burdens, he had the family estates restored to him by parliament. Dying in 1789, he was buried in the Canongate churchyard, leaving no issue. His cousin, Kenneth, succeeded to the recovered Cromarty estates; but, as he also died without heirs, the sister of Lord Macleod, Lady Elibank, then became inheritress. Her daughter, the Honourable Maria Murray, succeeded in the absence of male offspring, and conveyed the property to her children by Edward Hay of Newhall, brother of the Marquis of Tweeddale. Their son succeeded to them; and his family now bear the title of the "Hay-Mackenzies" of Cromarty. Sir James Sutherland Mackenzie of Tarbet, Bart., claims the title of Earl of Cromarty; and if he has a just right to inherit the baronetcy, his claim on the earldom would probably be good, were the attainder removed.

ARMS OF CLAN MACKENZIE.

{The principal families of the Mackenzie name have already been mentioned. They bear nearly the same Arms fundamentally, but assume very different Mottoes, and vary also in other minor particulars. The Cromarty branch takes the Macleod bearings in addition to its own, as do all the families descended from the same side of the house. The Macleods, on the plea that their sires were Lords of the Isle of Man, adopted the *Man Arms*, the famous "Three Legs"—if such a contradiction in terms may be allowed. These bearings are usually considered to be of great antiquity. But, in reality, systematic Heraldry is a science of comparatively modern origin in Scotland, if not everywhere. Even the Three Balls of the Medici, forming perhaps one of the earliest instances of proper arms-bearing, cannot be traced very far back. The Medicean family became princes and popes in Italy, though they were but wholesale *druggists* originally, their three gilded balls being nothing else than their *shop-sign*, indicating that they sold *pills*! The same sign is now the emblem of pawnbrokers—certainly the most general of all our mercantile dealers, though we know not they accept pills as pledges. The Arms of the Isle of Man are generally held to be of immensely old origin, as remarked, though clearly flowing from the mere name, long after the Saxon epoch, and when England, Scotland, and Ireland contested for its sovereignty. We must, indeed, look to the Norman conquest as the main originating era of scientific or regular Heraldry. War-cries (Slogans among the Scottish) and other devices marking tribe from tribe, and house from house, might be of somewhat higher antiquity. It has been so at all times. Men speak of the fearful effect, never to be forgotten by ears which have once heard it, of the *Hugh!* or *Hoo!* of the native American Indians when on a war-party. What could be the difference betwixt that yell and the war-cry of the Irish Celts, *Boo!* or *Aboo!* *Crom-Aboo!* The *Boo* is the very same dread sound. In fact, it is amazing how closely we may trace men to have approximated to each other in rude society as respects all their usages. The guttural *Ugh*, for example, is a mark

of all human speech in uncultivated ages. And there are many others. The war-cries of some of the Scottish Highland families must have had an effect quite as stirring and fierce as that of the Irish *Boo!* [By the way, how naturally a child adopts that very word or sound to frighten a party of its own age and intellectual calibre!] The Moors or Saracens, in Palestine and Spain, used somewhat similar war-cries, which became terrible to Christian hearing, under the appellation of *The Lelies*. It was a contraction of "Allah-Il-Allah," the latter word being the name of the deity with them, and used appealingly on their entering into battle.

Instances of heraldic insignia being based on events in a family's history are common, and oftentimes the arms are drawn plainly from the mere name. No better illustration of this fact could be given than in the case of "Lockhart." Nisbet says, "The name of Lockhart have a man's heart (in their arms), because one of their predecessors is said to have accompanied Sir James, Lord Douglas, to the Holy Land, with the heart of Robert the Bruce, which, being placed within a padlock, makes a *Rebus*, with the name Lockheart." The padlock, with the motto, "*Corda serrata pando* (Open locked hearts)" has indeed been long the armorial bearing of the Lockharts, but that respectable family assuredly derived their name (not from locks or hearts) but from a locality, denominated once Lochquharret, in the county of Lanark. Even that Lochquharret can be traced back to a "Lochuswerword." Such is the term which comparatively modern heraldry, founding upon family transactions, partly real, has turned into Lockheart, or Lockhart, and has provided with corresponding armorial bearings. The family were most probably a branch of the Hays, who first possessed the Lockhart property in Lanarkshire. This is apart, however, from the point in question; although the Hays themselves thus incidentally named, afford the most striking instance producible of the modern character of our heraldry. It is scarcely necessary to tell general readers, that a ploughman and his two sons, using the implements of their occupation—"the yokes of their plough and such plough-furniture"—are said to have stopped the flying Scots, and mainly aided to worst the Danes, at the battle of Luncarty, A. D. 780. "And 'tis said," continues Nisbet, in his report of the story, "that, after the victory was obtained, the old man lying on the ground, cried Hay, Hay! (hey, hey! an exclamation of exhaustion) which word became a surname to his posterity." We are further informed, that the grateful king gave to the family as much land in the Carse of Gowrie as a falcon "did flie over without alighting;" and that she, "having flown a great way, lighted on a stone called the Falcon-stone to this day." This latter piece of testimony seems much of the same value with that offered by Smith the weaver, in the play of Henry VI., to support the parentage of Jack Cade. Cade had averred that his father was a bricklayer. "Sir," said the weaver, "he made a chimney in my father's house, and the bricks are alive to this day to testify it." The Hays are the descendants, indubitably, of an Anglo-Norman family of high rank, whose Scottish representatives settled in the north long after the battle of Luncarty. The arms of the house, no doubt, relate to the legend here related, but these bearings must have been the product of much later times than those of Danish invasion, when the truth had been lost in, or obscured by, traditionary fictions.

In fact, the heraldic art was plainly but a feature and a product of the reign of chivalry which began, as regards Britain, in the age succeeding the Norman conquest. The Supporters, for instance, so prominent an object in family arms, were taken from the custom adopted by the knights at tournaments, of placing their squires at the entrance to their pavilions, arrayed "quaintly" for the occasion as "savages," or in other fantastic characters. Hence the monstrosities usually flanking otherwise rational coats of arms. So long as war was a hard and bitter matter to all concerned, demanding merely thick skulls and strong ribs, with competent defences for these, men indulged in no idle fopperies in connection with their arms and accoutrements. If the head-piece could ward off a sound stroke from sword or axe, and the shield endure a smart thrust from spear or lance, there was no more required by the wearers. But when people commenced to play at the game of war, and to tilt in court-yards for the love of mere honour and fair ladies, then scarfs, and scrolls, and devices, and what not other fantasies came into fashion; and in their train followed the settled custom of bearing peculiar insignia or arms. And when a legend existed, as in the case of the Hays, throwing honour on the particular family concerned, the Kings-at-Arms cared little about historical truth in devising either Motto or Escutcheon generally. Above all, as in the Lockhart case, they preferred to make a story out of the mere name, accommodating thereto the Arms. *Naper* and *Nuesmith* form two marked additional instances of this kind of heraldic work. "Nae Peer

hast thou," said a king of old to a good soldier after a battle; and Napier was he thenceforth called. "Nae Smith shalt thou be in time to come," said another monarch to a blacksmith who had saved him from his enemies by a doughty use of the fore-hammer; and Naesmith was he ever afterwards styled. Often, again, the heraldry suggested a story in turn, to later observers. The Glencairn Cunninghams were Masters of the Horse to the ancient Scottish sovereigns, and they got "Over fork over" for a motto. But on this circumstance, more lately, was based a tradition, that, once when a prince of Scotland lay in danger, a peasant saved him by covering him over with straw in a stable, and forking sheaf on sheaf above him till the foes were gone. All this sprung out of the simple fact that the Cunninghams were masters of the stables to our kings of Scotland in old days. Look, again, at the instance of Leslie. Of all the miserable attempts to explain a family-designation, this is perhaps the poorest:—

"Between the *less lee* and the mair,
He found the knight, and slew him there."

But the word Buccleugh has given rise, really, to an equally wretched effort in the same line. A man, says the story, carried a "buck" on his back, through or from a "cleugh," and was rewarded thereupon with such lands as founded a princely fortune and family. This sort of generosity cannot readily be credited. When the heralds tried to make out such tales, in pursuit of their task of inventing armorial bearings, they cared little about leaping from one language into another, however inconsistent their doing so might be. Not finding a meaning for Dalzell (or Dalzell) in the Lowland Scottish tongue, they turned to the old Erse, and found it to signify "I dare." The motto of the family was so fixed with a legend, denoting that, when a king offered a reward for a brave act, the first Dalzell was the man who undertook it, saying, "I dare." There can be little doubt, however, that the name was a local one, taken from the Dalzell barony in Lanarkshire. Multitudes of cases of this kind might be cited, showing in all, that the kings-at-arms played most fancifully on names and traditions to please their customers, in their invention and arrangement of family bearings.

We are told that the Arms and Crest of the Mackenzies were assumed in consequence of Kenneth, the ancestor of the family, and its name-giver, having rescued the King of Scotland from an infuriated stag, which he had wounded. The creature was in what whalers call the "death-flurry," and would have destroyed the monarch, but for the intervention of Kenneth Fitzgerald, who dispatched the animal. "In gratitude for his assistance," says Stewart of Garth, "the king gave him a grant of the castle and lands of Ellan Dounan, and thus laid the foundation of the Family and Clan Mackenneth, or Mackenzie, so called from the name of their ancestor, who was an Irishman by birth. The armorial bearings are a stag's head and horns." Besides serving to explain the Mackenzie arms, this passage proves that the opinion of Garth, as true a Scottish Highlander as ever breathed, coincides with our own about the Irish origin of the founders and heads of the Clan Mackenzie. The term of CABERFAE, applied to the heads of the house, signifies, or arises from, the Stag's Head emblem in the Arms. To be "Caberfae" was no slight dignity in old days among the Gael. It was as important as the title of the "Great Cat," borne by the heads of the Sutherland family.]

ARMS. Azure, a stag's head, cabossed (or embossed), Or.

CREST. On a wreath, a mountain in flames, proper.

SUPPORTERS. Two savages, wreathed round the head and body with laurel, and holding batons, from which flames issue at top.

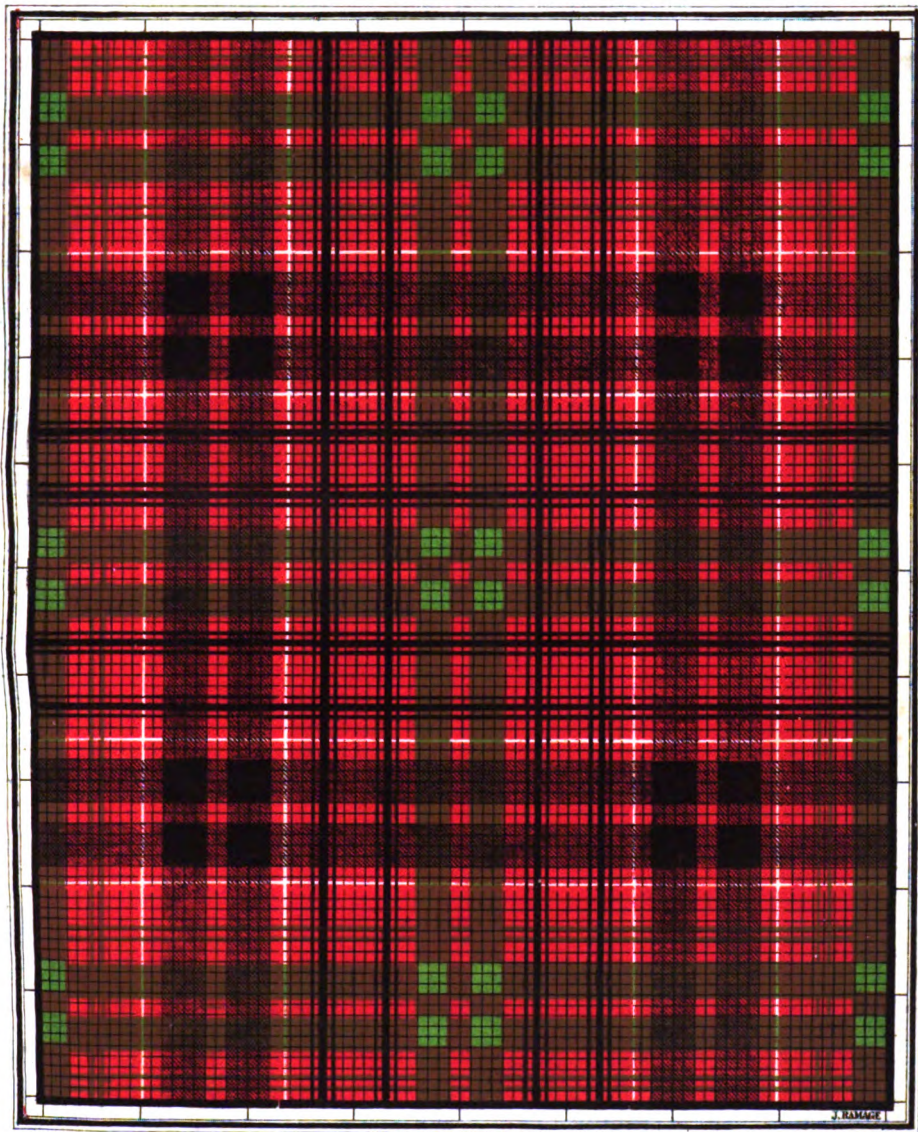
MOTTO. *Lucco, non uro* (I shine, not burn),

BADGE. Deer-grass,



CLAN MACRAE.

The Clan of the MACRAES (otherwise often set down MACREAS, and pronounced MACRAWS) is not acknowledged as a separate and distinct clan by most authorities on Highland subjects. They are usually coupled with the great tribe of the Mackenzies, as a secondary branch thereof, not deserving individual mention; and undoubtedly, for many centuries, the Macrae sept has been subordinate to the chiefs of the Seaforth house in all important points of



Clan Macrae

view. Of late, they have also received, and adopted generally, a species of Tartans corresponding nearly with the set of the Mackenzies. But, notwithstanding, we are disposed to view them as a pure branch of the Scottish Gael, and as having become a subsidiary tribe only when regal authority fixed the Fitzgerald or Celto-Irish line in Ross-shire. This remark, of course, applies only or mainly to the great body of the Macraes. They would have Mackenzie gentry set over them, no doubt, when that family gained the predominance. The period at which they assumed Tartans similar to those of the Mackenzies is not a distant one. The circumstance almost certainly occurred when the last lords of Seaforth raised men, for the military service of the country, towards the close of last century. Before that period, the Macraes had a peculiar set of Tartans of their own, and that set is the one adopted and given here, on the principle of preferring the antique standard to the new. High authority has been given to us for the set now presented as the true Macrae Tartan, and on that authority it is offered to the public.

In the case of the Macraes, it would be barely possible to give the genealogical history of any line of chiefs. Nor is it necessary. They have been followers of the house of Seaforth ever since truly authentic history commenced; and the actions of their specific heads and leaders, as well as of the general tribe, are naturally lost in the story of the predominant clan. In the very centre of Ross-shire, between the heads of Loch Broom and Loch Mare, the Macraes have long had their peculiar habitation; and, from the inland character of the locality, they have stuck more closely by their ancient site, and sent fewer offshoots into the Lowlands, than any other tribe, perhaps, in the north of Scotland. Yet the Macraes were, and still are, a pretty numerous sept. This fact was proved on a memorable occasion, namely, when the restored Earl of Seaforth raised a regiment from his estates in 1778. About a thousand men were then enlisted in Ross-shire; and the Macraes formed so large a portion of the corps that the corps became known by their name. A strange affair, now to be related, occurred at Edinburgh after their enrolment, and it was called the "Affair of the wild *Macraes*." Men, lately living, talked of it, and remembered it well. But the story merits to be told at some length.

"The title of the Affair of the Macraes was that usually given," says General Stewart of Garth, "to a memorable occurrence which took place in Edinburgh in the year 1778." Arthur's Seat, an abrupt and isolated eminence which overlooks the Scottish capital from the south-east, as even our most southerly readers may probably know, was the principal scene of the occurrence in question. In the year mentioned, this hill or height was taken possession of by a strong body of Highland soldiers, who regularly encamped upon it, and held it for several days and nights in the face of the citizens of Edinburgh, and in defiance of all authority, civil and military, in the country.

Kenneth Mackenzie, grandson of the Earl of Seaforth attainted for his share in the rebellion of 1715, having repurchased the family estates from the crown, and having been, in 1771, restored to the earldom of Seaforth, was desirous of expressing his gratitude for the favours conferred upon him by his sovereign. In the beginning of the year 1778, he offered to raise a regiment for the public service, from among his own tenantry and followers. The offer was accepted, and the Earl of Seaforth speedily had a body of fully one thousand ready for military duty, according to his promise. Five hundred of these men were from his lordship's own estates, and the remainder chiefly from the estates of Kilcoy, Applecross, and others belonging to gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, of which Lord Seaforth was the head. But though the most of this body were Mackenzies, the appellation usually given to the regiment throughout the country was that of the "Macraes," which primitive clan lived under the Seaforth family. They formed a large portion of the corps.

In the month of May, these newly levied troops assembled at Elgin, and marched for Edinburgh. On reaching their destination, they were quartered in the castle and suburbs of the city, and in the course of the month of June were formally embodied, under the denomination of the Seaforth Highlanders, or the seventy-eighth regiment of the line. A finer body of men does not seem to have often presented itself on the like occasions, for the thews and sinews of

thewhole of the band were found so unexceptionable, that not one man was rejected. For some weeks afterwards, the Seaforth Highlanders were busily engaged in learning the duties of their new vocation, until they were removed, in the month of August, from Edinburgh to Leith, preparatory to embarkation for service. But where was the *scene* of that service to be! The regiment had been but a short time in Leith, when this question came to be anxiously agitated among them. A degree of mystery seems to have been maintained on this point among the officers and military authorities. The men became suspicious, and would not believe that the Isle of Guernsey, which was spoken of as their destination, was the real quarter whither they were to be conveyed. They, and almost all of the soldiers raised in a similar way from the Highlands, had bound themselves to serve only for a limited period (commonly three years), and had made it a condition that they were not to be sent out of Britain. In fact, having usually their natural chieftains for their colonels, the regiments rather looked upon themselves as having engaged to follow their superiors temporarily to war in the old way, than as having regularly entered the service of the king and government. Hence the strong sensation that was excited among the Seaforth Highlanders when the rumour spread abroad that they were in reality destined for service in the *East Indies*—in short, that they had been expressly *sold* to the East India Company by the government and by their own officers. The endeavours of the men to ascertain the truth were far from relieving their fears, or ending satisfactorily. Indeed, the author already quoted, General Stewart of Garth, distinctly says that the regiment *was* destined for the East Indies, under the impression that these poor Highlanders were "ignorant, unable to comprehend the nature of their stipulations, and incapable of demanding redress for any breach of contract." This intended violation of compact extended also to an alteration in the amount of "pay, and allowance promised." If this unjustifiable purpose was actually entertained, as there is little reason to doubt it was, the projectors of the scheme met with a disappointment. The "wild Macraes" were not so blind or ignorant as had been imagined. Both in the matter of pay and of service they were determined not to submit to any infraction of their just rights.

The smothered displeasure broke out on the morning of Tuesday the 22d of September, when the regiment marched out to Leith Links, in order to enter the boats which were to convey them to the transports lying in the Roads. A scene of great confusion took place on the Links, which is a large field or green close by Leith, and at a short distance from the shore of the Firth of Forth. When ordered to march to the boats, the dissatisfied Highlanders refused to obey. Their officers endeavoured to soothe them, by promises of answering every just demand, and actually prevailed on about five hundred of the body to move to the sands, and embark. But the remainder, amounting to about six hundred men, were deaf to all remonstrances. Feeling the decisive moment to be come, they were resolute in demanding full satisfaction as to their intended scene of service, before they set foot on board the transports. Compulsion was impossible. The men were a powerful and determined band, amply provided with fire-arms, as well as the means of using them. After a considerable time had been spent in vain discussion, the Highlanders seemed at length to feel the necessity of placing themselves in some position where they might be able to defend themselves against other troops, if such were called against them. With this view they left the Links, and marched in regular order to Arthur's Seat, with two plaids fixed in poles instead of colours, and the pipes playing at their head. A great concourse of people attended them on the way. Having reached the hill, they ascended it, and took up their position on and around its top, in proper military order. Sentinels were placed, and every other precaution adopted that men could use, who were resolved not to move from the place until fully satisfied, or ejected by force.

It is scarcely necessary to say that this proceeding created an extraordinary sensation among the inhabitants of Edinburgh. The majority, however, of the citizens, and particularly of the poorer orders, were decidedly favourable to the Highlanders, to whom they soon began to carry provisions in abundance. The mutineers, on their part, showed an equal degree of good will towards the people of the town, and received their visits kindly and gratefully. The authorities resident in the city, civil and military, did not view the matter at all in the same light. Immediately on the occupation of Arthur's Seat by the Highlanders, Sir Adolphus Oughton, K.B., and General Skene, the officers first and second in command of the forces in Scotland, dispatched messengers to all quarters for troops. None of these arrived until the night of Tuesday had been passed by the mutineers, if they ought to be so called, on the hill,

which their hardy habits enabled them to do without discomfort, even in the end of September. On Wednesday, a large party of the eleventh regiment of dragoons, a body of two hundred men of the Buccleugh Fencibles, and four hundred of the Glasgow volunteers, arrived in the city. This force seemed sufficient to overpower the Highlanders; but, happily, the commanding officers were disposed to try pacific measures. On the Wednesday, several messages passed between the insurgents and General Skene, and ultimately that officer, accompanied by Lord Macdonald, the Earl of Dunmore, and other noblemen and gentlemen, visited the encampment, and endeavoured to reclaim the men to their duty. The Highlanders received their visitors respectfully, but remained firm in their determination not to yield until fully satisfied that all promises were to be kept with them, both as regarded pay and service. The interview ended unsatisfactorily, and the Macraes spent another night on the hill.

On Thursday, a sudden alarm spread through the city. It was rumoured that the Highlanders had made up their minds to march into the city, either with the view of passing through it, or of seizing upon some sheltered post to entrench themselves in. The dragoons and other troops, it was reported, were to be ready to oppose them. This rumour seems not to have been altogether without foundation, for the authorities issued a placard, early on the Thursday, to the following effect:—"All the inhabitants are to retire to their houses, on the first toll of the fire-bell." Further, however, than regarded the pain of seeing their peaceful streets stained with the blood of countrymen and fellow-creatures, the citizens had little reason to feel uneasiness at this reported movement of the Highlanders, for the latter felt deeply grateful on account of the supplies of food and kindness which they had received at the hands of the people of Edinburgh. But no movement of the kind anticipated took place! On Thursday, General Skene and other parties, including the Duke of Buccleugh, renewed their negotiations with the encamped Macraes, endeavouring to induce them to leave their position, and trust to having all their demands satisfied, on full examination into them. But the Highlanders would not move, without receiving some pledge, of undeniable validity, that the promises originally made to them would be fulfilled. Another night passed away, and during that interval the authorities came to the resolution of granting the demands of the insurgents. On Friday morning, a bond was drawn up containing the following conditions:—Firstly, a pardon to the Highlanders for all past offences; secondly, all levy-money and arrears due to them to be paid before embarkation; thirdly, that they should not be sent to the East Indies. This bond was signed by the Duke of Buccleugh, the Earl of Dunmore, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and General Skene.

On Friday morning, this document was taken to the encamped Macraes by the Earl of Dunmore. The men now at once gave in, and professed their willingness to leave their position, and submit to the orders that might be given to them. They then formed themselves into marching order, and, with Lord Dunmore at their head, left the hill, with the pipes playing, and a crowd of people following them. On reaching St Anne's Yards, they were met by General Skene, whom they saluted with three cheers. The general formed them into a hollow square, and read the article of the capitulation. He afterwards addressed a short speech to them, exhorting them to behave well and fulfil their duties. They then received billets, and entered into quarters in the city till their embarkation should take place.

It may surprise the reader, that all this while the officers of the regiment should not have been heard of. But, in reality, it was against these gentlemen that the Arthur's Seat insurgents were most grievously enraged, considering them as the parties who ought to have guarded the common soldiers against any deception. They even charged the officers with keeping back the pay due to them. An inquiry was made duly. The issue of this inquiry was, that the court considered no foundation to exist for complaints against the officers on the score of pay or arrears; and declared, moreover, that "the cause of the retiring to Arthur's Hill was from an idle and ill-founded report that the regiment was sold to the East India Company, and that the officers were to leave them on their being embarked on board the transports."

Lord Seaforth, the colonel of the regiment, and on the spot at the time, appears to have sided with the officers, and to have been deeply irritated at the resolute conduct of his clansmen. He had never evinced any disposition to go with the corps; but now, when the matter was settled as has been mentioned, he announced his design to accompany the regiment. On Tuesday morning, September 29, the band who had created this extraordinary disturbance,

assembled, according to orders, in front of Holyrood Palace, and, with the Earl of Seaforth and General Skene at their head, marched to Leith, where, in presence of an immense multitude, they went on board the transports with the utmost alacrity and cheerfulness. Immediately afterwards, the vessel set sail for Guernsey, which, being included among the British isles, was a place to which they might be carried without infraction of the compact made with them.

Thus ended the affair of the Macraes, which, as may be supposed from its nature, was not soon forgotten by the firesides of Edinburgh. Most unprejudiced people agree at the time in regarding it as a noble and spirited instance of resistance to injustice ; as there could be little doubt that the government had determined to send these men to the East Indies, in violation of the compact of enlistment. The encampment, therefore, of the Macraes on Arthur's Seat, is to be regarded, as on their part, an exhibition of manliness as honourable to them, as the cause of it was dishonourable to others.

The Seaforth Highlanders, or 78th foot, having satisfied themselves that they were not to be sold to the East India Company, voluntarily offered to go abroad, and on the 1st of May, 1781, embarked for the East Indies, whither their chief accompanied them. They served their country bravely in that region, and afterwards in many other quarters of the globe. Their chief died soon after they sailed from Portsmouth.

The sept of the Macraes are not without their pretensions to a separate chiefship from the Mackenzies ; but, though allowed here to have individual Tartans, and recognised as a distinct branch of the native Scottish Gael, they have never risen to such importance as to call on us for a detailed genealogical history. The admitted head of their house is, or was, we believe, Macrae of Inverinate, in Kintail, Ross-shire. Indeed, the whole tribe have always occupied the central parts of the district named. Gentlemen of good standing, belonging to the Macrae tribe, yet exist in the shires both of Ross and Inverness. Their main possessions, it would seem, fell out of their hands in precisely the same way as those of the minor septs surrounding the Campbells. The Mackenzies of Seaforth possessed a moderate amount of money in real coin. Those around them had none ; and the lands of the Macraes were lost by the granting of a wadset to Seaforth—a wadset never to be redeemed. The transaction occurred in very recent times, even so lately as at the opening of the present century. But, though the more intelligent of the family pride themselves on a separate clanship, few of them have retained even their own Tartans, as already observed. There have been various distinguished men of the sept living of late years ; and yet they scarcely appeared to know their own name rightly. The gallant Sir Robert Macara, who fell at Waterloo, was undoubtedly of this house.

It has been a subject of serious labour with us, to individualise the history of the Macraes, having given them a place among the clans of the Scottish Highlands. Even their Arms, from their complete admixture with the Mackenzies, can perhaps be given but imperfectly. By the best information procurable, however, the following may be taken as the correct form. The first part is what honest Nisbet calls the ARMS of the "Macrachs." The Crest and Badge are taken from other sources.

Argent, a fess between three mullets in chief, and a lion rampant in base, gules.

CREST. An arm, holding a sword.

BADGE. Fir-club moss.

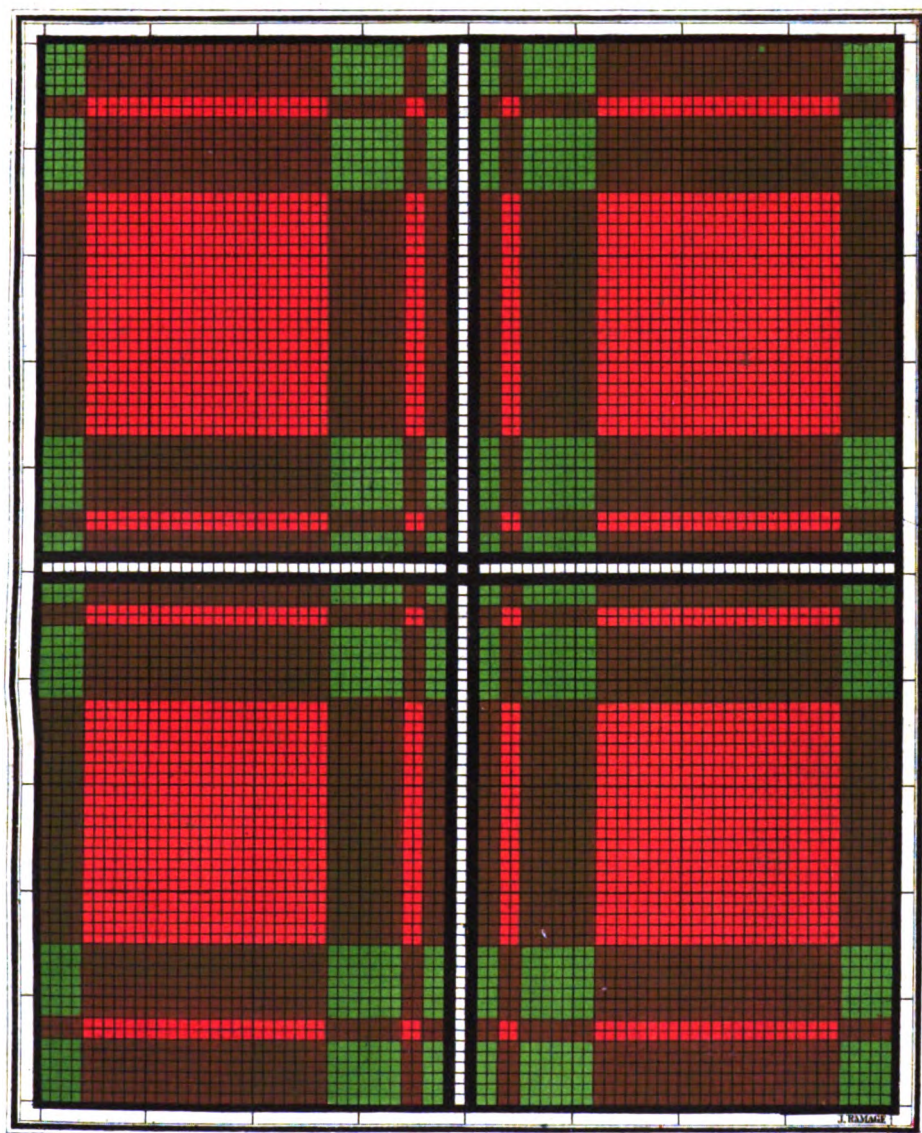
MOTTO. *Fortitudine* (with, or by, fortitude).



CLAN MACGREGOR.

All men admit the CLAN MACGREGOR to be the purest branch of the ancient Gael of Scotland now in existence—true descendants, in short, of the native Celtic stock of the country, and unmixed by blood with immigrants either of

XXV



Clan Macgregor

their own or any other race. About this point there is no dispute; and the name of Clan Alpine, commonly adopted by themselves for centuries, would almost alone suffice to prove their descent from the Albiones, the first known inhabitants of Scotland. The inland position which they have ever held seems to have mainly tended to preserve this offshoot of the old Albionian or Alpinian race in all its primitive purity. Their original seat, when they became first historically distinguished as a separate sept, was chiefly in Argyleshire and Perthshire, or on the several borders of the two counties. In this position they were just far enough in the interior to be prevented from uniting with the Celto-Irish visitants, and far enough to the north to mix little with the Saxon settlers of the Lowlands. But this locality was the most dangerous which fate could have assigned to the Macgregors, and so the issue proved. Those predatory habits, which appear to have been but too natural to the untutored Gael of early days, found a peculiarly free vent by their vicinity to the Lowland plains, well cultivated as these were, and full of goodly cattle; but the same circumstances exposed them doubly to the vengeance of the settled authorities of the south. The temptations of their situation led them into mischief, and at the same time rendered them objects of retribution and punishment to an extent unknown in the annals of any other Highland tribe. Yet, in spite of the sufferings (sometimes most cruel ones) which they drew upon themselves, the Macgregors were among the last to give up the wild habits of their people. The name of Rob Roy need but to be mentioned to establish the truth of this statement. But our account of the Macgregors must be commenced more regularly.

The common story is, that the clan sprung from a certain Gregorius, or Gregory, of the race of Alpine, or of his son Kenneth Macalpine, the proper founder of the permanent Scottish monarchy. The only prince named Gregory in history, however, died unmarried; and hence the claim of the Macgregors to a regal ancestry has been doubted, notwithstanding the proud vaunt of their certainly ancient motto, "My race is royal." The probability is, in our humble opinion, that the name of Clan Alpine proves their descent, not perhaps from a particular monarch entitled Alpine, but from the same Alpinian race to which he belonged, and which gave to him his designation. As to the name of Macgregor, the point seems to be one which it is impossible now to clear up satisfactorily. Very likely it is, that the first Gregory or Gregor may have been connected with the throne, and obtained rule over a body of the Gael, to whom he left his name. In regard to the general origin of this once numerous clan, we incline to agree with Mr Skene, who views them as a branch of the Ross-shire Gael—that is, as we understand the matter, a branch of the native Gael of the inland parts of the north of Scotland. The MS. of 1450 confirms this conclusion.

The lands of Glenorchy seem to have been held at a very early period by the Macgregors, since all their traditions at least speak of a Hugh of Glenorchy as a prominent ancestor of the family. The Lowland power transferred the legal right to these lands, however, to the Campbells, so early as in the fourteenth century. The Macgregors continued to be the chief occupants, nevertheless, for a long period afterwards. Indeed, the story of the gradual fall of the clan is an interesting one, and merits to be told in detail, since it shows how many other septs, besides theirs, fell before the Campbells, and other great barons, on the Highland borders. While the strong arm constituted the sole title to property, the Macgregors managed matters as well as their neighbours, but when property became secured generally by legal and regal title-deeds, this retired clan were placed at a terrible disadvantage. If not worse than others before, they became so by the attempts made, through court-grants, to oust them from their possessions. They resisted bravely, and every such case of resistance became a new crime. Driven from their homes, they were turned into true "Children of the Mist." Their hand was raised against every man, and every man's against them. In brief, at a very early period, they became

a lawless and broken clan—partly, it may be believed, through their own wild acts of rapine, but largely, also, through the severities inflicted on them.

This state of things commenced at a very early period. In the reign of Queen Mary, two acts of the Privy Council, dated from Stirling in 1563, gave authority to Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, and other powerful nobles and barons, to pursue the Macgregors with fire and sword; a commission which the parties concerned fulfilled, no doubt, to the utmost of their ability. But the Macgregors were not a people to be safely or easily suppressed. Oppression had made them all that their enemies had at first doubtfully called them. Robbed of the best portions of their property, they still retained fastnesses, that could yield them shelter but not food, more especially as their hunted mode of life prevented them from drawing sustenance in a regular way from the earth. Hence they were compelled to depend in a great measure on predatory forays for the very means of living. Their temper, too, had become embittered, and their passions eager and vehement, so that they were too easily roused to the commission of acts of violence and cruelty, which furnished new and successive pleas for the entailment of further miseries on themselves. In the year 1589, a body of the Macgregors seized and murdered John Drummond of Drummondernoch, a forester of the royal forest of Glenartney. The circumstances attending this crime were peculiarly horrible. Placing the head of the victim before them, the clan swore upon it that they would avow and defend the deed in common. Letters of fire and sword for the space of three years were issued anew against the Macgregors, and all men, according to the usual tenor of such documents, were forbidden to entertain or assist any of the sept, or to give them, under any plea whatsoever, either a mouthful of food or a scrap of clothing. Under these terrible denunciations, the Macgregors were only saved by their impregnable fastnesses from utter extinction.

The tale of the victory of the Macgregors over the Colquhouns at Glenfruin has already been told. It gives a sad picture of the times, and also shows how fearful were the Macgregors in battle, since they slew above two hundred foes, and lost very few of their own party. The chief, called Dugald Ciar Mhor, ancestor of Rob Roy, was eminently noted on this occasion, and, unhappily, for his ferocity as well as courage. But the whole tale may be found in the story of the Colquhouns.

Only one man of note on the side of the Clan Alpine was slain in the vale of Glenfruin. This was the brother of Macgregor of Glenstrae, whose death-scene is yet marked by a stone, called the Grey Stone of Macgregor. But although the battle was to them almost bloodless, it entailed dire misery otherwise upon the race. Eleven score women, widows of those slain in the engagement on the side of the Colquhouns, attired themselves in deep mourning, and, mounted on white palfreys, appeared before the king, James VI., at Stirling, and demanded vengeance on the heads of the Macgregors. To make the deeper impression on those to whom this supplication was made, each of the petitioners bore on a spear her husband's bloody shirt. Such a spectacle was well calculated to affect the reigning king, who had always shown a heart specially accessible to sights of fear and sorrow. The consequence was, that measures of extreme severity were resorted to for the punishment of the Macgregors, in whose favour no man was found to lift up his voice. By a Privy Council act, of date 1603 (the year following the battle), the very name of Macgregor was abolished, a proceeding which has no parallel in the annals of the country. All those who bore that name were commanded, on pain of death, to adopt other surnames, and all who had been concerned in the battle of Glenfruin and other marauding excursions detailed in the act, were forbidden, under the same penalty, to carry any weapon but a pointless knife to eat their victuals. Death was also denounced against any of the race who should meet in greater numbers than four at a time. From time to time, acts of this kind were issued, keeping up the ban against the unfortunate race of Alpine.

The execution of these statutes was assigned to the Earls of Argyle and Athol and their followers, whose territories almost surrounded those of the

doomed sept. The Marquis of Huntly also assisted in the fulfilment of the acts against the Macgregors. Stubbornly did the clan resist for a time the enemies by whom they were now hemmed in, but at length their chief, Allaster Macgregor of Glenstrae, saw the necessity of bending before the storm. He surrendered, with some of his principal followers, to Argyle, upon the previously stipulated condition of being allowed to leave the country. The chieftain of Clan Alpine was wretchedly betrayed. The promise made to him was kept to the ear, but broken to the sense. He was sent "out of the country"—that is to say, he was sent under a guard across the English border, but he was immediately brought back again to Edinburgh, and thrown into confinement. On the 20th of January, 1604, he was tried, and condemned to death. The sentence was soon after carried into execution at the Cross of Edinburgh, where several of his chief followers suffered with him. To mark his rank, the chief of Glenstrae was suspended from a higher gallows than that allotted to his friends. Before his death, the chieftain made a confession, which is still extant, and which presents a terrible picture of the life "of sturt and strife" led by the race of Macgregor, from the number of feuds in which the chieftain owns to having borne a part.

Though the Macgregors, out of necessity, submitted ostensibly to the edict commanding them to take other names, they nevertheless held firm hold of the fastnesses which they had formerly occupied, and which no exertions could expel them from. While known, as their situation might render convenient, by the names of Campbell, Drummond, Graham, or Stewart, they still retained their individuality as a clan in all but the name. They forayed in unison as formerly, and menaced with the general vengeance all who might injure one of their nameless race. They therefore remained much in the same odour as previously, and Charles I. thought proper to renew all the statutes enacted against them by his father.

"Yet," says Sir Walter Scott, "notwithstanding the extreme severities of James VI. and Charles I. against this unfortunate people, who were rendered furious by proscription, and then punished for yielding to the passions which had been wilfully irritated, the Macgregors to a man attached themselves during the civil war to the cause of the latter monarch." This kept the sore-vexed clan still in a mesh of troubles for a long period, but they in some measure got their reward at the Restoration. Charles II., in the first Scottish parliament after his ascension of the throne, annulled the various statutes against them, gave them once more a name, and re-installed them in all the ordinary privileges of liege subjects, expressly on account of the distinguished loyalty which they had shown.

Without any very well understood cause, or even plea of renewed violence and lawlessness, William III. recalled into force all the original statutes, making the clan once more "nameless and landless" in the eye of the law. But things were more peaceful generally throughout the country, and, excepting when the clan was raised into an unfortunate notoriety by the acts of Roy Roy, who was born about the times of the Revolution, the clan of Macgregor seems to have been but little disturbed in consequence of their unhappy prominence in the statute-book. The history of the race from this time forth, excepting as far as regards the renowned freebooter just alluded to, presents no particular events worthy of notice. Up to the very close of the eighteenth century, the Macgregors were legally a nameless clan, in as far as the penal acts against them still held a place in the statute-book, though, *practically*, the law recognised the name, and none of the penal statutes were ever enforced. The British parliament finally abolished all these traces of ancient barbarity. As soon as this boon was conferred on them, the Macgregors showed remaining tokens of a strong feeling of clanship, by acknowledging a head and chief. Eight hundred and twenty-six persons of the name of Macgregor subscribed a deed, admitting John Murray of Lanrick, Esq., afterwards Sir John Macgregor, Bart., as lawfully descended of the house of Glenstrae, and the proper and true chieftain of Clan Alpine.

Since this period, the race of Macgregor have bravely served their country by field and flood, and have enjoyed all civic privileges. The present chieftain is Sir John Murray Macgregor of Lanric and Macgregor, Bart.

We have now to trace the connections of the Macgregor house, and to notice the acts of some eminent members descended therefrom collaterally. Buchanan of Auchmar agrees in the belief that they all sprung from a family seated in Glenorchy, in the time, he says, of Malcolm III., or in the eleventh century. How they lost that estate he cannot distinctly tell; but we have already, as our readers may have noted, ascribed the circumstance to the power of the Campbells at court, and their usefulness to the Lowland kings generally. The beginning of their downfall seems to have occurred in the days of the Bruce and Baliol controversies, when, as Buchanan says, "they might be induced or obliged, being so near neighbours, to join Macdougall, Lord of Lorn, against King Robert Bruce." The conjecture is the most rational one that could or can be made. Intermarrying with the Bruces, the Argyle Campbells were likely to get any grants for which they asked, both out of favour and to maintain the royal authority in the west. So parted not only Glenorchy from the Macgregors, but also many other districts. Glenlyon was among these, a region made but too memorable as held by a Campbell in the days of William III. He led the men who acted the bloody tragedy of Glencoe. The lands remaining in the possession of the Macgregors at the commencement of the eighteenth century are alluded to by Buchanan, already so often quoted. The main or direct male line of the chiefs, he says, became extinct in the time of King William III., and the representation of the line fell, by "a formal renunciation of the chiefship," into the branch of Glengyle. The words of the writer named are:—"This surname is now divided into four principal families. The first is that of the Laird of Macgregor, being in a manner extinct, there being few or none of any account of the same. The next family to that of the Macgregor is Dugal Keir's (Dougal Ciar's) family, so named from their ancestor, a son of the Laird of Macgregor; the principal person of that family is Macgregor of Glengyle." Buchanan then mentions the Macgregors of "Rora and Brackley," as the next in the line of connection with the chiefship. He also distinctly names the Mackinnons of Skye as being of this race, besides certain Macaras, Macleisters, and Macchoiters, septs of lesser note. To the Mackinnons we shall have occasion to allude fully in due time.

This statement made by Auchmar refers, it will be observed, to the very commencement of the eighteenth century. At that period there lived (though the fact is not stated by him) a Macgregor of the Glengyle line, who has done more to render the name memorable than any other by whom it was ever borne—namely, Robert Macgregor, otherwise better known as **Rob Roy** (Red Rob). This man formed an admirable specimen of the class and race to which he belonged. With talents which might have made him a great general, valuable to his country, under fitting circumstances, he passed his life as a freebooter on the pettiest scale. The Lowland government had grown in his time so strong that extensive forays there could neither with safety be attempted nor effected. Rob Roy, therefore, was under the necessity of sustaining his "following," partly by minor *creaghs*, and partly by taking "black mail" from the quiet southern men in his vicinity, in return for saving them from the less scrupulous occupants of the interior Highlands. Much of good and much of evil has been told of Rob Roy. From the pages of General Stewart of Garth, Sir Walter Scott, and others, a few of these anecdotes will be here selected.

Rob Roy Macgregor Campbell, which last name he took when his own was by law proscribed, was a younger son of Macgregor of Glengyle, and became tutor to his nephew, the head of that branch, and claimant, indeed, of the chiefship of the clan. It may detract in southron eyes from the romance of the man's life to state that he was a drover in early life—a master-drover, however—who purchased or bred the small cattle of the Highland hills, and carried them for sale to the south. But the Duke of Montrose condescended to be a dealer in the same line; and hence arose all the calamities of Rob Roy. Whether

truly or falsely, he was charged by the duke, and others who employed him, with appropriating sums of money which fell into his hands in his trading or agent capacity. They prosecuted and persecuted him accordingly, and he became a "broken man." Another strong cause for the change has also been assigned. His patrimonial designation was that of Laird of Inversnaid, but he also possessed a property called Craig-Royston, which lies on the northern angle of Loch-Lomond. In his absence, his house was visited by the messengers of the law, and his wife (a daughter of the house of Campbell of Glenfalloch, heirs of Breadalbane) is commonly said to have been most infamously abused. She was a high-spirited woman, and made her husband, or tended mainly to make him, the outlaw he became. These things occurred about the year 1712.

We have thus briefly related the early incidents of the life of Rob Roy, because his later career was by no means so quiet and honourable, and it is only justice to tell all. The Duke of Montrose, in consequence of the cattle-speculation mentioned, got possession finally of the lands of Craig-Royston, belonging to Rob Roy.

"Determined that his grace should not enjoy his lands with impunity, he collected a band of about twenty followers, declared open war against him, and gave up his old course of regular droving, declaring that the estate of Montrose should in future supply him with cattle, and that he would make the duke rue the day he quarrelled with him. He kept his word; and for nearly thirty years—that is, till the day of his death—regularly levied contributions on the duke and his tenants, not by nightly depredations, but in broad day, and in a systematic manner: on an appointed time making a complete sweep of all the cattle of a district—always passing over those not belonging to the duke's estate, or the estates of his friends and adherents; and having previously given notice where he was to be on a certain day with his cattle, he was met there by people from all parts of the country, to whom he sold them publicly. These meetings, or trystes, as they were called, were held in different parts of the country; sometimes the cattle were driven south, but oftener to the north and west, where the influence of his friend the Duke of Argyle protected him.

"When the cattle were in this manner driven away, the tenants paid no rent, so that the duke was the ultimate sufferer. But he was made to suffer in every way. The rents of the lower farms were partly paid in grain and meal, which was generally lodged in a storehouse or granary called a *giral*, near the Loch of Monteath. When Macgregor wanted a supply of meal, he sent notice to a certain number of the duke's tenants to meet him at the giral on a certain day, with their horses to carry home his meal. They met accordingly, when he ordered the horses to be loaded, and, giving a regular receipt to his grace's storekeeper for the quantity taken, he marched away, always entertaining the people very handsomely, and careful never to take the meal till it had been lodged in the duke's storehouse in payment of rent. When the money rents were paid, Macgregor frequently attended. On one occasion, when Mr Graham of Killearn (the factor) had collected the tenants to pay their rents, all Rob Roy's men happened to be absent except Alexander Stewart (called 'the bailie'). With this single attendant he descended to Chapellairloch, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and, looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money which he had received, and was in the act of depositing it in a press or cupboard, at the same time saying that he would cheerfully give all in the bag for Rob Roy's head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders in a loud voice to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right and a pistol in his left hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he desired them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn, whom he ordered to hand down the bag and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying that he received the money from the Duke of Montrose's agent, as the duke's property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made on them on account of this transaction; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, 'to show his grace,' said he, 'that it is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him.' After the whole was concluded, he ordered supper, saying that, as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill; and after they had drunk heartily together for several hours, he called his bailie to produce his dirk and lay it naked on the table. Killearn was then sworn that he would not move, nor direct any one else to move, from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him—'If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world, and in this,' pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired.

"These instances of his address struck terror into the minds of the troops, whom he often defeated and out-generated. One of these instances occurred in Breadalbane, when an officer and forty chosen men were sent out after him. The party crossed through Glenfalloch to

Tynedrum, and Macgregor, who had full information of all their movements, was, with a party, in the immediate neighbourhood. He put himself in the disguise of a beggar, with a bag of meal hung on his back (in those days alms were always bestowed in produce), went to the inn at Tynedrum where the party was quartered, walked into the kitchen with great seeming indifference, and sat down among the soldiers. They soon found the beggar a lively, sarcastic fellow, when they began to attempt some practical jokes upon him. He pretended to be very angry, and threatened to inform Rob Roy, who would quickly show them they were not to give, with impunity, such usage to a poor and harmless person. He was immediately asked what he knew of Rob Roy, and if he could tell where he was. On his answering that he knew him well, and where he was, the serjeant informed the officer, who immediately sent for him.

"After some conversation the beggar consented to accompany them to Criarlairich, a few miles distant, where he said Rob Roy and his men were, and that he believed their arms were lodged in one house, while they were sitting in another. He added, that Rob Roy was very friendly and sometimes joked with him, and put him at the head of his table; and, 'when it is dark,' said he, 'I will go forward, you will follow in half an hour, and, when near the house, rush on, place your men at the back of the house, ready to seize on the arms of the Highlanders, while you shall go round to the front with the serjeant and two men, walk in, and call out that the whole are your prisoners; and don't be surprised although you see me at the head of the company.' As they marched on, they had to pass a rapid stream at Dalrie, a spot celebrated on account of the defeat of Robert Bruce, by Macdougall of Lorn, in the year 1304. Here the soldiers asked their merry friend the beggar to carry them through on his back. This he did, sometimes taking two at a time till he took the whole over, demanding a penny from each for his trouble. When it was dark they pushed on (the beggar having gone before), the officer following the directions of his guide, and darting into the house with the serjeant and three soldiers. They had hardly time to look to the end of the table where they saw the beggar standing, when the door was shut behind them, and they were instantly pinioned, two men standing on each side, holding pistols to their ears, and declaring that they were dead men if they uttered a word. The beggar then went out and called in two more men, who were instantly secured, and so on, in the same manner with the whole party. Having been disarmed, they were placed under a strong guard till morning, when he gave them a plentiful breakfast, and released them on parole (the bailie attending with his dirk, over which the officer gave his parole), to return immediately to their garrison, without attempting anything more at this time. This promise Rob Roy made secure, by keeping their arms and ammunition as lawful prize of war.

"Sometime after this, the same officer was again sent after this noted character, probably to retrieve his former mishap. In this expedition he was more fortunate, for he took two of the freebooters prisoners in the higher parts of Breadalbane, near the scene of the former exploit, but the conclusion was nearly similar. He lost no time in proceeding in the direction of Perth, for the purpose of putting his prisoners in jail, but Rob Roy was equally alert in pursuit. His men marched in a parallel line with the soldiers, who kept along the bottom of the valley on the south side of Loch Tay, while the others kept close up the side of the hill, anxiously looking for an opportunity to dash down and rescue their comrades, if they saw any remissness or want of attention on the part of the soldiers. Nothing of this kind offered, and the party had passed Tay Bridge, near which they halted and slept. Macgregor now saw that something must soon be done or never, as they would speedily gain the low country and be out of his reach. In the course of the night he procured a number of goat-skins and cords, with which he dressed himself and his party in the wildest manner possible, and, pushing forward before daylight, took post near the road-side, in a thick wood below Grandtully Castle. When the soldiers came in a line with the party in ambush, the Highlanders, with one leap, darted down upon them, uttering such yells and shouts, as, along with their frightful appearance, so confounded the soldiers, that they were overpowered and disarmed without a man being hurt on either side. Rob Roy kept the arms and ammunition, released the soldiers, and marched away in triumph with his rescued men."

Sir Walter Scott thus speaks of Rob Roy:—

"His ideas of morality were those of an Arab chief, being such as naturally arose out of his wild education. Supposing Rob Roy to have argued on the tendency of the life which he pursued, whether from choice or necessity, he would doubtless have assumed to himself the character of a brave man, who, deprived of his natural rights by the partiality of laws, endeavoured to assert them by the strong hand of natural power; and he is most felicitously described as reasoning thus, in the high-toned poetry of my gifted friend Wordsworth—

Say, then, that he was wise as brave,
As wise in thought as bold in deed;
For in the principles of things
He sought his moral creed.

Said generous Rob, 'What need of books I
Burn all the statutes and their shelves I
They stir us up against our kind,
And worse, against ourselves.

We have a passion, make a law,
Too false to guide us or control ;
And for the law itself we fight
In bitterness of soul.

And puzzled, blinded, then we lose
Distinctions that are plain and few ;
These find I graven on my heart,
That tells me what to do.

The creatures see of flood and field,
And those that travel on the wind,
With them no strife can last ; they live
In peace, and peace of mind.

For why ? Because the good old rule
Sufficeth them—the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.

A lesson which is quickly learn'd,
A signal through which all can see ;
Thus, nothing here provokes the strong
To wanton cruelty.

And freakishness of mind is check'd,
He tamed who foolishly aspires,
While to the measure of his might
Each fashions his desires.

All kinds and creatures stand and fall
By strength of prowess or of wit ;
'Tis God's appointment who must sway,
And who is to submit.

' Since then,' said Robin, ' right is plain,
And longest life is but a day,
To have my ends, maintain my rights,
I'll take the shortest way.'

And thus amongst these rocks he lived,
Through summer's heat and winter's snow :
The eagle, he was lord above,
And Rob was lord below.

We are not, however, to suppose the character of this distinguished outlaw to be that of an actual hero, acting uniformly and consistently on such moral principles as the illustrious bard who, standing by his grave, has vindicated his fame. On the contrary, as is common with barbarous chiefs, Rob Roy appears to have mixed his professions of principle with a large alloy of craft and dissimulation, of which his conduct during the civil war is sufficient proof. It is also said, and truly, that although his courtesy was one of his strongest characteristics, yet sometimes he assumed an arrogance of manner which was not easily endured by the high-spirited men to whom it was addressed, and drew the daring outlaw into frequent disputes, from which he did not always come off with credit. From this it has been inferred, that Rob Roy was more of a bully than a hero, or at least that he had, according to the common phrase, his fighting days. Some aged men, who knew him well, have described him also as better at a *taich-tulzie*, or scuffle within doors, than in mortal combat. The tenor of his life may be quoted to repel this charge ; while, at the same time, it must be allowed, that the situation in which he was placed rendered him prudently averse to maintaining quarrels, where nothing was to be had save blows, and where success would have raised up against him new and powerful enemies, in a country where revenge was still considered as a duty rather than a crime. The power of commanding his passions, on such occasions, far from being inconsistent with the part which Macgregor had to perform, was essentially necessary, at the period when he lived, to prevent his career from being cut short.

I may here mention one or two occasions on which Rob Roy appears to have given way in the manner alluded to. My late venerable friend, John Ramsay of Ochertyre, alike eminent as a classical scholar and as an authentic register of the ancient history and manners of Scotland, informed me, that on occasion of a public meeting at a bonfire in the town of Doune, Rob Roy gave some offence to James Edmondstone of Newton, the same gentleman who was unfortunately concerned in the slaughter of Lord Roilo (see MacLaurin's Criminal Tales, No.

IX.), when Edmondstone compelled Macgregor to quit the town on pain of being thrown by him into the bonfire. 'I broke one of your ribs on a former occasion,' said he, 'and now, Rob, if you provoke me farther, I will break your neck.' But it must be remembered that Edmondstone was a man of consequence in the Jacobite party, as he carried the royal standard of James VII. at the battle of Sherrifmuir, and also that he was near the door of his own mansion house, and probably surrounded by his friends and adherents. Rob Roy, however, suffered in reputation for retiring under such a threat.

Another well-vouched case is that of Cunningham of Boquhan. Henry Cunningham, Esq. of Boquhan, was a gentleman of Stirlingshire, who, like many *exquisites* of our own time, united a natural high spirit and daring character with an affectation of delicacy of address and manners amounting to foppery. He chanced to be in company with Rob Roy, who, either in contempt of Boquhan's supposed effeminacy, or because he thought him a safe person to fix a quarrel on (a point which Rob's enemies alleged he was wont to consider), insulted him so grossly that a challenge passed between them. The goodwife of the clachan had hidden Cunningham's sword, and, while he rummaged the house in quest of his own or some other, Rob Roy went to the Shieling Hill, the appointed place of combat, and paraded there with great majesty, waiting for his antagonist. In the meantime, Cunningham had rummaged out an old sword, and, entering the ground of contest in all haste, rushed on the outlaw with such unexpected fury that he fairly drove him off the field, nor did he show himself in the village again for some time. Mr Macgregor Stirling has a softened account of this anecdote in his new edition of *Nimmo's Stirlingshire*; still he records Rob Roy's discomfiture.

Occasionally Rob Roy suffered disasters, and incurred great personal danger. On one remarkable occasion he was saved by the coolness of his lieutenant, Macanaleister, or Fletcher, the *Little John* of his band—a fine active fellow, of course, and celebrated as a marksman. It happened that Macgregor and his party had been surprised and dispersed by a superior force of horse and foot, and the word was given to 'split and squander.' Each shifted for himself, but a bold dragoon attached himself to pursuit of Rob, and, overtaking him, struck at him with his broadsword. A plate of iron in his bonnet saved the Macgregor from being cut down to the teeth; but the blow was heavy enough to bear him to the ground, crying, as he fell, 'O, Macanaleister, is there naething in her!' (i. e. in the gun.) The trooper, at the same time, exclaiming, 'D—n ye, your mother never wrought your night-cap!' had his arm raised for a second blow, when Macanaleister fired, and the ball pierced the dragoon's heart.

Such as he was, Rob Roy's progress in his occupation is thus described by a gentleman of sense and talent, who resided within the circle of his predatory wars, had probably felt their effects, and speaks of them, as might be expected, with little of the forbearance with which, from their peculiar and romantic character, they are now regarded.

'This man (Rob Roy Macgregor) was a person of sagacity, and neither wanted stratagem nor address; and, having abandoned himself to all licentiousness, set himself at the head of all the loose, vagrant, and desperate people of that clan, in the west end of Perth and Stirlingshires, and infested those whole countries with thefts, robberies, and depredations. Very few who lived within his reach (that is, within the distance of a nocturnal expedition) could promise to themselves security, either for their persons or effects, without subjecting themselves to pay him a heavy and shameful tax of *blackmail*. He at last proceeded to such a degree of audaciousness, that he committed robberies, raised contributions, and resented quarrels, at the head of a very considerable body of armed men, in open day, and in the face of the Government.'

The extent and success of these depredations cannot be surprising, when we consider that the scene of them was laid in a country where the general law was neither enforced nor respected. Having recorded that the general habit of cattle-stealing had blinded even those of the better classes to the infamy of the practice, and that as men's property consisted entirely in herds, it was rendered in the highest degree precarious, Mr Grahame adds—'On these accounts there is no culture of ground, no improvement of pastures, and, from the same reasons, no manufactures, no trade; in short, no industry. The people are extremely prolific, and therefore so numerous, that there is not business in that country, according to its present order and economy, for the one half of them. Every place is full of idle people, accustomed to arms, and lazy in everything but rapines and depredations. As *buddel* or *aquarite* houses are to be found everywhere through the country, so in these they saunter away their time, and frequently consume there the returns of their illegal purchases. Here the laws have never been executed, nor the authority of the magistrate ever established. Here the officer of the law neither dare nor can execute his duty, and several places are about thirty miles from lawful persons. In short, here is no order, no authority, no government.'

The period of the Rebellion, 1715, approached soon after Rob Roy had attained celebrity. His Jacobite partialities were now placed in opposition to his sense of the obligations which he owed to the indirect protection of the Duke of Argyle. But the desire of 'drowning his sounding steps amid the din of general war,' induced him to join the forces of the Earl of Mar, although his patron, the Duke of Argyle, was at the head of the army opposed to the Highland insurgents.

The Macgregors, a large sept of them at least, that of Ciar Mohr, on this occasion, were not commanded by Rob Roy, but by his nephew already mentioned, Gregor Macgregor, otherwise called James Grahame of Glengyle, and still better remembered by the Gaelic epithet of *Ghlune Dhu*, i. e. Black Knee, from a black spot on one of his knees, which his Highland garb

rendered visible. There can be no question, however, that being then very young, Glengyle must have acted on most occasions by the advice and direction of so experienced a leader as his uncle.

The Macgregors assembled in numbers at that period, and began even to threaten the Lowlands towards the lower extremity of Loch Lomond. They suddenly seized all the boats which were upon the lake, and, probably with a view to some enterprise of their own, drew them overland to Inversnaid, in order to intercept the progress of a large body of west-country whigs who were in arms for the Government, and moving in that direction.

The whigs made an excursion for the recovery of the boats. Their forces consisted of volunteers from Paisley, Kilpatrick, and elsewhere, who, with the assistance of a body of seamen, were towed up the river Leven in long-boats belonging to the ships of war then lying in the Clyde. At Luss they were joined by the forces of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, and James Grant, his son-in-law, with their followers, attired in the Highland dress of the period, which is picturesquely described. The whole party crossed to Craig-Royston, but the Macgregors did not offer combat. If we were to believe the account of the expedition given by the historian Rae, they leaped on shore at Craig-Royston with the utmost intrepidity, no enemy appearing to oppose them, and, by the noise of their drums, which they beat incessantly, and the discharge of their artillery and small arms, terrified the Macgregors, whom they appear never to have seen, out of their fastnesses, and caused them to fly in a panic to the general camp of the Highlanders at Strath Fillan. The low-country men succeeded in getting possession of the boats, at a great expenditure of noise and courage, and little risk of danger.

After this temporary removal from his old haunts, Rob Roy was sent by the Earl of Mar to Aberdeen, to raise, it is believed, a part of the Clan Gregor, which is settled in that country. These men were of his own family (the race of the Ciar Mohr). They were the descendants of about three hundred Macgregors whom the Earl of Murray, about the year 1624, transported from his estates in Monteith to oppose against his enemies the Macintoshes, a race as hardy and restless as they were themselves.

We have already stated that Rob Roy's conduct during the insurrection of 1715 was very equivocal. His person and followers were in the Highland army, but his heart seems to have been with the Duke of Argyle's. Yet the insurgents were constrained to trust to him as their only guide, when they marched from Perth towards Dumblane, with the view of crossing the Forth at what are called the Fords of Frew, and when they themselves said he could not be relied upon.

This movement to the westward, on the part of the insurgents, brought on the battle of Sherrifmuir—indecisive, indeed, in its immediate results, but of which the Duke of Argyle reaped the whole advantage. In this action, it will be recollected that the right wing of the Highlanders broke and cut to pieces Argyle's left wing, while the clans on the left of Mar's army, though consisting of Stewarts, Mackenzies, and Camerons, were completely routed. During this medley of flight and pursuit, Rob Roy retained his station on a hill in the centre of the Highland position; and though it is said his attack might have decided the day, he could not be prevailed upon to charge. This was the more unfortunate for the insurgents, as the leading of a party of the Macphersons had been committed to Macgregor. This, it is said, was owing to the age and infirmity of the chief of that name, who, unable to lead his clan in person, objected to his heir-apparent, Macpherson of Nord, discharging his duty on that occasion; so that the tribe, or a part of them, were brigaded with their allies the Macgregors. While the favourable moment for action was gliding away unemployed, Mar's positive orders reached Rob Roy that he should presently attack. To which he coolly replied, 'No, no! if they cannot do it without me, they cannot do it with me.' One of the Macphersons, named Alexander, one of Rob's original profession, *videlicet* a drover, but a man of great strength and spirit, was so incensed at the inactivity of his temporary leader, that he threw off his plaid, drew his sword, and called out to his clansmen, 'Let us endure this no longer! if he will not lead you, I will.' Rob Roy replied, with great coolness, 'Were the question about driving Highland stots or kyloes, Sandie, I would yield to your superior skill; but as it respects the leading of men, I must be allowed to be the better judge.'—'Did the matter respect driving Glen-Eigas stots,' answered the Macpherson, 'the question with Rob would not be, which was to be last, but which was to be foremost.' Incensed at this sarcasm, Macgregor drew his sword, and they would have fought upon the spot if their friends on both sides had not interfered. But the moment of attack was completely lost. Rob did not, however, neglect his own private interest on the occasion. In the confusion of an undecided field of battle, he enriched his followers by plundering the baggage and the dead on both sides.

The fine old satirical ballad on the battle of Sherrifmuir does not forget to stigmatise our hero's conduct on this memorable occasion:—

'Rob Roy he stood watch
On a hill for to catch
The booty, for aught that I saw, man;
For he ne'er advanced
From the place where he stanced,
Till nae mair was to do there at a', man.'

Notwithstanding the sort of neutrality which Rob Roy had continued to observe during the

progress of the Rebellion, he did not escape some of its penalties. He was included in the act of attainder, and the house in Breadalbane, which was his place of retreat, was burned by General Lord Cadogan, when, after the conclusion of the insurrection, he marched through the Highlands to disarm and punish the offending clans. But upon going to Inverary with about forty or fifty of his followers, Rob obtained favour, by an apparent surrender of their arms to Colonel Patrick Campbell of Finnah, who furnished them and their leader with protections under his hand. Being thus in a great measure secured from the resentment of Government, Rob Roy established his residence at Craig-Royston, near Loch Lomond, in the midst of his own kinsmen, and lost no time in resuming his private quarrel with the Duke of Montrose. For this purpose, he soon got on foot as many men, and well armed too, as he had yet commanded. He never stirred without a body-guard of ten or twelve picked followers, and without much effort could increase them to fifty or sixty.

This was probably one of Rob Roy's last exploits in arms. The time of his death is not known with certainty, but he is generally said to have survived 1738, and to have died an aged man. When he found himself approaching his final change, he expressed some contrition for particular parts of his life. His wife laughed at these scruples of conscience, and exhorted him to die like a man, as he had lived. In reply, he rebuked her for her violent passions, and the counsels she had given him. 'You have put strife,' he said, 'betwixt me and the best men of the country, and now you would place enmity between me and my God.'

There is a tradition, no way inconsistent with the former, if the character of Rob Roy be justly considered, that, while on his deathbed, he learned that a person, with whom he was at enmity, proposed to visit him. 'Raise me from my bed,' said the invalid; 'throw my plaid around me, and bring me my claymore, dirk, and pistols—it shall never be said that a foeman saw Rob Roy Macgregor defenceless and unarmed.' His foeman, conjectured to be one of the Maclarens, entered and paid his compliments, inquiring after the health of his formidable neighbour. Rob Roy maintained a cold, haughty civility during their short conference, and so soon as he had left the house, 'Now,' he said, 'all is over—let the piper play *Ha til mi tulidh*,' (we return no more); and he is said to have expired before the dirge was finished.

This singular man died in bed in his own house, in the parish of Balquhider. He was buried in the churchyard of the same parish, where his tombstone is only distinguished by a rude attempt at the figure of a broadsword."

It has been mentioned that the present chieftain of the Macgregors was Sir John Athol-Bannatyne-Murray Macgregor. Murray was the name taken by his sires when that of Macgregor was proscribed; and, as his immediate family did not openly act against the House of Hanover in the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, they did not share in the punishment which fell on other clan chiefs. Many of the tribe, nevertheless, were implicated so far in the doings of the Dougal Ciar Mhor branch, headed by Rob Roy, during the first insurrection. John Murray of Lanric, the representative of the line, rose to the rank of a General in the British army, and was honoured, for his services, with a baronetcy in 1795. He took the name of Macgregor, by royal license, in 1822. His grandson, born in 1810, is the present holder of the title. There are two others of the Macgregor house on the roll of the baronets of the United Kingdom. The families of the name are numerous, though many more of them are still hidden under that strange act of proscription to which their fathers were subjected—to wit, the abolition of their very family denomination. That singular calamity undoubtedly originated so far with themselves, but they generally lay much of their misconduct and misfortunes to the door of the Campbells, and not without some reason. In some respects there is a fearful meaning in the Macgregor ARMS. Their misfortunes seem partly to be alluded to, and also their terrible thirst for revenge. The late origin of much of our modern heraldry is confirmed by these Arms. The majority of the name were wont to bear them as they are here given, and the old way deserves a preference.

ARMS OF CLAN MACGREGOR.

Argent, a fir-tree growing out of a mount in base vert, surmounted of a sword bend-ways, supporting on its point an imperial crown, proper, in the dexter chief canton.

CREST. A demi-Highlander (and also a lion's head crowned).

SUPPORTERS. Dexter, a unicorn, and sinister, a tyned deer.

BADGE. Pine.

MOTTO. *Ard choille* (Gaelic); E'en do, but spare nocht.

XXVI



Clan Mackinnon

CLAN MACKINNON.

It has been mentioned (in the history of the Clan Macquarrie) that the CLAN MACKINNON had been usually traced or assigned to the stock of the Macgregors. The similar assertion made in the case of the Macquarries was represented as doubtful, and the reasons explained. There are stronger grounds, however, for believing in the connection of the Mackinnons with the Macgregor line, or, as we should rather say, for holding them to be a branch of the Clan Alpine, or pure and native Gael of Scotland. They were certainly an island sept, the chief branch having always been fixed in Skye and Scalpa; and the majority of the inhabitants there seem to have sprung from the Irish Celtic race, as has been already stated; but the Mackinnons have good and reasonable claims to another descent, namely, from Clan Alpine. That they were actually Macgregors may be doubted, but that they were of the same blood is at least a feasible conclusion. For want of a better history of them, the reader must accept in the main that which tradition has sanctioned and left to us.

It is said, then, that they sprung from, and were named after, a certain Fingon, brother of the chief of the Clan Alpine. In the MS. of 1450, so often alluded to already, the existence of Fingon is fixed as occurring in the beginning of the twelfth century. It probably occurred much later, though the point need not here be cavilled about. The sept of the Macgregors and that of the Mackinnons, far removed as they were from one another locally, seem themselves to have ever admitted a common origin; and, in 1671, a bond of friendship was entered into betwixt Mackinnon of Strathardil and the chief of the Macgregors, in which bond, "for the special love and amitie between these persons, and condescending that they are descended lawfully *fra twa breethren of auld descent*, wherefore and for certain onerous causes moving, we witt ye we to be bound and obleisit, likeas by the tenor hereof we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin, friends, and followers, faithfully to serve ane anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all who live or die."

This document forms a striking proof and specimen of that custom of sticking together, "shoulder to shoulder," on which the Gael of old prided themselves. So far, so good; the trait was undoubtedly an honourable and useful one in past times, when the strong hand was all in all everywhere. But to find such a bond executed at the close of the seventeenth century—a bond in which two chiefs vow to serve one another "in all causes against all who live or die," without the slightest reference to the justice of such prospective causes—indicates a state of society as yet lamentably defective in point of civilisation. Practically, however, the bond was not a very formidable one. The Macgregors and the Mackinnons lived in relatively distant situations, and the one tribe could scarcely receive effective aid from the other under any circumstances, however pressing. Besides, the Mackinnons were so long and so decidedly under the control of the far more powerful clan of the Macdonalds, that it would have been difficult for them to have acted independently of that great house, even after its decline. The main point connected with the bond is, therefore, that it proves the early traditions of the two septs to have been in favour of the theory of a common descent from Clan Alpine. We have already given our opinion that the Mackinnons are in reality, unlike most of the tribes of the Hebrides, a branch, at least, of the native Gael of Scotland. The change of their name from Macfingon to Mackinnon is no hard matter in the walk of Gaelic nomenclature. Time found it easy to change Oisín into Ossian, and Fin Mac Coul into Fingal, as well as to work far greater miracles.

Mr Skene gives the general history of the Mackinnons very briefly, and we take the liberty to extract his notice, having really little to add thereto:—"In consequence of their connection with the Macdonalds, the Mackinnons have no history independent of that clan; and the internal state of these tribes

during the government of the Lords of the Isles is so obscure that little can be learned regarding them, until the forfeiture of the last of these lords. During their dependence upon the Macdonalds there is but one event of any importance in which we find the Mackinnons taking a share, for it would appear that on the death of John of the Isles, in the fourteenth century, Mackinnon, with what object it is impossible now to ascertain, stirred up his second son, John Mor, to rebel against his eldest brother, apparently with a view to the chiefship, and his faction was joined by the Macleans and the Macleods. But Donald, the elder brother, was supported by so great a proportion of the tribe, that he drove John Mor and his party out of the Isles, and pursued him to Galloway, and from thence to Ireland. The rebellion being thus put down, John Mor threw himself upon his brother's mercy, and received his pardon, but Mackinnon was taken and hanged, as having been the instigator of the disturbance. On the forfeiture of the last lord, Mackinnon became independent, but his clan was so small that he never attained any very great power in consequence. In the disturbances in the Isles which continued during the following century, the name of Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon occurs very frequently, and he appears, notwithstanding the small extent of his possessions, to have been a man of some consideration in his time. From this period they remained in the condition of the minor clans in the Highlands, and with them took a part in all the political events in which these clans were engaged."

There is but one point in the above statement which requires a word of explanation. The Mackinnons, as Mr Skene justly says, were always a minor clan, and dependent on the Macdonald lords up to the period of their forfeiture. However, they were not so very insignificant, after all, in point of numbers. When Duncan Forbes drew up his able account of the clans for the use of government before the rebellion of 1745, he thus described the strength of the sept: "*Mackinnons*. The Laird of Mackinnon is their chief; he holds his lands of the crown, both in the isles of Skye and Mull, and can raise two hundred men."

The clan must have been of considerable strength, which could yield to the chief a following of two hundred men, able-bodied, and fit for service in the field. As to the fact, no authority could exceed that of the President Forbes. The ordinary statement in the works on the landholders of Scotland is, that Lachlan Mackinnon was the undoubted chief of his clan at the time of the early Stewart connections, and fought in person for Charles II. at the battle of Worcester, in 1651. It is also said that he was then and there made a knight-baneret; but it is not very probable that a custom which had become then almost obsolete, was revived on such an occasion. The point, however, is of little moment. His son, styled Daniel Mhor, succeeded him, and left several children, of whom Daniel, the younger, went to Antigua, in consequence, it is stated, of a quarrel during a hunting-match, but more probably from the depressed condition of the family fortunes. He died in 1720, leaving as his heir William Mackinnon, who held the position of a member of the legislature of Antigua, and deceased at Bath in 1767.

The direct descendant, and great grandson (we believe) of this gentleman, William Alexander Mackinnon, now sits in the British Parliament for the borough of Lymington. Though his predecessor, Daniel, who first emigrated to the West Indies, and founded what is now a wealthy and flourishing section of this ancient house, was, as observed, but a younger son, the present Mr W. A. Mackinnon claims the chiefship of his clan, and is usually known by the style of Mackinnon of Mackinnon. That he is of the direct line of the old chiefs is undeniable; and we are unaware that any other party has ever clearly proven any right to represent them through an older branch. William A. Mackinnon, Esq., M.P., was born in 1789, and, by his marriage with Miss Palmer, has had several sons and daughters.

President Forbes, it will be observed, has mentioned Mull as in part the residence of the Mackinnons. The branch there located appear to have formed

XXVII



Clan Ross

connections with their neighbours the Macquarries, and to this fact we would refer their seemingly erroneous belief of a common descent.

ARMS OF CLAN MACKINNON.

VERT, a boar's head, erased, argent, holding in the mouth a deer's shank-bone; or, a lymphad, the oars saltier-wise, sable. [Besides adopting the lymphad of the isles, the Mackinnons have quartered with their arms the embattled castle of Macleod, and dexter-hand of the Macdonalds.]

CREST. A boar's head, gnawing the shank-bone of a deer.

SUPPORTERS. Lion and leopard.

MOTTO. *Audentes fortuna juvat* (fortune favours the bold).

BADGE. Pine.



CLAN ANRIAS OR ROSS.

The CLAN ANRIAS, commonly abbreviated in pronunciation into CLAN ROSS, appear to have constituted originally one of the distinct branches of the primitive Gael of Scotland. They gave their name to a large district in the Highlands, still called the County of Ross. True it is, that the Macdonalds, Mackenzies, and other septs to whom a Celto-Hibernian origin has here been assigned, mingled in the course of time with the native population largely, and indeed became the rulers of nearly the whole Ross region; but still we believe that the primary inhabitants were of the pure Albionic race, and that their blood runs chiefly in the veins of the people of the district to this day. Nor is the family name of Ross yet extinct, either among the gentry or the commonalty; though the preponderance of the Macdonalds and Mackenzies, for so long a period, must have led to the adoption of these two names by large sections of the earlier occupants of Ross-shire.

Ross is mentioned, in Norse Sagas of great antiquity, as having been governed by its own distinct lords or Maormors. The latter word (Mor-mhaor properly) signifies a governor, or rather a great "Mayor"—for such is almost the meaning of Mhaor, and we are led by it to think that the Norsemen originated the term. At the same time, the point is not clear; since the Latin word Major (greater) has nearly the same sense as the Saxon Mayor and the Gaelic Mhaor. At all events, the term Maormor was undoubtedly significative of a "chief ruler;" and one of that class and designation held sway in Ross during the old Norse descents upon Scotland. The family of the original Ross Maormors are believed to have been perpetuated amid all the changes in old days, and to have kept their places, though the matter is by no means fully determined. Mr Skene informs us that the most ancient authorities give to the chiefs of Ross the Gaelic patronymic of O'Beolan, or parties sprung from Beolan; and he also points out the singular coincidence, that one of the most venerable of the Norse Sagas notices the marriage of a northern Scottish chief, named Beolan, with the daughter of Gange Rolfe, or Rollo, the famous Sea-King (*alias* Pirate) who afterwards settled in Normandy, and founded the race of William the Conqueror, from whom the whole succeeding line of English sovereigns has more or less directly sprung.

Such facts as these show us how extensively, and at what early periods, the adventurous spirit of the Norse tribes began to affect the native Celts of Albion in all quarters. The impression similarly made by the same tribes since, here, there, and everywhere, would almost lead us to believe that they have been actually fated to occupy in the end the entire earth. In Britain, for example, they drove the native race to the hills, where alone they have kept their places. In the north of Europe, the same Norse (Gothic or Teutonic) tribes pushed the Indigenes almost into the Arctic seas, on the shores of which but a petty remnant (the Laps) yet remain. They entered France, and, had not the striking

and superior maritime advantages of the British islands drawn them at an early period from Normandy, it seems more than probable that they would in time have mastered all that large and fine country. A branch went to Spain, and there, too, did the northern (or Visigothic) tribes effect a lodgement, and indeed obtain complete sovereignty, until, almost fortuitously as it were, a strong incursion of the Saracenic race gave a check to their onward progress, which the aboriginal people themselves had seemed unable to accomplish. In the New World, again, where the natives were much less civilised, the progress of the same adventurous tribes has proved proportionably rapid. In the course of a couple of centuries, they have seized on, and colonised, a vast portion of North America, and are at this hour moving southwards by Texas and Mexico, rendering it probable that they will in the long run spread their power even to Cape Horn. In Australia the same people are steadily fixing themselves. In Asia, they are moving at this very moment from southern and eastern Hindostan inwards; and where they may pause finally, it would be hard to say. In Africa, they have obtained strong locations, and the climate alone has checked their enterprising attempts to gain others. They are busily colonising the isles of the Pacific even now; and those of the Indian Archipelago will soon fall under their control beyond all question.

All this may seem so far out of place; but our object is to illustrate the different characters of the two races, Celts and (to use the common term) Saxons. Each of the races appears to have received its own peculiar gifts of intellect and temperament; and the blending of the two races appears to have the effect of producing a people as perfect in endowments as human nature will permit. The greatness of the English nation seems to be mainly owing to such an admixture—for the Celts were not extirpated in England, it should be observed. This theory may be illustrated by examples. The Dutch are unmixed specimens of the radical race from which the Saxons sprung. They are industrial to excess, as all men know, but heavy as lead, intellectually and physically. The Welsh, the Irish, and the Gael of Scotland are imaginative in mind, and corporeally active, in the extreme; but they have so little of the industrial quality about them, that their social condition remains much the same, at this day, as when Taliessin sung, Brian Boriomh reigned, and Fingal led his heroes to battle. The amalgamation it is then, seemingly, of the two races, that is calculated to make a great people; and we trust that its progress in the Highlands of Scotland will ultimately plant there an active and improving population. Emigration must aid in part, it is true; the habits of the Gael have rendered it necessary; but on this point an opinion has been given at length already. We must return to the Clan Ross.

Whether descended or not from the old Maormors of Ross, there are Earls of Ross found in existence in the middle of the twelfth century, during the reign of Malcolm the Maiden. One of these same earls goes in authentic history by the title of Ferquhard *Macinsagart*, which means the "son of the priest." This is a case similar to that of Macpherson or Macparson, the name arising probably from the succession of a junior branch, derived from a married priest belonging to the family. This said Ferquhard is usually reckoned as the first undoubted and legal Earl of Ross. A very curious old document exists, regarding the line of the Ross house, and indeed we may see three documents, the whole being quoted by Buchanan of Auchmar at the close of his account of the ancient Scottish families. The first is a brief notice of the Macdonald house, written by "Sir Donald Monro, Heigh Dean of the Isles," in the sixteenth century, and the other papers come from the pen of one or more Highland family annalists. Though the probable descent of the main body of the Clan Ross has here been already assumed as Celtic, one of the old genealogical papers alluded to traces the descent of their chiefs, at least, to a very different source. It tells us, that three brothers, "called Guin, Leod, and Leandris, com out of Denmark to the north pairts of Scotland, to follow their fortunes." Guin, it is said, founded the Clan Gunn on the Braes of Caithness; Leod conquered the Lewis, and founded, we are told, the Macleod line; while Leandris obtained

a large portion of Ross, and "of the said Leandris (says the story) are descendit the huill Clan-Leandris, now surnamed Ross." The success of Jack the Giant-killer was nothing to that of these brothers, if, as here related, they mastered great part of the isles and north of Scotland. But, though the descent of the Macleods of the isles from the Norse sea-kings appeared to us a probable thing, we must demur to the tale as regards both the Clan Ross and the Clan Gunn. The latter will be noticed duly, and their origin discussed. The Clan Ross is the subject first to be attended to.

There exists some confusion in the accounts given of the first Earls of Ross of the old house. Ferquhard, "son of the priest," has been mentioned; and after his day matters are more clear. From him, or from his immediate successors, came the name which has ended, very singularly, in the monosyllable Ross. The chief reason for doubting the Norse origin of the clan is, that "Leandris" is an obvious corruption of "Gilleanrias," or "Gilleandris," the most direct meaning of which is "the servant of St Andrew," or in short, Saint Andrew's *Gillie*. This brings us pretty clearly to the origin of Ferquhard, surnamed "the priest's son." Whether he was of the first or oldest line of the Maormors or not, it seems impossible now to decide with certainty. The successor of Ferquhard seems to have ultimately been his son William; but circumstances placed a relative, usually styled Paul Mactyre, at the head of the sept (as tutor or usurper) for a time. So says general and strong tradition; but the true line of Ferquhard, first Earl of Ross, was continued in the person of his son William, after the former died in 1251. The founder of the Ross earldom was also the founder of the well known religious house of Ferne. Ferquhard had made a vow, it would appear, that he would erect an abbey, and would devote it to the use of the first persuasion of the priesthood that fell in his way. Accordingly, "meiting with two wheit channons (monks of the Augustine rule) having certan of St Ninian's relics, he brought them to Ros, and founded an abbey of that order at Ferne, beside Kintarne, in Strathecarron, wheirof some part remaynes yet to be seen." Such was the mode in which the old chiefs and nobles, when pricked by conscience, made up their peace with Heaven.

William, second Earl of Ross, adhered distinctly to the Lowland monarchy, and became in consequence involved in feuds with the semi-outlawed people and Lords of the Isles. These feuds continued long to rage betwixt the two families, and seem rather to have been encouraged than checked by the Scottish monarchs, whose best policy it was, indeed, to prevent these two powerful houses from forming an amicable union. They would certainly have been strong enough, in combination, to have shaken the throne at that period. As matters stood, they constituted most serviceable checks upon one another. Things remained in this state during the times of (a second) William, of Hugh, and of (a third) William, respectively and successively Earls of Ross. The career of each of these nobles is historical rather than genealogical in its nature. It may only be observed that the family intermarried with the Buchan Cumyrs, and that John Baliol gave his sister in marriage to the third Earl of Ross. He died in 1322; and his son and successor Hugh fell at the battle of Halidon Hill, A.D. 1333.

The fifth Earl, William, left no sons, at his decease in 1369. Euphame (or Euphemia) wedded Walter Leslie, the chief at the time of that eminent family, said to have come originally from Hungary in the days of Malcolm Canmore. The match was one probably made up by the sovereign, in order to fix a faithful servant in power in the north. According to the usage of the time, Walter Leslie became Earl of Ross in right of his lady; and, dying in 1381, he left a son and heir, Alexander, wedded to a daughter of the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland. But the earl died young (A.D. 1402), and his only daughter, Euphemia, chose to take the veil in her early days. The succession to the Earldom of Ross was thus opened up to Donald, Lord of the Isles, who had wedded Lady Margaret Leslie, sister of the last Earl. The Duke of Albany threw obstacles in the way for a length of time, having got Euphemia, the "Nun of Ross" as she was called, to resign her claims in his favour. But Albany and

his house were extinguished by James I., and the Lords of the Isles became also Earls of Ross. In the history of the Macdonalds, already given, it will be found that Donald, the first claimant in right of his wife, who (reckoning Ferquhard as not the first, but second earl) named himself ninth earl, had but two successors, Alexander and John, called the tenth and eleventh earls. The last of these sustained forfeiture in 1475, and was forced to surrender the earldom to the crown in the following year. So ended the three lines who held the Ross peerage.

This account of the Clan Ross or Anrias includes the question of their origin, and the career of their chiefs. In these facts lies nearly their entire history. They disappear from our view at least as a distinct and important clan, after the forfeiture of John of the Isles. The growth of the Mackenzie power, also, tended greatly to extinguish the individuality of the Ross sept. That the people themselves were extinguished, however, is not to be for a moment supposed. The truth is, that, up to a very recent date, the Highlanders in general used no fixed patronymics. For the most part, some personal peculiarity gave to each individual his common name, as is well exemplified in Scott's "Waverley." Evan dhu Macombich, Callum Beg, and Dugald Mahony, were all Macivors, beyond question; but they are never so styled, their designations being drawn either from physical peculiarities, or from their more immediate progenitors. Colour of skin, as *dhu* and *roy* (black and red), formed the most fertile fund of nomenclature. It is obvious from the immense number of Blacks and Browns, and such like names in the Lowlands, that the same custom had prevailed largely there in early times. It ceased entirely, however, when the spread of religion introduced regular baptismal registrations into the low country—an advantage not enjoyed in the Highlands for many centuries afterwards.

Therefore; it is not to be concluded, we repeat, that the proper Clan Ross perished, because their name, to a great extent, disappeared after their country became the possession of the Mackenzies. The generality had never at any time borne the name of Ross; the gentry of the sept only were so distinguished. Thus, the common people, who must naturally have intermingled freely with the real Mackenzies, would ere long retain only vague traditions of their own descent; and when the days of regular registration, and also of military enlistment, required and introduced the use of stated names, the great body of the true Ross tribe would, without doubt, be enrolled under the name of Mackenzie, the prevailing one of the district. In all likelihood, therefore, the old Rosses are yet numerous in Ross-shire.

The gentry of the Ross clan were differently situated from the commonalty. If they possessed not regular charters to verify their descent, they may be supposed to have had that superior degree of intelligence which would enable them to preserve it fully in remembrance. Of all the old estated families of the name, now or recently in existence, that of Ross of Balnagowan is the one whose connection with the first Ross earls is most clearly traceable. In the ancient "Chronicle of the Earls of Ross," given by Buchanan of Auchmar, the descent of the Balnagowan house is thus stated. Hugh, fourth Earl of Ross (it is said), "married the Lord Graham's daughter, who bore to him William, fifth Earle of Ros, and Hew, who was first Laird of Belnagowne." The son and heir of this Hugh is also mentioned in a charter of Robert II., of date 1375, wherein he confirms, "Willielmo de Ross, filio et haeredi quond Hugonis de Ross" (to William of Ross, son and heir of the late Hugh of Ross) a charter which Earl William had before granted to the said Hugh, his brother, of the lands of Balnagowan. The succession of the family downwards, from this early period, to the eighteenth century, can be very clearly made out; but the direct line came then to a close, in the person of David Ross of Balnagowan. Finding that the failure of male successors enabled him to sell his estate, he disposed it to a gentleman of his own name, General Ross, of the family of (Barons) Ross of Hawkhead (or Halkhead) in Renfrewshire. Though of the same name, the new possessor of Balnagowan, now represented by Sir Charles W. A. Ross, Bart., could claim no connection with the Gaelic Rosses, being of the English house of Roos or De Roos. His ancestor, a Norman baron, had

been sent to Scotland as envoy from King John, and, after the usual policy of the Scottish crown, was tempted to remain there by liberal grants of land and other favours. The last Lord Ross of Hawkhead died in 1754, and his possessions went to his sister, Countess of Glasgow. The title of Lord Ross became extinct, but a Nova Scotia baronetcy of 1672 went to the male heir, and his representative now holds the main part of the Ross-shire lands that now lie in the name of Ross. The coincidence here is so singular, that one can scarcely help thinking that General Ross, in purchasing the distant Highland property of Balnagowan, must have believed in some connection betwixt the families. The thing is almost impossible.

We cannot help adding yet a word on the Balnagowan family. Mr Skene labours, with a pertinacity to us almost incomprehensible, to destroy the pretensions of the house, to represent the old Earls of Ross. He attempts to make out, firstly, that Paul Mactyre (or Mactire), formerly mentioned as heading for a time the Clan Ross, was the true heir-male of the fifth Earl of Ross, the last of the first house; and that the Balnagowan family, therefore, had no claims at that early time. He quotes "an ancient historian of Highland families" to prove the great power and possessions of Paul Mactyre, the passage, as cited, running thus: "Paul Mactyre was a valiant man, and caused Caithness to pay him black-mail." It is reported that he got nyn score of cowes yearly out of Caithness for black-mail so long as he was able to travel."

Now, there are a few words omitted in this citation. The original document, now before us, begins thus: "Paull M'Tyre, aforesaid, *grandchild to Leandris*"—that is, grandchild to Gilleannrias the founder of the clan, and its name-giver. If he was the grandson of the founder of the sept, Paul Mactyre could certainly never have been the heir of the fifth Earl of Ross, unless he had lived to a most unconscionable age. It would seem as if Mr Skene here erred from the old cause—that is, from his not unnatural anxiety to enhance the value and authenticity of the MS. of 1450, which was his own discovery, and certainly was a document of great interest. That MS. speaks of Paul Mactyre as heading the clan at a comparatively late period. We greatly prefer the view of the case already given by us, which is, that Paul Mactyre was either kinsman or *quasi* tutor to one of the first Ross earls, or successfully usurped their place for a time.

Besides, the ancient document quoted by Mr Skene to show the greatness of Paul Mactyre, mentions also the marriage of "his daughter and heire" to Walter, laird of Belnagowne. If the document be good for one thing, it must be held good also for others. Such a marriage seems quite natural, supposing Mactyre to have been a near kinsman of the Rosses.

Perhaps too much has been already said on this subject to please general readers; but one of our main objects is to give to clansmen all the rational information procurable on their several family histories.

A second objection to the Balnagowan family's pretensions is, that a second Hugh Ross, styled of "Kinfauns," is found from charters to have existed about the same period as Hugh Ross of Balnagowan. That is the sum of the evidence for assuming he might have been the true son of the Earl of Ross of that name, and Balnagowan quite another person. The best answer lies in the possession of Balnagowan, for centuries consecutively, by the line of the first Hugh Ross, and certainly the testimony is almost incontrovertible, even were it not backed by the traditions of centuries. Besides, a primary charter of Kinfauns by Robert I. to Hugh Ross exists, where it is said that he came from Galloway. After all, the objections prove utterly fruitless—save to back out the MS. of 1450—since it is admitted that Monro Ross, or Ross Monro of Pitcalnie, is the lineal representative of the old line of the Ross chiefs, and he claims as a branch of the family of Rariches or Balnagowan. Nisbet mentions the lands of Rariches as among those which Hugh Ross obtained from his sire, Hugh, Earl of Ross, and which he inherited in addition to the Balnagowan lands, afterwards granted to him by his brother, Earl William. The reason for the Balnagowan family not claiming the Ross title probably was, their total inability to resist Donald the Islander's claim through the heiress of the later earls of the Leslie

line. In 1778, the title of Earl of Ross was claimed by Monro Ross of Pitcalnie. But even could he have proved his descent clearly, the earldom had been long forfeited to the crown, by the Macdonald possessors, and had been borne, indeed, by various members of the royal family at different times. Sons of James III. and IV. bore it successively among others. Queen Mary made it one of the titles of Darnley; and it was even given to Charles I. by his sire, while his elder brother Henry was in life. No proof was likely to restore the title to the descendant of the Rosses under these circumstances.

Nisbet mentions the families of Morinchie, Knockbreck, and Kindies, as cadets of Balnagowan. The first of these is represented now by H. St Vincent Ross, or Rose, of Morangie.

Among another class of Rosses or Roses, noticed by Nisbet as bearing distinct arms, the principal family appears to be that of Rose of Kilravock. A number of landed houses trace their origin to the Kilravock family, which has held its estates since the time of Alexander III. Various other branches of Rosses, as those of Rossie and Cromarty, and many taking the form of Rose, have long held lands in the north, and the most of them, it may be supposed, are relics of the once great house of Ross, Lords of Ross-shire.

ARMS OF THE ROSSES.

[From the decay of the heads of the old Ross house, so many centuries ago, their true arms can be but indistinctly given.]

Gules, three lions rampant. [What is called by some authors the oldest coat of this family, stands thus: Sable, on a chev. argent, a lion rampant, or, between two torteauxes.]

CREST. A fox's head.

MOTTO. *Spes aspera levat* (Hope lightens adversity).

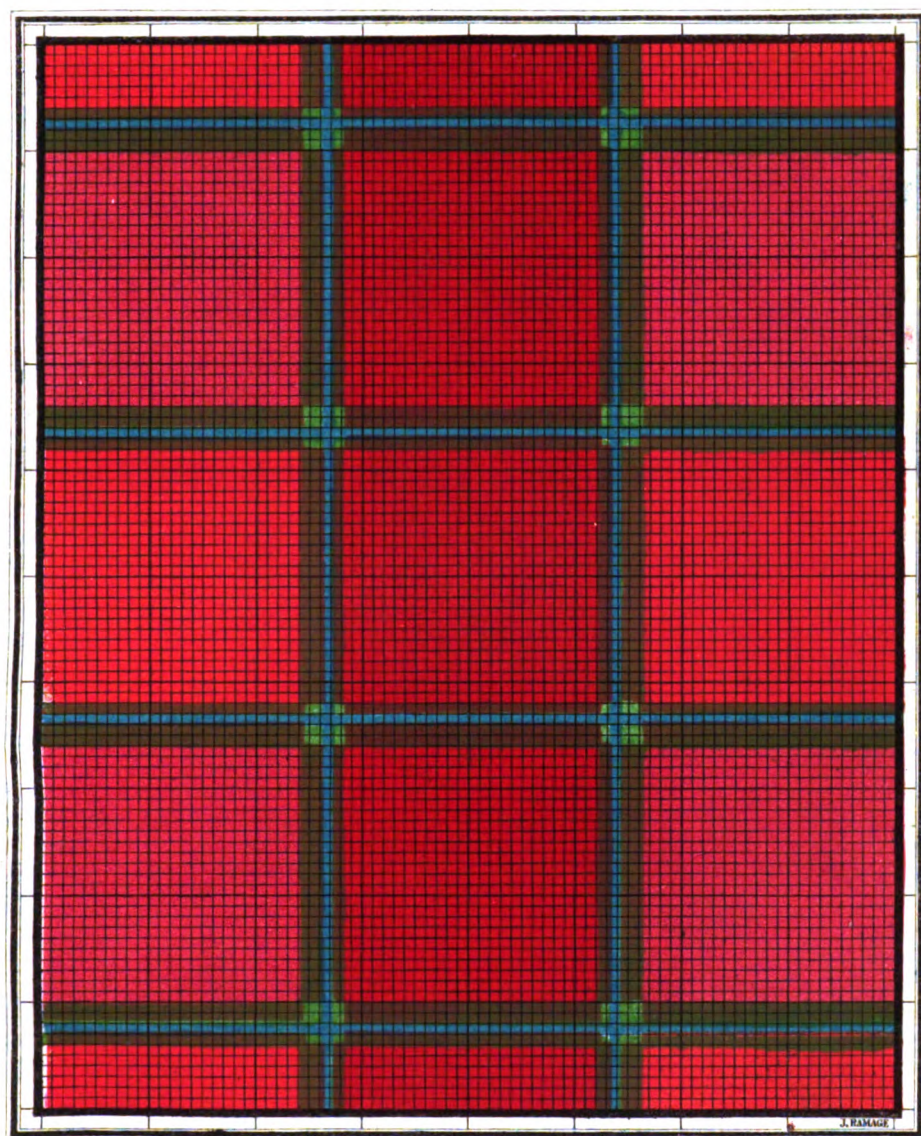
BADGE. Juniper. [In some works, the badge is said to be *Uva Ursi*, and the Roses adopt Wild Rosemary.]



CLAN MACNAB.

The CLAN MACNAB has most frequently been represented as a branch of the great Macdonald family; but it does not appear that there exists any evidence for the assumption, saving that such was a common tradition. From their comparatively central position in the Highlands, as well as other circumstances, it seems much more likely that they were of the primitive Albion race, or a shoot of the Siol Alpine. The Macnabs were never very numerous, but they continued to be a well marked and distinct sept for many centuries—much more so than the majority of the tribes of the north of Scotland; and they remained fixed in a particular locality up to the end of the eighteenth century. Sadly diminished, however, were their numbers and possessions at that period; and at this day, though branches of the line of the chiefs most probably yet exist, the Macnabs now own not one foot of their ancient territories, excepting, we believe, the burial-place of their house, at a ruined priory, situated on an island on Loch Tay. This part of their property was not alienated, we believe; and most probably because it was not marketable. But what individual party has a right to call the old aisle his own, is a point perhaps not easily to be settled. On the western shores of the loch above mentioned, lay their main possessions, once by no means inconsiderable.

The founder of the Clan Macnab seems to have been of the clerical profession, like the founders of the septs of Macpherson and Ross. There is nothing improbable in this supposition, as already stated, since celibacy was long opposed by the Christian clergy of Scotland. The name of Macnab gives a strong colour to the story, since Mac-anaba means clearly the Son of the Abbot. Some call this abbot the abbot of Dunkeld. Others say that an abbey in Glen-



dochart, a vale through which the Dochart runs into Loch Tay, was under the charge of the priest in question; and, if such was the case, in all probability the temporalities of this religious house laid the basis of the estates of his descendants. It was in and around Glendochart that they were ever located. In the reign of David I. (A.D. 1124), they are heard of under their permanent designation of Macnabs.

A manuscript account of the family, which now lies before us, relates that the clan had become a considerable one on Loch Tay in the time of Alexander III., the natives of the region having doubtless enrolled themselves, whether of the Macnab blood or not, under the banner of the lords of the district. During the Bruce and Baliol contest which followed the death of Alexander, the Macnabs joined the party of Baliol along with the Lorn Macdougals, and fought against his rival at Dalree, as Barbour relates. When Bruce prevailed, they suffered like his other opponents. Their lands were ravaged, their houses burned, and all the family writs destroyed. Gilbert of Macnab, however, reconciled himself to the Bruces in the times of the next generation, and received charters under the great seal, from David II., of the "lands of Bovaine, in the barony of Glendochart, county of Perth." This deed bore the date of 1336.

Finlay Macnab, son of Gilbert, has usually been accounted the second undoubted laird of the line. His grandson, Finlay, lived in the times of James III. and IV., and appears to have been in favour as a loyal subject, since charters were passed under the great seal, adding Ardchyle, Duinish, and other lands to the estate of Bovain. But his grandson, the sixth Laird of Macnab, was by no means so fortunate, and appears to have begun that career of bonding and mortgaging which ended in the ruin of the house. And to whom did he grant such obligations? It is the old story—to the Campbells of Glenorchy, now become the most powerful neighbours of the Macnabs. The MS. in our hands states, that Finlay Macnab of Bovaine, and of that ilk, alienated or mortgaged a great part of his lands to the Baron of Glenorchy, as appears by a charter to "Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, his heirs and assignees whatever, according to the deed granted to him by Finlay Macnab of Bovain, 24th November, 1552, of all and sundry the lands of Bovain and Ardchyle, &c., &c.; confirmed by a charter under the great seal, from Queen Mary, dated 27th of June, 1553." As only certain portions of the preceding documents are here quoted, it may be that Macnab reserved to himself a power of repayment and recovery. But it would have served as little as it did in many other and similar cases of mortgages to the Campbells.

The son of this unlucky laird, also named Finlay Macnab, lived in the reign of James VI.; and in his time a singular incident occurred, affecting the question of his genealogy. Our authority states briefly that he "entered into a bond of friendship and manrent with his *cousin*, Lachlan Mackinnon of Strathwardel, whereby they became mutually bound to stand by and defend each other. Dated 12th July, 1606." Douglas gives this deed more fully. According to him, it narrates that, "happening to foregadder togedder with certain of the said Finlay's friends in their rooms, in the Laird of Glenurchay's country, and the said Lauchlan and Finlay *having come of one house, and being of one surname* and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lauchlan and Finlay this long time bygone oversaw their awn duties till uders in respect of the long distance and betwixt their dwelling places, quhairfore baith the saids now and in all time coming are content to be bound and obleisit, with consent of their kyn and friends, to do all sted, pleasure, assistance, and service that lies in them ilk ane to uthers: *The said Finlay acknowledging the said Lachlan as ane kynd chieff, and of ane house*: and likewise the said Lauchlan to acknowledge the said Finlay Macnab, his friend, as his special kynsman and friend."

It was before admitted, that the Mackinnons really appeared to be of the true Alpine stock, of which the Macgregors form the type, as it were; and here is a circumstance which tends to assign a similar origin to the Macnabs. The favourite family name of Finlay may also be traced to Fingonlay as its root,

Mackinnon being properly Macfingon. But on the origin of Gaelic names it is impossible to pronounce with certainty.

John Macnab, the eighth Laird, made a really distinguished figure in the Montrose wars, though by no means to the improvement of his already shattered estates. He fought with his clan at Kilsyth, and was subsequently chosen by Montrose to garrison the castle of Kincardine against General Leslie. Straited for provisions, and resolved not to surrender, Macnab made an effort to pass his foes by night. He accordingly issued from the castle, in the darkness, with his three hundred men, sword in hand. Like a brave sea-captain who is the last to leave his sinking ship, Macnab gave the first chance of escape to his followers, and all got safely off, save himself and one other person. They were sent to Edinburgh Castle, and duly condemned to death; but the chief found his way out before the fatal day—only to perish, however, at the battle of Worcester, A.D. 1651. During his career of loyalty, the common-wealth forces sacked and burned the dwellings of his clan, destroyed his effects and papers, and sequestered his estate. The Glenorchy family, on the plea of having suffered by the Macnabs, obtained actual possession of the relics of the family property.

The widow of Macnab, in her own name and that of her son Alexander, represented her grievances so strongly to General Monk, that he rebuked his subordinates severely. In a letter addressed to Captain Gascoigne, the officer stationed in Macnab's Castle of Finlarig, the general tells him that his orders did not sanction the injuring of any of the Macnabs who were living peaceably, or the molesting of Lady Macnab in any way. He ordered her to be permitted to retain all that she possessed, and otherwise gave directions for her kind treatment. This letter of Monk is extant.

When the restoration took place, of course Alexander, now Laird of Macnab, petitioned Charles II. for redress, and succeeded in recovering a considerable share of that part of the estate which was free from purely legal claims. But the family were surrounded by overgrown neighbours, and the successors of Alexander chanced not to be men qualified to revive the fortunes of the house. John, grandson of Alexander, succeeded to a dilapidated property, and his final heir, Francis, twelfth Macnab of that ilk, did not improve matters. He was the last laird of the direct male line, and withal one of the most eccentric men of his time. He calls for a full notice ere we close the story of the Macnabs.

Francis Macnab of Macnab, who died a little more than thirty years ago; was one of the oddest characters of his day in various respects. More anecdotes have been told regarding his eccentric sayings and doings, than in any case that has occurred during the last century.

Francis Macnab, as far as his worldly status was concerned, would have appeared to English eyes simply as the proprietor of a small and much encumbered estate in Perthshire. In Scotland, however, he had the additional and much higher honour of being the chief man of an ancient family, forming one of the Highland clans, though not one of the most numerous. He was Macnab of that ilk, or Macnab of Macnab, or, by a more modern and less elegant style of designation, the Laird of Macnab—the personal centre of a little district peopled chiefly by men of his own name, and all of whom, from the gentleman to the cottager, looked up to him with a kind of filial veneration. His estate was situated at the head of Loch Tay, in the neighbourhood of the beautifully placed village of Killin; but it was latterly a mere shadow of what it had been a few hundred years ago. The subject of this notice was for nothing more remarkable than a proud sense of his dignity as the chief of the Macnabs. His neighbours, the Campbells and Grahams, though infinitely exceeding the Macnabs in wealth and influence, he regarded as comparatively mere mushrooms; nor was he willing to own that even his sovereign was in any respect his superior.

He was a man of gigantic stature and proportions, and vast strength, and, whether seen in the Highland garb amongst his native hills, or in the habiliments of a British gentleman of the eighteenth century upon the streets of Perth or Edinburgh, he never failed to be beheld with some degree of wonder.

His mental faculties were also vigorous; but a defective education, the prejudices incidental to his position in society, and perhaps some constitutional peculiarities, had given him a strong cast of eccentricity, inasmuch that almost everything he said or did was peculiar. Though possessing little book lore, he was extensively informed, and, though a humorist, he displayed on most occasions no small degree of tact and shrewdness. He had all the warmth of heart, and at the same time all the irritability and wrathfulness, of the Scottish mountaineer. It was the custom of his age to indulge much in drinking, and Macnab was eminent even in that day for his great powers as a bacchanalian. Take him for all in all, he was such a man as can scarcely ever be seen again, for he united peculiarities which are now for the most part obsolete—the flaming pride of the old Highland gentleman, the loose and rough habits of the bon-vivant of sixty years ago, and a homely mode of expression now never heard in his grade of society; all these being in addition to many whimsicalities and humours quite his own.

It will doubtless surprise an English reader to be informed that any untitled man in these islands should object to having the word *Mister* prefixed to his name. Yet such is the case with the Highland chiefs, and such was particularly the case with Macnab. A Highland chief is styled by the name of his family alone, and so far did our friend the laird carry this point, that, hearing a stranger ask for him one day at his door as *Mr Macnab*, he ordered him not to be admitted, but next day, when the gentleman, having in the meantime been tutored, inquired for MACNAB; he was not only shown in, but met with a most cordial reception. He would remark, “There are mony *Maister Macnabs*; but may the auld black laad hae me if there’s ony but ae MACNAB.” On this subject, a clever reporter of some of the laird’s humours has given us some curious illustrations. “It was quite enough,” we are informed, “to put him in a frenzy, to dignify with the title of chieftain any one, however high in title or fortune, who he thought had no claim to that super-imperial rank. The narrator of this anecdote had a narrow escape from the overwhelming indignation of this genuine Gaelic worthy. It occurred after dinner, the good laird being a little mellow—for as to being drunk, oceans of liquor would have failed to produce that effect, at least to the length of prostration. The party on whose account the chief’s bile was so powerfully excited was indeed blessed with an infinitely more lofty and sonorous cognomen than himself. If it did not indisputably stamp the owner as an ancient feudal baron, an ignorant Lowlander might well be excused for thinking so. We shall suppose it to be Macloran of Dronascandlich—a name trying enough, certes, for the utterance of any common pair of jaws. Thus commenced the unlucky querist:—‘Macnab, are you acquainted with Macloran, who has lately purchased so many thousand acres in —shire?’ This was more than sufficient to set the laird off in furious tilt on his genealogical steed. ‘Ken wha?—the paddock-stool of a creature they ca’ Dronascandlich, wha no far bygane dawred to offer siller, sir, for an auld ancient estate, sir; an estate as auld as the flude, sir—a deal aulder, sir—siller, sir, scrapit thegither by the meeserable deevil in India, sir; not in an offisher or gentleman-like way, sir—but making cart-wheels and trams, sir, and barrows, and the like o’ that wretched handywark. Ken him sir? I ken the creature weel, and wha he comes frae, sir; and so I ken that dumb tyke, sir—a better brute by half than a score o’ him! And wha was his grandfather, sir, but a pair wabster in Glasgow? That was the origin o’ Dronascandlich, sir, and a bonny origin for a Highland chief—ugh?’”

Pride being a leading element in his character, it affected all his ideas. He not only was proud of his own lineage and name, but of whatever he was connected with, from his clan or his county neighbours up to his countrymen at large. When the local militia was raised in 1808, he held rank in one of the corps raised in his county, and, soon after, being in Edinburgh, he thought proper to apply to the storekeeper in the castle for the supply of arms required by the men. Overlooking the formally correct name, which was the Fourth Perthshire Local Militia, he asked for the arms of the Breadalbane Corps, to

which the store-keeper answered that he did not know of such a corps. Here-upon Macnab, in high contempt, but with more coolness than might have been expected, replied, "My fine little storekeeper, that may be; but you may be assured we do not think a bit the less o' ourselfs for *your* not knowing us." In proportion as he thought much of his own countrymen, he thought less of some other nations; and it appears that he had in particular contracted a great contempt for the Russians. A gentleman having on one occasion spoken approvingly of Russian heroism, the laird burst forth into a frenzy. "Haud you there, sir—haud you there, sir; ye have said a great deal mair than ye can mak amends for, were ye to live as lang as auld Methuselah. It's doonright blasphemy! What, sir, wad ye ever, in ae breath o' your unhallowed jaws, even our glorious lads o' the hill and the heather, whilk are a marvel to the haill warld, to the oily bastes o' Russians? A wheen cannibals, meeserable wretches, wha, till they cam west, had naething to cram their craving gude-for-nothing kytes wi' but stinking, stranded whales, or an orra sealgh, whilk was a perfect godsend to them. Bonny *vivres*, ugh! I mind weel the time, about twenty year bygane, a cheeld ca'd Admiral Siniavin, or some other sic name, cam into the Firth wi' a squadron o' these monsters amang men. Dootless it was a veesitation for our sins. Whatever they laid hand on, was momentarily turned into ulye. I was ae day taking a dander alang Leith shore, when I saw ane of the loathsome brutes gang into a kanler's shop, and buy a bawbee *bap*, and spying a barrel o' ulye, in he dreeps the bap, and sookit it as ye wad do a jergonel peer. Sune after, a' the lamps in Leith Walk and ither places gade out, without ony veesible reason. A' the folk were bumbazed about it, and auld wives thocht that Sathan was playing cantrips with the lichts. Some were knockit doon, and ither got off wi' their pockets turned inside oot. And what was the cause o' a' this hobbleshow, think ye? What! but the oily bastes o' Russians. They were catched speeling up the lamp-posts and taking oot the cruizes and drinking the ulye, wick and a'. What think ye noo o' your Russians, sir?—are they o' ony use on God's earth, think ye, but to burn like tar-barrels in a general illumination?"

Reared in a little district where his word was law, and where habits of violence and private warfare were scarcely yet extinct, Macnab was not disposed to be very scrupulous in the use of his powers, whether personal or otherwise. The knowledge of his immense strength, and his recklessness in using it, in general kept him free of provocation; but on one occasion a thoughtless person, who was but slightly acquainted with him, had the misfortune to incur his wrath in a dismal manner. The Laird was a regular attendant on the Leith races, at which he usually appeared in a rather flashy-looking gig. On one of these occasions he had the misfortune to lose his horse, which suddenly dropped down dead. At the races in the following year, a wag who had witnessed the catastrophe, rode up to him and said, "Macnab, is that the same horse you had last year?" "No, py Cot!" replied the Laird, "but this is the same whip;" and he was about to apply it to the shoulders of the querist, when he saved himself by a speedy retreat. Of the laird's literary attainments, some anecdotes have found their way into the jest-books. In one of these he is represented as laying the blame of certain orthographical errors with which he was charged on one occasion, to the badness of his pen, triumphantly asking his accuser, "Wha could spell with sic a pen?" Of a piece with this, and indicating a somewhat similar degree of intellectual culture, was his going to a jeweller to bespeak a ring, similar to one worn by a friend of his which had taken his fancy, and which was set either with the hair of Charles Edward, or some other member of his family, the latter circumstance of course constituting its chief value. "But how soon," said the jeweller, whom he was for binding down to a day for the completion of the work, "will you send me the hair?"—"The hair, sir!" replied Macnab fiercely; "py Cot, sir, you must give me the hair to the pargain!"

Macnab had an intense antipathy to excisemen, whom he looked on as a race of intruders, commissioned to suck the blood of his country: he never

gave them any better name than *vermin*. One day, early in the last war, he was marching to Stirling at the head of a corps of fencibles, of which he was commander. "The pencil might," says an anecdotist, "but the pen never can, adequately portray the grand, picturesque, and magnifque appearance of the glorious Celtic chief. Goliath of Gath, Alexander, Cæsar, all heroes, ancient and modern, nay, what must be an august spectacle, the grand Mogul enthroned on the back of his elephant—all dwindle into insignificance before the great Macnab. He bestrode a mighty steed of raven blackness, whose flowing mane, and long and bushy tail, had never suffered under the dilapidating operation of the ruthless shears. His ample jacket was composed of tartan, adorned with massy silver buttons. Adown his breast depended gracefully the belted plaid. On his head was the Highland bonnet, surmounted by waving lofty plumes, which added fearfully to his gigantic height. His puissant limbs were encased in no constraining habiliment; no, gentle reader, the ancient philabeg formed his sole nether covering. His warlike hand sustained an enormous claymore, flashing lightning to the sun's rays, and clearly indicating its owner's ardour for immediate conflict."

In those days the Highlanders were notorious for incurable smuggling propensities; and an excursion to the Lowlands, whatever might be its cause or import, was an opportunity by no means to be neglected. The Breadalbane men had accordingly contrived to stow a considerable quantity of the genuine "peat reek" (whisky) into the baggage carts. All went well with the party for some time. On passing Alloa, however, the excisemen there having got a hint as to what the carts contained, hurried out by a shorter path to intercept them. In the meantime, Macnab, accompanied by a gillie, in the true feudal style, was proceeding slowly at the head of his men, not far in the rear of the baggage. Soon after leaving Alloa, one of the party in charge of the carts came running back and informed their chief that they had all been seized by a posse of excisemen. This intelligence at once roused the blood of Macnab. "Did the lousy villians *dare* to obstruct the march of the Breadalbane Highlanders!" he exclaimed, inspired with the wrath of a thousand heroes; and away he rushed to the scene of contention. There, sure enough, he found a party of excisemen in possession of the carts. "Who the devil are you?" demanded the angry chieftain. "Gentlemen of the excise," was the answer. "Robbers! thieves! you mean; how dare you lay hands on his Majesty's stores? If you be gaugers, show me your commissions." Unfortunately for the excisemen, they had not deemed it necessary in their haste to bring such documents with them. In vain they asserted their authority, and declared they were well known in the neighbourhood. "Ay, just what I took ye for; a parcel of highway robbers and scoundrels. Come, my good fellows," (addressing the soldiers in charge of the baggage, and extending his voice with the lungs of a stentor,) "prime!—load!" The excisemen did not wait the completion of the sentence; away they fled at top speed towards Alloa, no doubt glad they had not caused the waste of his Majesty's ammunition. "Now, my lads," said Macnab, "proceed—your whisky's safe."

Like many other proprietors of large but unproductive estates, the Laird of Macnab was often under the necessity of compromising his dignity by granting bills for his various purchases. These bills for many years were always discounted at the Perth bank, and when due, he no more dreamed of putting himself in the slightest degree out of the way by honouring his scraps of paper, conformably to the established rules of trade, than of paying the national debt. In fact, it would have been a dangerous experiment to have hinted to him the propriety of what he considered a most degrading and unchieftain-like practice. The directors of the bank, knowing their money to be sure, humoured him, as being a character of no ordinary description. His acceptances were therefore never (strange to say) noted or protested; indeed, such an impertinent procedure on their part might have brought down like a torrent the furious chief and a score or two of his gillies, to sack great Perth.

Unluckily for him, one of "*thae bits o' paper*" found its way to the Stirling bank, an establishment with which the laird had no connection. Agreeably to his *auld use and wont*, he gave himself no trouble about the matter. It was in due course noted and protested, of which due intimation was sent to him. The laird treated these various notices with the most sovereign contempt. He was, however, effectually roused, by the alarming information that a writ of *horning and caption* had been taken out against him, and that, in consequence, a clerk belonging to the bank, accompanied by two messengers, would proceed on the following Friday to Achlyne House, for the special purpose of taking him into custody. Even this dire communication the laird received with unruffled composure.

On that "portentous morn" which threatened him with "durance vile," he took aside an old woman who had been long attached to the family, and who was highly regarded by her master for her shrewdness as well as fidelity. "Shanet," said he, "there are three land-loupers, a clerk, and two limbs o' Satan in the shape o' messengers, coming ower the hills the day frae Stirling, to tak' me awa bodily, and to clap me within the compass o' four stane wa's; and for what, think ye?—a peetiful scart o' a guse's feather. Deil cripple their soopie shanks! It would ill become me to hae ony hobbleshow wi' siclike vermin; so I'll awa up to ma lord's (Earl of Breadalbane's) at Taymouth, and leave you, my bonny woman, to gie them *their kail through the reek*." Having thus primed the old lady, he departed.

The transaction now recorded having occurred upwards of half a century ago, it is proper to mention, that the line of travelling between Stirling and Achlyne was of a most rugged and toilsome description, and only passable by pedestrians. The clerk and his legal myrmidons, therefore, did not reach the place where they expected their prey till it was nearly dusk. The ancient carline had been long on the outlook, and going to meet them, she invited them into the house in the most *couthy* and kindly manner. "O, sirs," quoth she, "ye maun be sair forfoughen wi' your langsome travel. Our Hieland hills are no for them that hae breeks on, I reckon. Sit doon, sit doon, and pit some meat in your wames, for atweel they maun be girnin' and wamling like knots o' edders. The laird's awa to see a freend, and will be back momentarily. What gars ye glower at that daftlike gate, sirs? There is what ye're wantin' in that muckle kist, in bonnie yellow goud, fairly counted by his honour this blessed mornin'. Wha wad hae thocht ye wad hae been sae langsome in coming up here—chields like you, that are weel kent to be greedy gleds after the siller. But bide ye till the laird comes in, and ye will get what ye want." So saying, she spread before them a plentiful store of mountain delicacies, not forgetting a plentiful supply of glenlivet; and, in short, she put them beyond the power of proceeding further in their business that night, and they were fain to stay under Janet's care till the morning. The clerk, in respect of his gentility, was bestowed in an apartment by himself; the messengers were put in another, containing a single bed for their accommodation. One of the latter worthies, feeling, towards the morning, his entrails scorched with that intolerable heat consequent on mighty over-night potations, got up in quest of some friendly liquid. To aid him in his search, he opened the window-shutter—when the first object which saluted his astonished organs of vision almost petrified him into stone. The sight indeed was rather alarming—a human figure dangling in the winds of heaven from a branch of an ancient oak in the front of the house.

As soon as the wretched minister of the law had recovered what small sense he possessed, he made a shift to stagger to the bedside, and roused his brother in tribulation, who, when he beheld the horrid spectacle, was assailed with the most dreadful agonies of terror and consternation. To add to their miseries, the door was locked. Bells there were none in the Highlands in those days, but they stamped and kicked on the floor with dreadful energy and clamour. After keeping the poor wretches in a state of unspeakable terror for a space of time which appeared to them an eternity, the old woman unlocked the door,



Clan Sutherland

and presented a visage in which were expressed all the united horrors of countenance attributed to the infernal furies. "What the foul fiend gars ye mak sic a din for?" shouted the fearful beldam. Quaking in every limb, the only words their lips could give utterance to were, "What's—what's that on the tree?" "What's that on the tree!" cried the carline, in a dismally hollow and elritch tone of voice; "it's the bit clerk body frae the bank o' Stirling, that cam here last night to deave the laird for siller—we've taen and hangit him, *puir elf*." The effect of this appalling disclosure was electrifying. Fear added wings to their speed, and the terrified brace of messengers never looked behind them for the first ten miles on their road to Stirling.

Now, what almost frightened into convulsions two such exquisitely sensitive personages as messengers are in general, was a bundle of straw, artificially stuffed by Janet into some ancient garments of the laird's, which she had suspended from the tree in the manner described. The innocent clerk, during all this stramash, was quietly reposing in his bed; and if he dreamed at all of suspensions, it was that of the writ of *horning and caption*. When he got up, he was surprised at the non-appearance of his companions, nor could he extract the smallest information on the subject from trusty Janet. Being therefore deprived of his legal tools, no other resource was left for him but to "plod home-wards back his weary way."

To conclude: so tremendous an account did the messengers give of their expedition, that no temptation could have induced twenty of them to venture on a similar errand, unless backed by a regiment of a thousand strong.

Many anecdotes could be added to these, to illustrate the character of this extraordinary man; but our limits forbid. The Laird of Macnab, with all his oddities, ceased to exist on the 25th of May, 1816, when he had reached the age of eighty-two.

The chief cadets of the Macnab line, mentioned in old works, are the Macnabs of Acharne, Newton, Cowel, and Inchewan. A branch also settled in Jamaica; and one of some consequence exists in Canada, to which appertains the present Sir Allan Macnab, knighted for his active loyalty during the last popular disturbances in Upper Canada. This branch has claims, we believe, to represent the family.

ARMS OF CLAN MACNAB.

The true and ancient Arms of Macnab it is now difficult to give accurately. They seem (in unscientific terms) to have borne—

Gules, a chevron, including three crescent moons, or, and a small boat, with oars, inferiory.

CREST. A man's head, bared.

MOTTO. *Timor omnis abesto* (Be all fear absent.)

BADGE. Common heath.



CLAN SUTHERLAND.

The CLAN SUTHERLAND, as (laying aside Gaelic terms for the sake of perspicuity) we shall term them, derive that appellation from the Norse language. The wild sea-kings, who long ago visited the Orcades, styled the region Sudrland (Southern-land or Sutherland) from its position relatively to Caithness, these being the two districts with which the adventurers in question became naturally best acquainted, after settling in *Ultima Thule*. But as before remarked, perhaps more than once, the Norse rovers, though they conquered and ruled various countries for successive centuries, took permanent occupation only of a few; and, long as they held rule in the isles and on the coasts of the

north of Scotland, they certainly did not obliterate the native Gaelic population. On the contrary, though their superior knowledge of arms, and their naval skill, enabled them to obtain the mastery over the Indigenes, they would from policy leave the husbandmen and herdsmen of the country to pursue their avocations in comparative peace, seeing that their own sustenance depended thereon largely. As respected the occupations of these Children of the Seas themselves, they fished—very characteristically—but they did little else, fighting and plundering always excepted. And here we cannot help remarking, that the Celts and Saxons, in the earliest times of which we have any records, were strongly distinguished by their several tendencies and likings, the one race for land pursuits, and the other for naval enterprises. The songs of Ossian speak almost solely of the Gael, as hunters—

“Startling the morn upon the golden hills.”

The Skalds of the Norsemen, on the other hand, sing of little else save “the bounding of their ocean-steeds” (ships) over the stormy waves. The difference is singular and striking. It can scarcely be ascribed to the accidents of local position, since the Gael of the Scottish north were as well situated for the indulgence of maritime propensities, as even the Danes and Norwegians. There must have been a material and primary distinction betwixt the natural bents of the two races. Hath it not lasted, indeed, up to this day? The Saxon even now roams the seas of the globe; the Gael would yet fain sit still on his own beloved mountains.

Though the name of Southerland or Sutherland proves the Norsemen to have been located there, for a lesser or shorter period, it follows not, as already observed, that they ever pushed out any great part of the native population. They left traces of their occupancy mainly on the coasts, and chiefly the eastern coasts of the district. But, even when they did hold complete rule over the whole, it was not their policy, we repeat, to extirpate the native husbandmen and herdsmen of the Gaelic race. Though holding this opinion most distinctly, and believing it to be a point of little consequence, besides, whether the Gaelic population, which indubitably continued in the permanent occupation of Sutherland after the Norwegian days, belonged to one or another section of the aborigines, we still deem it worth while to give the views of Mr Skene on the subject. He thinks differently from us, it will be seen, holding the Norwegians to have driven out or destroyed the primary Gael, and conceiving these to have been replaced from Moray.

“The principal cause of the extensive conquest of Thorfinn, the Norwegian Iar of Orkney, on the mainland of Scotland, in the year 1034, was from the King of Scotland having bestowed Caithness and Sutherland upon Moddan, his sister’s son, with commands to wrest these districts from the Norwegian Iar, to whom they had been ceded by the preceding monarch. The natural consequence of the complete success of Thorfinn, and of the total overthrow of his opponents must have been, in accordance with the manners of the times, that his vengeance would be peculiarly directed against the Gaelic chiefs, to whose race Moddan belonged, and against the Gaelic population who had principally supported him in his war with Thorfinn. We may hence conclude with certainty, that on the establishment of the Norwegian kingdom of Thorfinn, the Gaelic inhabitants of Sudrland would be altogether driven out or destroyed, and that during the extended duration of the Norwegian occupancy, its population would become purely and permanently Norse. There are consequently no Highland clans whatever descended from the Gaelic tribe which anciently inhabited the district of Sutherland, and the modern Gaelic population of part of that region is derived from two sources. In the first place, several of the tribes of the neighbouring district of Ross, at an early period gradually spread themselves into the nearest and most mountainous parts of the country, and they consisted chiefly, as we have seen, of the Clan Anrias. Secondly, Hugh Freskin, a descendant of Freskin de Moravia, and whose family was a branch of the ancient Gaelic tribe of Moray, obtained from King William the territory of Sutherland, although it is impossible to discover the circumstances which occasioned the grant. He was of course accompanied in this expedition by numbers of his followers, who increased in Sutherland to an extensive tribe; and Freskin became the founder of the noble family of Sutherland, who, under the title of Earls of Sutherland, have continued to enjoy possession of this district for so many generations.”

In justice to the author quoted, his remarks have here been fully given; but it seems to us enough in the case to assume, or admit, that the Gael ultimately regained the superiority in Sutherland, without giving credence to the supposition that the primary population was either wholly driven out or destroyed at any period. Though these daring Norsemen became permanent and real settlers in fertile England, they never held the main parts of the rugged coasts and isles of the north of Scotland by any other tenure than that of the sword and the strong hand. The soil and its condition were not such as to tempt them to sit down fixedly in the country of the Gael as husbandmen and cultivators, which was the practical issue of their invasions—Saxon, Danish, and Norwegian—of the south of Britain. There they took up the reaping-hook, and put their hands to the plough. When the Lowland power grew strong in Scotland, moreover, they moved off from the north even, leaving traces (no doubt) of their sway, but without having materially altered the character of the native Gaelic population. Therefore it is that we do not accord with Mr Skene in believing the original Gael of Sutherland to have been at any one period wholly extinguished. The Gael from other neighbouring districts might indeed pour in as the Norse power declined, and aid in maintaining the strength and recruiting the numbers of the ancient occupants of the region. Nothing is more likely; and so far our opinions concur, accordingly, with those expressed in the preceding quotation.

The chiefs of the name, then, and district of Sutherland drew their descent, in all likelihood, from the old Gaelic stock, whether through Freskine of Moray or otherwise. One strong reason for this conclusion is, that they adopted and maintained, as a family appellation, the title given by the Norsemen to the region over which they ruled. This was seldom the practice of the southern incomers, whether from England or the Lowlands. On the contrary, they not only adhered pertinaciously in general to their own family name, but imposed it on the northern tribes who fell under their sway; and of this fact the neighbouring county of Caithness gives ample proof, the Norman Barons of Saint-Clair having turned honest Celts innumerable, on their acquired domains, into Sinclairs. The Frasers, the Gordons, and many other families, did the same thing. It seems probable, therefore, that the Sutherland chiefs were of Gaelic blood, since, as observed in the notice of Clan Chattan, the old story of the occupation of the north of Scotland by a German tribe called the Catti has little appearance of truth. The conjecture of Sir George Mackenzie is the preferable one. He says that the name of Cattu was formerly given to Sutherland and Caithness (Cattu-ness) conjoinedly, on account of the great number of wild cats there at one time to be found. The word "cat" affords us no help here, since it occurs both in the Gaelic and Teutonic languages, and with the same meaning. Be this as it may, the Sutherland house has long carried a Black Cat in its coat of arms; and the chief for the time has always borne the honoured title of The Great Cat. If a certain Freskine of Moray was really the founder of the line which ultimately inherited the thanedom, the point is only of moment as proving that nearly all authorities deem the line Gaelic. The first noted holder of the thanedom known about the beginning of the eleventh century, seems to have been "Alanus, Thane of Sutherland (as he is styled by Nisbet), who, as all our national histories and others, upon every good vouchers, tell us, was killed by Macbeth the Usurper," having joined the party of Malcolm, son of Duncan. If there was a Moddan at all, and that Moddan slain in 1034, he must have flourished at the outset of the reign of the "gracious King Duncan," whom the Norsemen certainly troubled greatly. The next party whom we hear of is Walter, who is called son of Alanus or Alan, and who was one of the new or first earls created in Scotland. Malcolm Canmore, long a fugitive in England, brought thence the custom of forming earldoms, and Walter, Earl of Sutherland, was raised to the dignity A.D. 1061 (says Nisbet). After this period occurs a term of confusion in the annals of the Sutherland line; nor is it likely that any inquiry or ingenuity could clear it up fully at this time of day. The ordinary account is, that the party before mentioned,

Hugh Freskine, obtained the earldom of Sutherland, "forfeited by the rebellion of the Earl of Caithness in 1197," and that his son William succeeded him. How the Earl of Caithness ever obtained the earldom of Sutherland, does not appear; and the puzzle is rendered more intricate by Malcolm Canmore's creation of special lords of Sutherland. The reader may perhaps blame us, and not unnaturally, for even attempting to unravel points of this kind, which have now no practical interest; but it must be remembered that the *clansmen*, in each particular case, view these matters as of no slight importance; and this is the apology here proffered, accordingly. Our impression is, on the whole, that Hugh Freskine was of the old and true Sutherland line of chiefs, and rightful heir, as son or cousin, to his direct predecessors.

The first authentic and indubitable Earl of Sutherland, who, whether of a Moray or Sutherland tribe, seems at all events to have been decidedly of the Gaelic stock, and to have left a Gaelic line—and this, after all, is the grand point—was William, *Dominus Sutherlandiae* (Lord of Sutherland) in the beginning of the thirteenth century. He was succeeded by his son, a second William. A deed executed in 1275 has been preserved, in which Archibald, Bishop of Caithness, "makes a solemn composition of an affair that had been long in debate betwixt his predecessors in the see, and the noble men, William of famous memory, and William his son, *Earls of Sutherland*." It is upon the strength of this deed that the representatives of the house claim, and now hold, the rank of Premier Earls of Scotland, the year 1228 being therein indicated as the special period at which the first Earl William bore the comital title. Of the accuracy and authenticity of this document there can be little doubt, though, in some works, the year 1057 is claimed for the house as the date of its ennoblement, while others bring it down to 1275. But, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, there were assuredly Sutherland Earls. In the case of the deed mentioned, the priesthood were parties concerned; and as they monopolised all the learning, not to say knowledge, of the times, and even studiously maintained that monopoly, we may be sure that all deeds implicating them were well looked to. It may not be uninteresting to the reader, though the matter may be a little foreign to the immediate subject, to revive an anecdote illustrative of the intelligence and patriotism of a northern "chanon" or priest of the twelfth century. Gilbert of Moray, afterwards Bishop of (Sutherland and) Caithness, went with other churchmen to Norham in 1176, to meet a Legate of the Pope and Henry II. of England. That politic monarch, founder of the Plantagenet dynasty, had urged his holiness of the day to bring the Scottish priesthood to acknowledge the Archbishop of York as their Metropolitan, doubtless with ulterior views of his own upon the liberties of the country. The Scottish clergy durst not refuse to attend the summons of the Legate; and, when they were all assembled at Norham, they heard the proposition of the papal envoy without venturing to reply. At length, after a long silence, a young chanon named Gilbert started up, and spake to this effect:—

"The Church of Scotland, ever since the faith of Christ was embraced in that kingdom, hath been a free and independent church, subject to none but the Bishop of Rome, whose authority we refuse not to acknowledge. To admit any other for our Metropolitan, especially the Archbishop of York, we neither can nor will; for, notwithstanding the present peace which we wish may long continue, warres may break up betwixt the two kingdomes; and if it shall fall out so, neither shall he be able to discharge any duty amongst us, nor can we safely, and without suspicion, resort to him. For the controversies which you, my lord cardinal, say may rise amongst ourselves, we have learned and wise prelates who can determine the same; and if they should be deficient in their duties, we have a good and religious king, who is able to keep all things in frame and order, so as we have no necessity of any stranger to be set over us; and I cannot think that either his holiness hath forgotten, or you my lord that are his legate, can be ignorant, of the late exemption granted unto Malcolm our last king; since the grant whereof, we have done nothing which may make us seem unworthy of that favour. Wherefore, in the name of all the Scottish Church, we doe humbly entreat the preservation of our ancient liberties, and that we be not brought under subjection to our enemies.' These speeches he delivered with an extraordinary grace, and in so passionate a manner, that all the hearers were exceedingly moved, the English themselves commending his courage, and the affection he shewed to his country. But the Archbishop of York, who looked not for such opposition, called the young chanon to come unto him, and laying his

hand upon his head, said, *Ex tua pharetra nunquam venit ista sagitta* (that arrow never came from thy quiver), meaning, that he was set on to speak by some others of greater note. So the legate, perceiving that the business would not work, and that the opposition was like to grow greater, he brake up the assembly. After which the prelates returning home, were universally welcomed; but above the rest, the Channon Gilbert was in the mouths of all men, and judged worthy of a good preferment, and soon after was promoted to the Bishoprick of Cuthness."

This anecdote gives us a noble idea of the clergy of the far north even in these wild and rude days. The spirit of Wallace and Bruce certainly glowed in the bosom of the young Chanon of Moray.

The first Earl William of Sutherland is usually understood to have been raised to the dignity by Alexander II., on account of his giving his aid in suppressing a rebellion in the north. It is more probable, however, that he was then only formally confirmed in the honours held by his predecessors from the times of Malcolm Canmore. He died at Dunrobin Castle, the seat (now altered and enlarged) of his race to the present day, and was succeeded (about A.D. 1248) by his infant son, William, second earl. (He is styled fifth or sixth earl by those who reckon from the time of Malcolm Canmore, but the family themselves claim their honours only from the first William above mentioned.) The second peer of the line attended the Parliament of Alexander III. at Scone (in 1283-4) with the other nobles of the land; and when the death of that sovereign originated the troubles with Edward I. of England, the Earl of Sutherland attended the pacificatory convention of Brigham in 1289-90. He afterwards swore fealty to the ambitious Plantagenet like so many of his compeers, but wiped away that stain from his escutcheon in his after days. He fought bravely under Bruce at Bannockburn in 1314; and when the English had prevailed on the Pope to issue excommunicatory letters against Scotland, the earl took a leading part in drawing up the famous remonstrance transmitted to Rome in 1320. This epistle is in all respects so admirable, that it forces us to admit the possession of clear heads, and well-cultivated heads besides, by at least some of the barons of those rude days. The spirit of independence which it breathes reminds one of the memorable meeting of King John with his peers on the plain of Runnymede; and striking, above all, is the determined resolve which the Scottish nobles express to cast off even their then idolised monarch, Robert Bruce, should he dare to think of subjecting Scotland to southron domination. The condensed account of this remarkable letter, giving by Abercrombie, is well worthy of being extracted. He says—

"The document contains in substance an account of the origin of the Scots nation; of the uninterrupted succession of 113 kings in the royal line, who, say they, reigned over them without the intervention of an alien; of their liberty and independency, never disputed till of late, and ever preserved; of their lamentable circumstances and insufferable oppressions under the tyranny of Edward I. king of England; of the great merit and valour of their deliverer King Robert Bruce; of the right of succession undoubtedly lodged in him, by the laws and customs of the land, and the due consent and assent of the community. To him (continue they), as well upon the account of his right, as by reason of his merit, we will adhere; but if he desists from what he has begun, and goes about to subject us or our kingdom to the king or kingdom of England, we will expel him as our enemy, and the subverter of his own and our right, and we will set another king over us, who shall be able to defend us; for so long as but an hundred Scotsmen remain alive, we will never be subjected in any manner of way to the dominion of England. In fine, they tell him, that if his holiness will not suffer himself to be undeceived, and continues to favour their injurious and calumniating enemies, they are persuaded that the Almighty will impute to him the destruction of the souls and bodies, and all the hostilities which the English shall commit upon them, and they upon the English. So true it is, that our ancestors in those days very well understood both the pontificate and regale; and that they neither thought themselves obliged to acknowledge a king, though an hereditary one, and otherwise indisputably lawful, who would, by giving up his own and their right to a foreign power, unking himself; nor to submit the same right to the arbitrement even of him whom they styled, and believed to be in spiritual matters, God's vicegerent upon earth."

William, second Earl of Sutherland, who took a leading share in drawing up this noble and patriotic epistle, died in 1325, and was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, who, after serving David Bruce faithfully, fell in his cause at Halidon Hill, A.D. 1333. From Kenneth descended his heir William, and a second son,

Nicol, who wedded the heiress of Chein or Cheyne of Duffus (can this be the same as the Cuinn, Gwynne, and Gunn lines?), afterwards Lords Duffus. That title, attainted in 1715, was latterly restored, but has fallen dormant since the death of the last lord in 1843. William, fourth Earl of Sutherland, formed strong connections with the royal house of Scotland, receiving in marriage Margaret, sister of David II. He went with that monarch to Durham, was taken with him (A.D. 1346), and shared his English captivity. Afterwards, he gave his eldest son, John, as one of the hostages for the release of the king, uncle to the young man. There is a discrepancy in regard to the fate of this hostage, the heir of the Sutherland house, in the ordinary genealogical works. One account says that he returned safely from England, held the earldom for a time, and begat sons and daughters duly, who inherited his estates and honours. Another and more feasible story is, that John, the heir of the Sutherlands, died in England unmarried in 1361, and that his brother, William, became consequently fifth earl, and continued the old line. The point is not very important, since the succession certainly was continued either through John or one of his brothers; but it may amuse our readers, and also render them more lenient to ourselves, to have laid before them a sample of the differences and contradictions with which the best heraldic and genealogical treatises are loaded. One work, then, says that "John (the aforesaid hostage) signalised his courage, in the reign of Robert II., during the war between the two nations. He married Lady Mabilla Dunbar, daughter of Patrick, tenth Earl of March, and died in 1389." A second equally respectable authority relates not less circumstantially, that "John (the same and said hostage) died in England, without issue, and was succeeded by William his brother, who *signalised his courage during the war between the two nations*, and died in 1389. William left issue Robert, sixth earl, who wedded Lady Mabilla Dunbar, daughter of John, Earl of Moray." The last tale is almost indubitably the correct one, were it but because the tenth Earl of March was named *George* Dunbar—a nobleman whose family annals became but too well known through his revolt to the English, when the marriage betwixt his daughter and the Duke of Rothsay was broken off in favour of a daughter of the "Grim" Douglas.

Three Earls of Sutherland of the name of John (usually reckoned as seventh, eighth, and ninth earls) followed in succession; and when the last of them died in 1508, the estates and honours fell to his sister Elizabeth, who wedded Adam Gordon of Aboyne, second son of the Earl of Huntly. This marriage converted the Sutherlands in the male line, not into Gordons, but Setons, since the great-grandsire of this Adam Gordon was a Seton, of the Winton House, who had wedded the Gordon heiress. Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland, carried the style of tenth earl to her husband, whose successors latterly assumed the family name of Sutherland. Their male line continued unbroken for several following generations, the heads of the house filling often high places in the state, and forming the strongest supports of Government in the north, after the date of the Revolution and the Union. George I. was so deeply sensible of the great influence and fidelity of John, sixteenth earl, as to create him Lord Lieutenant of nearly the whole of the north of Scotland, including seven counties and the Orkades; and, during the rebellion of 1715, King George wrote to him personally, thanking him for the past, and entreating a continuation of his services. The earl did his utmost to repress the rebellion, and was rewarded with the Order of the Thistle, and a pension of £1200 for life to compensate his pecuniary outlays. He also adhered firmly to the established throne when the rising of 1745 occurred, and, by his example and instrumentality, a large section of the northern population remained peaceable, and loyal to the powers that were. The noblemen of the house of Sutherland, indeed, seem never to have participated in any of the schemes set on foot for the restoration of the Stewarts. They do not even appear to have been ranked by the other Highland chiefs as among the genuine Highlanders, though the primitive stock was perhaps as purely Gaelic as any in the whole north, and the followers of the house to the last, most undeniably, could claim that descent in the main. Certainly the later

lords of Sutherland, as has been shown, sprang in the male line from south-land houses, namely, from the Setons and the Gordons.

William, grandson of the nobleman above mentioned, succeeded to the title and estates in 1733, and, dying in 1750, left one son, William, eighteenth Earl of Sutherland, according to the computation followed here. The point is of little moment, and can scarcely be settled now, since written "evidents," as the genealogists say, were rare things in the days of the first lords of the family.

The last male of the Seton-Gordon-Sutherland dynasty died on the 16th of June, 1766. He had wedded Mary Maxwell, daughter and heiress of William Maxwell of Preston, and had enjoyed with her a degree of happiness which made their union remarkable in the eyes of all who knew them, during the (unfortunately) short term of its duration. They had two children, a son and daughter, for whom, and for each other, the pair seemed only to live. The death of their infant boy affected them both deeply, and his lordship was advised to visit Bath, in the hope that the elegant amusements of that watering-place would recruit his health and spirits. When there, however, he became affected with fever, and his lady could not be induced to leave the side of his couch, until stricken by the same ailment. Her frame, debilitated by previous watching, anxiety, and grief, could not sustain the febrile attack, and she died on the 1st or 2d of June, 1776. This blow destroyed the last lingering chance of the earl's recovery. In little more than a fortnight he followed his countess to the tomb. Lovely in their lives, in death they were not divided!

The honours and estates of the Sutherland family now fell to Elizabeth, sole surviving offspring of the late Earl and Countess. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, Premier Baronet of Nova Scotia, claimed the titles as male heir of the line, through a junior son, born after the union of the heiress with a party of the Gordon name. But the very fact that the succession of that former heiress, through whom alone Sir R. Gordon could advance any pretensions, had never been disputed by male descendants, was held by the House of Lords as decisive in favour of the youthful daughter of the last William, Earl of Sutherland. A seeming descendant of the old line, George Sutherland of Force, claimed also the inheritance, but lost it in consequence of the same precedent. By the way, though the last earl has been here named the eighteenth, it may be proper to tell the reader, that scarcely one heraldic work agrees with another on this point. One styles him seventeenth earl; another calls him the twenty-third; and a third, adopted here as the most reasonable in its deductions, makes him out to be the eighteenth peer of the line.

Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland, in her own right, was born in 1765, or in the year before her parents died. She was united in 1785 to George Granville Leveson Gower, afterwards second Marquis of Stafford, and ultimately raised (in 1833) to the highest honours of the Peerage of the United Kingdom, by the title of Duke of Sutherland. The conjoined properties of the Gower and Sutherland houses would alone have placed this family on an equality with the wealthiest in Great Britain; but, as misfortunes seldom come single, so good fortune seems destined to follow the same route and rule, and a great part of the ducal estates of the Bridgewater-Egertons fell, through a previous marriage, to the Sutherland-Gowers. Lord Francis Egerton, younger brother of the second and present Duke of Sutherland, took finally the family name of the Bridgewater line, and inherited their possessions, supposed to yield the handsome income of sixty or seventy thousand pounds sterling yearly. He also received one of their titles, and is now EARL of ELLESMERE.

Elizabeth, Duchess-Countess of Sutherland, was a lady both of beauty and talent, reminding one much of the famous Jean, Duchess of Gordon, in regard to her management of family interests and alliances. One of her daughters, for example, wedded the heir of the Howards, and became in time Duchess of Norfolk; and another daughter was united to the heir of the Grosvenor (Westminster) family, understood to be the richest at this day in Great Britain, if not in Europe. It is credibly reported, that the income of the Marquis of Westminster now exceeds one thousand pounds sterling per day, which almost

monstrous revenue is derived mainly from feu rights over the western and fashionable parts of London. It is probable that the ground, now so valuable, would be estimated at but a few shillings per acre when first obtained by the Grosvenors, a family indubitably of the highest standing in Britain, and named from their early tenure of the office of Grand Huntsman (*Gros-Veneur*) to the Norman princes—an office somewhat needlessly maintained to this day under the title of the Mastership of the Royal Hounds.

From this digressory gossip we must turn back to the Sutherland house. The first Duke died in 1833, and the Duchess-Countess in 1839. The advancement of her family, it is said, continued to be her ruling passion in her last years; and a story has been told of her urging her grandson, Lord Fitzalan (now Earl of Arundel and Surrey) to pay his devoirs to the female *millionaire* Miss Burdett Coutts. That lady, it is further reported, puzzled sadly the young heir "of all the noble blood of all the Howards," by questioning him good-naturedly, after the fashion of Hamlet—"Is it your own inclining? Is it a free visitation? Come, come; deal justly with me; come, come; nay, speak." To his honour, it is related, the high-born youth did not deny that he had acted on the suggestions of his relatives; and the two, though they made no match, parted excellent friends, greatly to the credit of the good sense of both. So ran, at least, the high-life tattle of the day.

The present DUKE (and EARL) of SUTHERLAND, GEORGE GRANVILLE SUTHERLAND LEVESON GOWER, was born in the year 1786. He married in 1823 Lady Harriet Elizabeth Georgina Howard, sister of the present Earl of Carlisle, and has had several children, of whom one daughter is now Lady Blantyre, and another Duchess of Argyll. GEORGE GRANVILLE WILLIAM, MARQUESS of STAFFORD and LORD STRATHNAVER, is the heir-apparent to the numerous honours of his family. There are also other sons.

The genealogical annals of the heads of the family of Sutherland being thus closed, a few words may be said on the Clan generally. As already observed, neither the chiefs nor members thereof shared at any time in the insurrectionary enterprises of the midland, northern, and western Gael during the Stewart struggles, the tribe being kept usually in order by their heads, ever attached friends of the regularly-constituted government. The Earl of Sutherland raised a Fencible Regiment in 1759, at the request of the elder William Pitt; and only nine days, after the issue of the letters of service, were required to bring to the lawn before Dunrobin Castle one thousand one hundred able-bodied men. The "size and muscular strength" of this Sutherland corps are mentioned as remarkable by Stewart of Garth; but he does not draw the inference in the case which we should be half-inclined to do—namely, that the Gael of Sutherland had probably got a tinge of the massive corporeal build of their ancient Norse visitants. Undoubtedly, the true Scottish Highlanders, while agile and wiry in frame to an extreme degree, are not a tall, large-boned, full-bodied people like the Saxons. A single glance at the hosts of reapers, who pour down from the north annually, would alone suffice to settle the question. They are all active-looking men, but scarcely one in twenty exceeds or even reaches five feet six inches in height. Facts "are chieftains that winna ding, and downa be disputed." The same remark applies still more strongly to the Celts of Ireland, as seen under the same circumstances. A tall man among them is even a rarity.

A second Fencible Regiment was raised in Sutherland in 1779, and placed under a relative of the young Countess, Colonel Wemyss. The Fencible regiments were not enrolled for service abroad, and the present one was reduced in 1783, after a short period of home duty. General Stewart mentions one remarkable member of this corps, named Samuel Macdonald, or Big Sam, who formed an exception to the generality from his uncommon size, and had the further peculiarity of always walking at the head of his column with an attendant, a mountain-deer of bulk proportionate to his own:—

"Big Sam was seven feet four inches in height, and every way stout in proportion. His parents were of good size, but in nothing otherwise remarkable. Macdonald had fortunately

a quiet, equable temper: had he been irritable, he might, from his immense strength and weight of arm, have given a serious blow, without being sensible of its force. He was considered an excellent drill, from his mild and clear manner of giving his directions. After the peace of 1783, he enlisted in the Royals. From thence he was transferred to the Sutherland Fencibles of 1793. The Countess of Sutherland, with great kindness, allowed him 2s. 6d. per diem, extra pay; judging, probably, that so large a body must require more sustenance than his military pay could afford. He attracted the notice of the Prince of Wales, and was for some time one of the porters of Carlton House. When the 93d was raised, he could not be kept from his old friends; and, joining the regiment, he died in Jersey in 1802, regretted by his corps as a respectable, trustworthy, excellent man."

After the reduction in 1783, yet a third Fencible corps was enrolled in 1793, and received their discharge in 1798. But the foreign wars required soldiers, and many of the late Fencibles were re-enlisted for the regular service, forming the 93d regiment. They served at the Cape of Good Hope and in America with high credit, and have ever been deemed one of the most orderly bodies in the army.

At the conclusion of his notice of the Sutherland clansmen, Stewart of Garth thus speaks:—

"Men like these do credit to the peasantry of their country, and contribute to raise the national character. If this conclusion is well founded, the removal of so many of the people from their ancient seats, *where they acquired those habits and principles*, may be considered a public loss of no common magnitude. In the new stations, where so many Highlanders are now placed, and crowded in such numbers as to preserve the numerical population, while whole districts are left without inhabitants, can they resume their ancient character and principles, which, according to the reports of those employed by the proprietors, have been so deplorably broken down and deteriorated; a deterioration which was entirely unknown till the recent change in the condition of the people, and the introduction of a new system, and every way opposite to the probity, religious and domestic habits of the same people, when placed in situations and in societies where there was more danger of losing, than chance of acquiring, such valuable habits! It is only when parents and heads of families in the Highlands are moral, happy, and contented, that they can instil sound principles into their children, who, in their intercourse with the world, may once more become what the men of Sutherland have already been,—*an honourable example, worthy the imitation of all.*"

The worthy soldier and Highlander speaks here under the somewhat strong and combined prejudices resulting from profession and birth. He alludes to the removal of multitudes of families from their old holdings on the Sutherland property, during the time of the late Duchess-Countess. Repeatedly has it been here stated that such changes are inevitable, and that the chiefs who attempt to maintain the old state of things must infallibly ere long ruin all concerned. So has it been seen glaringly in the case of the Macdonalds, indeed, as well as of other Gaelic lairds. Of old, men—clansmen—formed the most valuable stock on a Highland property. They were actually the current coin in which a chieftain dealt, and according to their numbers was he poor or rich. Their blood and lives constituted almost the only rental paid by them for their housing and maintenance. The time has, however, come, in the natural order of things, when such modes of payment are no longer either necessary or available; and when a very different sort of return from their lands, moreover, is indispensable to the proprietors of the straths of the Highlands. Those among them who were most reluctant to remove old landmarks, we repeat, began with the system of mortgages, and have too often ended with compulsory sales. The excellent Garth numerates multitudinous instances of the fidelity of the Gael to their leaders in wars and rebellions; but scarcely one solitary proof does he adduce of their innate leanings towards the arts of peace. As we have now attained durability, it is to be hoped, to at least domestic quietude, it thus happens, that, granting all the praises of Garth to be deserved, the Gael generally do not evince those habits which are alone useful in our day. Ploughmen and herdsmen are the parties wanted to improve the Highlands, and not fighting men, however active, faithful, and brave.

The only question is, in what manner the old custom of shieling-tenures may be best changed, with the least amount of suffering to those concerned. The Highland proprietors are indeed called upon most peculiarly to look to this point, since the poorest families on their estates are often of their direct if not

near kindred, and possess no regular charters of occupancy, only because the chiefs were understood to hold the whole tribe-lands for the common good. When the Sutherland family began to arrange their possessions into large farms, after the southern fashion, many were found to blame them; but all the accounts ever read by us indicate, that the change was made in as humane a way as possible, and that the means of living were offered and furnished to the parties removed, either by settling them in sea-coast villages, or by giving to them the power of emigrating with comfort and decency. No doubt, where the old residents refused obstinately to move, some painful scenes of forcible ejection must have taken place; but, in reality, the movement was for their own good, since the altered state of the country must otherwise have soon left them to endure the pangs of slow starvation. Their stagnant mode of existence was and is utterly incompatible with the rise and spread around them of railroads, canals, steamers, and steam-engines. To soften the hardships of the period of transition is all that Highland landholders could or can do in the like cases. These sentiments have been expressed previously in this work, but the changes on the Sutherland estates have excited so much discussion, on this and that side, that the preceding remarks cannot be viewed as out of place. Individual instances of even unnecessary severity might occur in carrying such changes into effect; but the step, it may be conclusively repeated, seems to have become inevitable and needful for the benefit of all. What is now the position of the majority of the estates tried to be kept on the old system? They are in the hands of strangers. Are these parties more likely to be kind to the Gael than those native chiefs who had sense enough to turn their attention to the required improvements timeously?

By turning to former passages in the present work, the candid reader will see that it is not to flatter a powerful house that this view of matters has been taken. A great part of the Scottish Highlands has already undergone, and the whole will certainly soon undergo, the same mutations as those witnessed on the Sutherland estates. The entire argument may be re-condensed within a very few words. Human beings, as before hinted, were of old the grand, the available, and the then truly valuable produce reared by the Gaelic chiefs among their mountains. The commodity is, however, no longer serviceable or marketable. The present time calls for cultivation of a very different and certainly much more rational description. Such Highland lairds as fail to "obey the time," accordingly plunge themselves into assured ruin, and drag with them, in general, their entire people. The latter are infallibly thrown in the end on the mercy of strangers.

While noticing the changes in Sutherlandshire, a word or two may be said on the last statistical account of the population, drawn up by the district clergy. The following sentences, from the pen of a well educated member of the Established Presbyterian Church, indicate the most singular blindness to the real causes and effects of the innovation which has taken place in the Highlands. This authority says—

"Poverty is gradually manifesting its baneful effects upon the intellects and morals of naturally a fine and generous people. The taste for music, dancing, and public games, is much on the decline; and few or no traces are to be seen of the poetic talent and sprightly wit for which their ancestors, in common with most Highlanders, were distinguished. The imaginative powers are crushed under the continued pressure of a poverty that impels the mental energies in the low direction of what shall we eat and what shall we drink; and the habits of reflection and deep-thinking are exchanged for a sharp-sightedness in looking after their little secular interests."

Can this writer really imagine that the positive comforts of the Highlanders have been diminished, and their morals injured, by progressing civilisation? When the "taste for music, dancing, and public games" was at the height, how did they live—how did they find food? Was it procured by whistling strathspeys? By rapine alone could they exist, undoubtedly, or, in gentler words, by foraging, and foraging at the cost of their neighbours. Could this

state of things be possibly conducive to good morality? All that civilisation has done has been to call the people to the cultivation of the soil, for the winning of an honest livelihood. The reverend writer of the statistical account, indeed, contradicts himself plainly and directly, as he proceeds, in regard to the asserted effects of innovation on the Sutherlandshire population:—

“It is impossible that circumstances which have thus operated on their intellectual character, should not also affect their morals and religious feelings. They have done so, though not so greatly as might be expected; and it is saying much to their credit that there is so small an amount of crime, and so much security for person and property. There were never but two from this parish tried at a justiciary court, one not a native, and the other only for a breach of trust. The people are kind and peaceable, patient under adversity, submissive to laws, and respectful to authorities. They possess a good deal of religious knowledge, and much veneration for religious ordinances and usages. *Laziness is no longer characteristic of the people. They are alive to the advantages of industry.*”

This most inconsistent passage affords a curious proof of the effect of prejudices, arising from birth and position. In point of morals, religious feelings, peaceableness, and industry, the improvement has been admittedly universal, and yet the old days of laziness, dancing, and creaghs are regretted!

Other parties, describing the same region, give more rational accounts of the existing state of things. The Gaelic people, it seems, were at times comfortable, when—

“Nulla
Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus.”

[When kindly earth gave forth its fruits, untilled.]

But the “extreme of want, contagious fevers, and other mortal diseases,” oppressed too often the poor inhabitants, and they had no resource but “to appeal to the humanity of their landlords.” These would scarcely be days, surely, of “dancing, music, and public games.” This second authority on the former and present state of Sutherland says, that not long ago there were but few bred tradesmen in the country.

“When a man found it necessary to renew his rude dwelling, he called the neighbours to his assistance, and it was only the work of a few days to complete it. Every man was his own carpenter, for few implements were required, and he had little to do with them. One blacksmith served a district. The shoemaker and the tailor migrated from house to house, receiving their victuals and a small pittance of wages in return for their labour. There was scarcely a cart or a plough in the country, excepting on the larger farms. No man thought of increasing or improving his tillage or pasture lands by trenching or draining. But let any one with an impartial and unprejudiced eye examine the present condition of the inhabitants; their well-built and neatly kept cottages and enclosed gardens far exceed what many tacksmen [the *middlemen* of Ireland] in former days, paying from £50 to £100, possessed. Every individual in the family has some resource in a trade or other manual labour—all is a stirring scene of industry and positive comfort. The father and the sons cultivate the lot, if not tradesmen; while the females are engaged with household work, or preparing nets for the next herring season.”

This subject is a picture totally at variance with the one first given; and the subject has been here dwelt upon, because it is of the deepest importance to the whole body of the Highlanders of Scotland. Attempts to regain predominance by force were fully tried in 1715 and 1745, and, as all know, vainly. The Gael must progress with the age; and it cannot but be for their own well-being now and ultimately. A vast body of the Sutherlandshire people (with the aid of their landlords) are at this day earning an honest living by the herring-fisheries. More, many more, of the same race must follow the same course, to retain a place in their native land.

ARMS OF CLAN SUTHERLAND.

[It was before stated, that the object here kept in view has all along been to give the most ancient and authentic forms and sets of armorial bearings and tartans, peculiar to the various clan-families. The misfortune is, however, that scarcely a single modern chief has left his

household coat as it came to him from his sires, so that even references to the Lyon office do little good. The true Sutherland Arms seem to stand nearly as follows.]

GULES, three stars, within a bordure, or, charged with a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered with fleurs-de-lis of the first.

CREST. A (black) cat, sejant.

SUPPORTERS. Two savages, wreathed around the head and waist with laurel, and holding batons, shouldered.

MOTTO. *Sans peur* (without fear).

BADGE. Broom (butcher's broom).



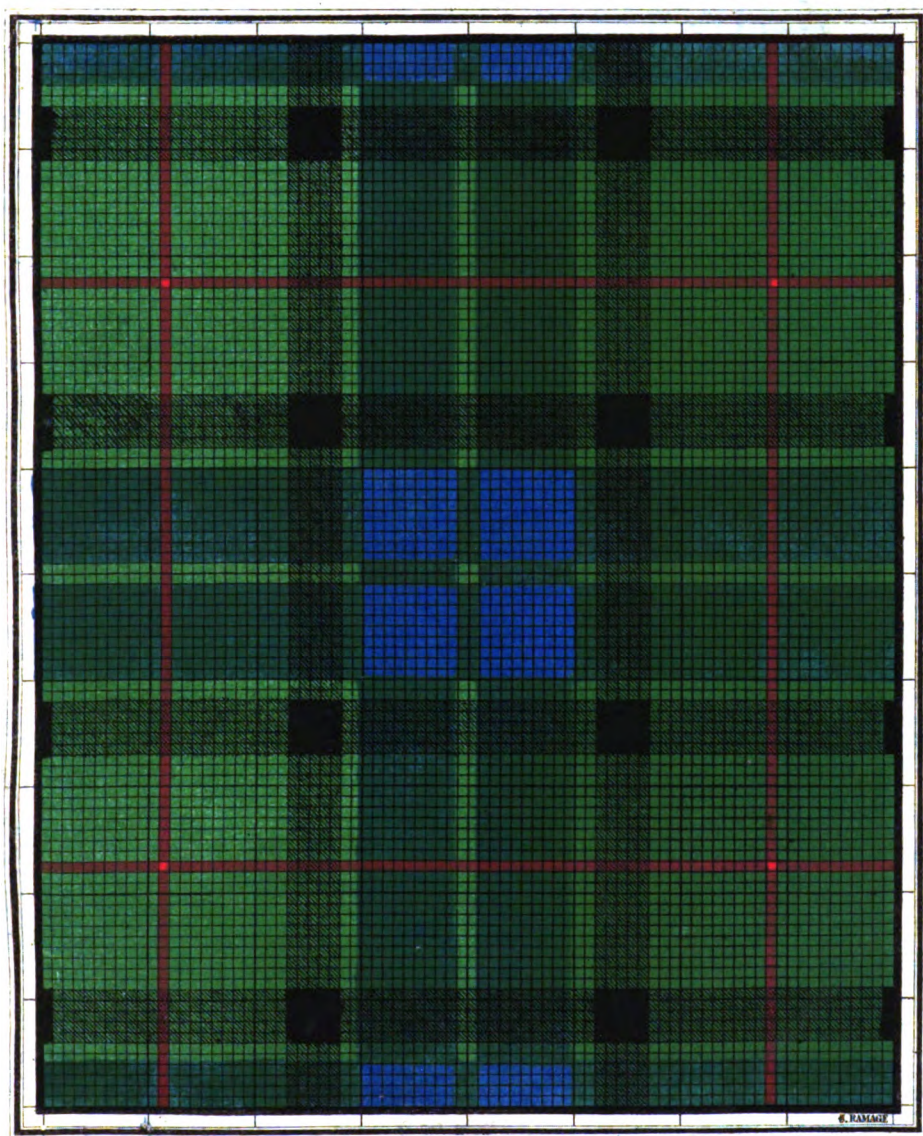
CLAN GUNN.

Most writers on the annals of the Scottish Highlanders do not reckon on the CLAN GUNN as among the septs entitled to a full or separate notice at all. It strikes us, however, that they are perhaps among the very purest remnants of the Gael to be found about Sutherlandshire and the adjoining parts. So thinks Stewart of Garth, obviously, since he takes care in mapping the territories of the clans, to allude to Sutherlandshire as including the Gunns or Clan Guinn. It is probable that they belong mainly to the same stock which produced the great body of the Sutherland population, that latter name having been adopted, as already explained, from the title given to the region by the Norsemen, and not being connected with the true origin of the Gaelic natives.

There are several stories on record respecting the descent of the Gunns (Guns or Guins). The same old family genealogist, who was cited respecting the race of Gillecandris (a name changed successively into Gilleanrias, Leandris, Anrias, Rias, and lastly Ross), calls the first Guin one of "three brethern, Guin, Leod, and Leandris, who com out of Denmark, to the north pairts of Scotland, to follow ther fortune; and Guin took possession of the Braes of Cathnes, wher his posterity remanes to this day, called the Clan Gunn." The continuation of the tale is that Leod founded the Macleod sept; and we admitted it to be probably true that the Macleods of the Isles really had a liberal share of Norse blood in their veins, though the account here mentioned had little weight in causing that decision. As distinctly was it stated, however, that the Clan Ross appeared to us to be almost purely of the native Gaelic race. Of the Clan Gunn the same opinion must be expressed. The name seems to be Gaelic or Celtic, and identical with that of GWYNNE, so common among the Celts or Gwaelsh of the west of England. The word in the Erse tongue has certain meanings, rendering it not inappropriate as a name for a wild tribe of mountaineers in the old days. As a substantive, *guin* signifies "fierceness," and also "pain," "a wound," "a sting," "a dart;" while, as a verb, it means "to wound, pierce, or sting;" and, as an adjective, framed from the same root, it has the sense of "sharp, keen, bitterly malicious." So say Drs Norman Macleod and Daniel Dewar in their Gaelic dictionary. It therefore seems likely that *gun* was a generic term applied to some of the rudest and most northerly of the Scottish Highlanders in very early times, as well as to the hill-men of Wales, similarly situated. The name of the *Sìol Cuinn*, applied to the Highlanders of Argyle, is probably the very same name. However, the names are now Gunn and Wynne, according to the common modes of spelling. Even the definite arrangement of families into all the varieties of Macs, which formed a sort of approach on the part of the more inland Highlanders to the usages of civilised life, appears to have been unknown in the far north. This supposition is strengthened by the fact, that the Gael on the most southerly borders of the Highlands surpassed the inland tribes in regularity of nomenclature, as much as these did the ultra-northerns. The names of Farquharson, Robertson, and Ferguson, within the Perth and Forfar limits, exemplify what is here meant.

In short, we repeat our belief that the name of Gunn had a generic origin, indicating a "fierce" tribe; and that they had been so christened by those

XXX



Clan Gunn

around them who first possessed or attained to any knowledge of the art of nomenclature, or had occasion for its use. Nor need the Clan Gunn distress themselves about the barbarism thus "nominally" imputed to their sires. Even the general name of "Scots" appears to come from an Erse term signifying, in its mildest sense, "wanderers;" the Belgæ, again, were "ravagers;" while multitudes of other entire nations cannot boast even of such decent sources for their designations. These, however, became commonly permanent, simply because the Romans (in most instances) moulded the primitive terms which struck their fancy, or came in their way, into their own tongue, in referring to the countries conquered by them; and because nearly all the early learning of these said countries sprung from and through them, the first native historians having no other *written* languages at command, save the classical ones, and especially the Latin. It may be thought that this subject has been too much dwelt upon, considering the Gunns to have long been but a secondary sept of Sutherlandshire; but, in reality, the question has a general bearing. Such native stories as that of "Guin the Dane" cannot stand, in our eyes, against the more common-sense view of the subject, although these stories may be found in manuscripts two or three hundred years old. One word of one able and educated historian is generally of far greater worth than hundreds of merely traditional tales recorded by men unknown, and men for the most part plainly unqualified for the task of repeating even hearsays of hearsays correctly and intelligibly. Every person of ordinary sense must have noticed, besides, how inconsistent is the conduct commonly of those who love to refer to old MSS. They will often laugh loudly when pointing to witch-stories, appearances of the devil, and so forth; and yet in the next sentence will they gravely accept the reporters of these as authorities on ancient genealogical and historical questions of moment, though the same blinded ignorance must have actuated the writers on the one point as well as the others, and though sound and really credible annalists may have told a very different tale.

The Gunns are represented as living mainly, as far as they were a separate sept, to the north of Dunrobin Castle, which stands on the eastern coast of Sutherlandshire. They had chieftains of their own name, though these might hold a second place in respect of the Sutherland earls; and they had a castle of their own, called Halbury. Several traditions respecting the Gunns are current in their native district. The following is curious, if it were but from the names. The "Keiths" mentioned are plainly the men of *Kaithness* merely; and the word "crownor" (if we are to interpret the Gaelic word *chruner* as crownor) seems to imply merely the judicial agent or representative of the superior lords of the country.

"Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the chief of the Clan Gun (or Gunn, here adopted as the best form of the name) was George Gunn, who lived in feudal dignity in his then impregnable castle of Halbury; but he was better known as *Crownor Gunn*, or, as he was called by the Highlanders, "*N'm Braistach-mòre*," from a great brooch which he wore as the badge or cognisance of his office of crownor. He had a deadly feud with the chief of the Keiths; and having met in St Tyre's chapel for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation, but without success, they were solemnly agreed to decide their quarrel, if they could not do so amicably on a future day, by equal combat between twelve sons or relatives of each chieftain. The crownor and the leader of the Keiths approached each other in full armour; but it was soon discovered by the Gunns that there were two riders on every horse in the party of the Keiths, and consequently the latter party had twenty-four men opposed to the twelve followers of the crownor. This vile stratagem instantly revealed to the Gunns that their destruction, by unfair means, was determined upon. They scorned, notwithstanding the great odds against them, to retreat before their enemies the Keiths; and fought most desperately, but could not withstand the great odds that opposed them. After a long-continued struggle, the survivors on both sides were so much exhausted, that the combat was mutually dropped—the Keiths being so far the victors as to leave the field with their banner displayed, and to be able to carry with them their slain companions; while in the ranks of the Gunns, the crownor and seven of his party were killed, and the remaining five were all severely wounded. The Keiths proceeded to Dilred Castle, in Strathmore, then occupied by Sutherland of Dilred, where they were hospitably entertained. The five surviving Gunns, who were all sons of the crownor, also retired, but tarried at another stream, since then called Alt-Torquil, after Torquil Gunn, one of the survivors, who there dressed the wounds of his brothers. Towards evening, Henry-beg, the youngest of the surviving brothers of the Gunns, proposed that they should follow the Keiths,

and endeavour to obtain revenge, even by stratagem such as the Keiths had recourse to. They arrived at Dilred Castle soon after nightfall. On approaching the castle, its wooden windows or shutters were found open, and around a large fire in the lowest apartment the survivors of the Keiths were quaffing bumpers of ale; and Henry, who went close to one of the windows, heard them narrate, with boisterous delight, the losses sustained by the Gunns. The chief of the Keiths, not apprehensive of any danger, accidentally approached the window where Henry stood, and the latter then bent his bow, and in another instant his arrow pierced the chieftain's heart; Henry at the same time boldly accompanying the deadly flight of his arrow with the exclamation (afterwards used in the North Highlands as a proverb) of "The Gunn's compliments to Keith." The old chief dropped down dead; a panic seized the other Keiths; and the three Gunns, having darted forward to the door of the castle, slew some of the first persons who ventured out by it; but finding that they could not retain their position long, Henry and his two brothers retired silently under cover of the darkness of the night, and hurried back to the assistance of the other brothers, who had been unable to accompany them."

Other stories are told of the Gunns, but their history in old days, as observed, is chiefly mixed up with the general annals of the Sutherland and Caithness tribes. In the "Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland," written up to 1630 by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstone, and continued to 1651 by another party, several notices of the Clan Gunn occur incidentally. At a skirmish which took place A.D. 1517 "William Mackames-Wick-Chruner (the name being plainly the same as "Crownier" just noticed), cheiff of the Clan Gunn in Southerland," was present against the Mackys or Mackays, and gave them a signal defeat, two or three hundred men being slain on the unsuccessful side. The exact words of Sir R. Gordon, writing not very long afterwards, are—"Their wer two hundred of the Strathnaver men slain, thieirtie-two of the Seill (Sìol) Faill, and fyfteen of the Seill-Thomas." The commander of the vanquished in this affair is called "Neill-Mackean-Mack-Angus;" and his brother is styled John Moir-Mackean, from whom "descended a race of people called the Slaight-Ean-Voir," which means the race of John the Great. The whole of this extract proves accuracy in Gaelic nomenclature to be a point utterly unattainable. Indeed, this battle with the "Mackys" may only be a version of the fight with the Keiths. The name of Keith (odd as it may seem) is easily changed into Mac-Kays, or Mac-Kaiths. The common source of the people is further made obvious, in reality.

Sir Robert Gordon proceeds to say, that "William Mackames (cheiftane of the Clangun), heer mentioned, was called Cattigh. He wes borne and bred in Southerland. From him are descended the Clangun that dwell at this day in Strathully. They have alwyse since that tyme had the lands of Killeirnan for ther service, from the Earles of Southerland, unto whom they have ever been both trusty and faithfull."

It is plain, from these and other incidents, that the people of Sutherland, Caithness, and Moray, were always named from their localities when viewed *en masse*, and from their immediate sires when spoken of specially, having no baptismal registrations. The Sutherland men are spoken of always as fighting with southern parties of the name of "John-Roy-Moray," and such like; or else they fought with Mackians or Mackys, on their northern borders. *MAC-KAMES* (which means Macjames or Machamish) seems to be the oldest Gaelic sept-name of the Gunns. The point is not of peculiar moment, the conclusion being clear that they are true Celtic Highlanders.

At the close of the sixteenth century, there seem indeed to have occurred bloody feuds betwixt the Sutherland and Caithness men, or, in other words, betwixt the Gunns and a branch of the Mackays. Sir Robert Gordon says, that the horrible encounters, the bloodshed, the spoiling, together with "their asperous names," prevent him from giving details. The Clan Gunn appear to have come by the worst at times between the Caithness and Sutherland earls. At a meeting of the two (says Sir Robert Gordon) "it was concluded amongst them that some of the Clangun should be *made away*;" and the poor Clan Gunn seemed destined to destruction. The business ended in that final separation of the Gunns from the Mackays and Sinclairs, to whom they had been before attached, which has been mentioned. Sir R. Gordon says, on the subject of the tribe:—"The Clangun are a race of people dwelling within the diocese of Catte-



ness, and are divyded among the thrie countries of Southerland, Catteness, and Strathnaver. They are verie courageous, rather desperat than valiant." They came at last from under the power of the Mackays and Sinclairs, as said, and such of the tribe as have still dwelt in Southerland have ever been faithful to their masters, the earles of Southerland. Their "commander and chieftane is called Mack-wick-Kames, and remaineth alwyse in Killiernan in Strathully, wher he hath some landes and possessions from the earles of Southerland, as a fee for his service." Alluding to his own time, the chronicler adds and interpolates the remark, that "John Robson (Mackames), chiftain of the Clangun in Catteness, did now of late, the yeir of God 1618, mak his refuge of Southerland, having fallen out with the Earle of Catteness and Macky; so that this whole surname doth for the present depend altogether upon the house of Southerland."

It was in the year 1586 that the Gunns were pursued both by the men of Caithness and Sutherland. Almost by chance they fought the former, and beat them. This proved the critical event in the fortunes of the Gunn family. At first, indeed, both the Caithness and Sutherland earls turned their powers against the sept, and took captive the next chief, George (Mack-ean Mack-ro) Gunn, after a skirmish in which he fought most stoutly, and, being vanquished, threw himself into a lake, "sore-wounded," to make a last struggle for life and liberty. After being liberated, as it is said, he attached himself to the party to whom he deemed himself most deeply indebted, the Earl of Sutherland; and the clan and family became fixed adherents, as related, of that noble house. It was not until the year 1619, however, that they were formally dispossessed of all their lands held under the Caithness family, and also of their holdings under the Mackays; whereupon the whole "retired themselves, with their families, into Sutherland." Alexander (Davidson or) Gunn and his race were placed by Sir Robert Gordon in Strathully. Some small portions of the old Caithness possessions, however, were afterwards recovered.

It is clear, from this whole and rather confused story, that the Gunns had been a branch of the purest aborigines of the north. The Sinclairs and such like baronial incomers might gain the upper hand as rulers through regal favours and other causes; but they could not materially change the breed of the people.

It is remarkable enough, that the admitted head of this genuine tribe of the indigenous Gael of northern Scotland, George Gunn, Esq., of Sutherlandshire, holds at this hour nearly the same position, relatively to the main lords of the soil, that the before-mentioned *crown*er, or justiciary of the same family, seems to have held two or three centuries since. The present chief of the Clan Gunn is a gentleman alike estimated by the Sutherland house, and by the numerous body of people of whom (under them) he takes a portion of charge.

ARMS OF CLAN GUNN.

Argent, a galley of three masts, her sails furled, and oars in action sable, flags gules, within a bordure azure; on a chief of the third, a bear's head of the first, muzzled of the second, between two mullets of the field.

CREST. A dexter hand, wielding a sword proper.

MOTTO. *Aut pax aut bellum* (or peace or war).

BADGE. Juniper.



CLAN FRASER.

The CLAN FRASER (OR FRAZER) is one of a few, whom the most inveterate sticklers for Gaelic purity of blood, at once in chief and clan, cannot deny to have had a Norman (which, oddly enough, has almost the same meaning as a Southron) origin. The last antiquary of the class mentioned admits but four such families into his Gaelic list, namely the Stewart, Fraser, Clisholm, and

Menzies lines. For our own part, we have already expressed the full belief that the native Gael had many new proprietary houses planted among them from time to time, both of their own Celtic blood, and of the race of the Lowland settlers. But the whole became ere long thoroughly amalgamated; and it may be confidently asserted, as an illustration of this assertion, that a more truly Highland clan, both as regarded chiefs and followers, did not exist than were the Frasers ultimately. Yet the founders of the name were assuredly Normans, the *frases* or *fraises* (strawberries) of the old French language having admittedly given to them their designation. When we have noble families boasting of having been stewards, falconers, and even colliers to princes of old, it is no derogation to the dignity of the Frasers to bring them from the *Frais-seurs* (probably the garden-keepers) to similar high parties. It was an old trick, and one not yet quite forgotten, to assign such offices to favourites, excellent salaries and no duties being usually or rather uniformly thereto appended. Some authorities say, however, that the name of Fraser sprung merely from the adoption of the *fraises* in the *arms* of the family in old times.

It has been undeniably established, that the earliest Scottish Frasers appear not as occupants of Highland territories, but of Tweeddale. The ancestor, it is said, was Pierre Fraser, an envoy from France to Scotland in the days of Charlemagne. Whether entitled or not to claim this high antiquity, certainly the first eminent Scot of the house was Sir Simon Fraser, Lord, in the thirteenth century, of all the upper portion of the vale of Tweed—a goodly estate, and including the two strongholds of Oliver and Neidpath Castles. At the same time, it should be said that the family are named much earlier in history, being donators to Kelso Abbey in the reign of Malcolm III. and IV. Sir Simon is usually designated of Oliver Castle in history, which seat lay on the Lanarkshire confines of the district and strath of the Tweed. It is now in ruins. Neidpath Castle seems to have protected the estates of Sir Simon at their eastern extremity. It stands close by the town of Peebles, and is yet in tolerable preservation, presenting the best sample, perhaps, of a true baronial castle of the Scottish marches now to be seen in anything like completeness. Neidpath is a square building of no small size when compared with Newark and other border towers. It had obviously been erected that the lord thereof, his vassals, and their families, might lie safely ensconced within impenetrable walls, during the hasty forays of the English border-riders. No common night-raid could have disturbed the inmates of Neidpath. The walls show to this day a thickness of eleven feet; and the castle is so built, on a promontory overhanging the Tweed, that but one side is really assailable, and that side, being of the density mentioned, might have laughed even modern cannon to scorn for a season. Such was one, at least, of the main castles of Sir Simon Fraser (whose arms are yet seen above the gateway), Lord of Tweeddale, in the days of Wallace and Bruce, and one of the most eminent barons of his time. At least three or four peerages have been held by those of the name, the Fraser, Lovat, and Salton baronages being the most eminent. All of these houses claimed with pride an affinity to Sir Simon Fraser, though not sprung from him directly or personally. The proper Highland *clan* Fraser was that headed by the Lovat branch; and they indicated their peculiar respect for their descent by making Simon a common name for their chiefs, and adopting generally the Gaelic designation of *Mac-SHIMEI* (a term variously spelled), which means “the sons of Simon.”

Sir Simon Fraser and his family are called Frizels or Frazels in old documents, and they so spelled their names originally. Indeed, the Frasers are styled Frizels on Tweedside to this day; and there are yet families of Frezeliers (or Fazeliers) living in France, members apparently of the same house. Both in regular history, and in contemporary chronicles and ballads, the story of Sir Simon Fraser is related minutely; and it is clear from these accounts, that Edward I. and the English deemed him their most formidable foe in Scotland, with the sole exception of Sir William Wallace. The Baron of Tweeddale, however, submitted in the first instance to the English, after they took him prisoner at Dunbar in 1296. But he wiped away the stain from his name most nobly a

few years afterwards. He became one of the firmest friends of Wallace, and repeatedly commanded the armies of the Scottish patriots in the absence of that hero of heroes. Jointly with Sir John Cumin, Sir Simon Fraser headed his countrymen at the famous battle of Roslin Muir, fought on the 24th of February, 1302. King Edward had sent a force amounting to nearly thirty thousand men to ravage and subdue the north of Britain. Fraser and Cumin could not muster more than eight or nine thousand followers; and yet, availing themselves skilfully of the imprudence of their enemies, who had divided into three nearly equal bodies to plunder the Lothians, the Scottish leaders encountered every one of these parties in succession on the same day, and routed them all by turns. The scene never changed from the Muir of Roslin. It seemed to be "one down, another come on," to use the words of Rob Roy; and, fortunately for the Scottish party, the three English divisions came up successively, just in time to find their predecessors beaten, and to be embarrassed by their presence, rather than aided. Still, in all points of view, this triple victory gained by such inferior numbers will not easily be paralleled in history. It was hailed throughout Scotland with joy unspeakable; and, following up their advantage, Sir Simon Fraser and his associates stript King Edward ere long of almost every place of strength in the country.

Sir William Wallace had at this period gone to France, it is said, to secure the friendship of its monarch; and, on his return, Fraser became one of the inseparable companions of the great patriot. They had need of all their energies, since Edward, irritated beyond bounds by the almost disgraceful defeat at Roslin, revisited Scotland in 1303 with a force wholly irresistible by the Scots at that period. Too many of the northern nobles were, indeed, alarmed into renewed and abject submission.

On this occasion the English monarch seemed resolved utterly to erase all traces of the national independence, carrying off the ancient records and relics, and abrogating all the old laws. But there were some bold hearts whom he could not subdue, nor even intimidate. The terrible horn of Wallace, never heard without alarm by southern ears, sounded often at the deep and still hour of midnight on the skirts of the English army, and the morn ever showed that the not less fearful sword of the hero had also found deadly employment. Sir Simon Fraser was here the constant companion of Wallace, having like him (and *one* other baron of highest note only) refused Edward's summons to attend a parliament at St Andrews, and spurned the high rewards offered—for which contumacy the Lord of Neidpath sustained sentence of banishment and outlawry. Langtoft (an English rhymer of the very age) names John Cumin, Lord of Badenoch, and the same person stabbed finally by Bruce at Dumfries, as the companion of Wallace and Fraser in what the bard, in his prejudice, calls their skulking and plundering:—

"The Lord of Badenauch, the Fraser, and Wallays,
They lived at thieves' law, ever robbing all ways.
They had no sustenance the warfare to maintene,
But skulked upon chance, and robbed aye betwene."

When Edward left Scotland, after a lengthened stay, these indefatigable patriots resumed their schemes for recovering their national liberties, and entered into correspondence with Robert Bruce. But ere Bruce could join them, Wallace was betrayed by "the fause Monteith" at Robroystoun, in the autumn of 1305, and suffered a cruel doom at London, adding to the laurels of the hero the nobler crown of martyrdom. The same fate awaited Sir Simon Fraser. He joined Robert the Bruce, and fell into the hands of the English in 1306, near to Perth. Bruce himself was sore bested on the occasion, but escaped finally. However, "the Englisshe (according to a chronicle nearly of the date) quelled the stede that Sir Symond Frisell rode uppon, and ther tok hym and lad hym to the host." Sir Simon "began for to speke faire," but his captors knew too well the value of their prize. "Then answerd Theobaude of Pevenes, that was the kinge's archer, 'Now God me so helpe it is for nought that thou speaxte; for alle the gold of Englonde I wold thee not lete gone

without commandment of King Edward." The vindictive monarch justified the foresight of his archer. He commanded Sir Simon Fraser to be led away to his doom at London, where he was hung and drawn, and "his head smytten of, and hanged agene with chynes of iren upon the gallwes, and his head uppon London brig on a sper." Sir Simon, in short, was executed with the same cruel formalities that attended the closing scene of the life of Wallace. That the event was deemed one second only to that in importance is proved by a song of the same age on the subject. Fraser, like Wallace, was crowned with laurel in mockery—"a garland of the newe guise." The many "wives" that looked on his end pitied him, according to the piece—

"And said, Alas!
That ever he was born,
And so vilely forlorn
So fair man as he was."

"Now stood the head above the bridge, fast by Wallace," we are told; so that in death the heroes were not divided!

Such is a brief sketch of the career of the indubitable head and chief of the Fraser line and name, at the period when the house first appears in history. Sir Simon left two daughters, co-heiresses to his large estates. The one wedded Sir Patrick (or Malcolm) Fleming, ancestor of the noble family of Wigton; and the other was united to Sir Gilbert Hay, progenitor of the Marquis of Tweeddale. The Flemings obtained a share of the western possessions, or those on the confines of Lanarkshire; and the representatives of the house, the Elphinstone-Flemings, yet (or lately did) possess some relics of the property. The Hays held Neidpath Castle and the attached estates for a lengthened period, as is marked by their title of Earls and Marquises of Tweeddale.

Patrick (or Malcolm) Fleming, and Gilbert Hay, who obtained the hands of Sir Simon Fraser's co-heiresses, were amongst the most active adherents of Robert the Bruce, and would have the royal sanction, no doubt, to their assumption of the possessions of their ladies. But the family was not without (at least) collateral male representatives. There rests some obscurity on the origin of the two great northern branches of the Fraser house, namely, those of Salton and Lovat. In the common annals of the Salton Frasers, it is asserted that John Fraser of Tweeddale wedded a northern heiress of the Cumin family in the year 1247, and left two sons younger than Sir Simon, whose history has been given. It is unquestionable that a William Fraser, of the Oliver Castle line, was Bishop of St Andrews betwixt the years 1279 and 1297, and that, having originally sided with the Baliols and the English, he died latterly out of grief for the national reverses. This party has an authentic name in history as well as his presumed brother, Sir Simon; and their connection seems well enough established. A third brother, named Gilbert, is pointed to as having obtained lands in the shires of Stirling and Kincardine, and possibly some of the more northern Cumin properties. His son or grandson, Alexander Fraser, Thane of Cowie, is authentically stated to have been chamberlain of Scotland, and to have received the hand of Mary, sister to Robert Bruce, and widow of Sir Neil Campbell of Lochlow. The eldest son of this Alexander (though probably by a first marriage) was the founder of the Salton branch; and a younger son, Andrew, originated the Lovat line. At least there did exist about this time an Andrew, endowed with the Stirlingshire property of Touch; and his apparent son and successor, Simon, who wedded a daughter of the Earl of Caithness, seems to have laid the basis of the Lovat possessions. He indeed claimed in his wife's right the whole of the Caithness honours and succession in the year 1330; and, though he failed therein, he certainly obtained considerable possessions in the north of Inverness-shire. This Simon, from whom the clan more directly assumed the MacShimei name, fell at Halidon Hill in 1333, and left an infant son Hugh, first named in charters as "Dominus de Lovat" (Laird of Lovat). The descent of the race from the Frasers of Tweeddale is decisively marked by a resignation made in 1377, by Hugh of Lovat, of some remains of property still held there, to the Lords of Douglas.

This is the clearest account which a comparison of authorities enables us to give of the origin of the northern Frasers. No case could mark more clearly the folly of looking on every man who may have assumed a clan name as being necessarily a member of that clan by blood. The Aberdeenshire or Salton Frasers formed primarily the stronger branch of the house; and yet they founded no tribe, and filled no district with people so called, as did the Lovat offshoot in the more inland and purely Gaelic districts of the Aird and Stratherrick. The natives there came all to be called Frasers finally, and almost necessarily so, from the absence of any other divisions and distinctions than those of clans from clans. The Gael took their names, in short, from their chiefs; and the enlistings during the Stewart disturbances of the last two centuries mainly contributed to give them any stated family names at all. Many a Donald and Angus had no idea of regular patronymics until they were enrolled by their chiefs into bodies of serviceable men-at-arms, whether for the benefit of their chiefs or their supposed sovereigns.

It would be out of place here, after having tracked the sources of the Salton and Lovat families, to follow up their genealogical history closely. The Salton branch, which, on the whole, seems to have been the eldest offshoot of the extinct Tweeddale stem, held the lands of Philorth and others in the north-east of Scotland; and by a marriage with the daughter of the Lords Abernethy, Alexander Fraser became heir to the Abernethy baronage, and was created LORD SALTON and ABERNETHY by Charles I., the precedence of 1445 being retained and confirmed. The first of the Frasers, styled Lord Salton and Abernethy, is in some heraldic works called the 12th, and in others the 14th lord in the line of succession. It matters little which account is correct. The honours of the family are borne at this day by Alexander George Fraser, Lord Salton and Abernethy, a general in the British army, who has acted meritoriously in various military employments abroad, and has served latterly in China with peculiar distinction. From his brother, the Honourable William Fraser, who married, and left several children, the heir-apparent to the title of Lord Salton is descended.

That branch of the Frasers which attained to the title of LORDS FRASER, may be dismissed in a few words. They are said to have been directly of the Philorth or Salton line, and acquired a fair estate in Aberdeenshire. Andrew Fraser of Kilmundy, representative of the house, was created Lord Fraser, A.D. 1633. The title became extinct or dormant by the death of the fourth baron in 1720, through a fall from a precipice. He had been wedded, but left no issue.

The house of the LORDS LOVAT deserves far more attention *here*. It was the only branch of the family of the Frasers that became truly and thoroughly Gaelic or Gaelicised. A strong clan of the name sprung up under the barons of Lovat in Inverness-shire. From Hugh, *Dominus de Lovat*, being named as one of the hostages for the ransom of James I., it would seem that the family had attained to high distinction at so early a date as 1424; and though the point is not well cleared up (*Dominus* meaning *Laird* as often as *Lord*, and *Baron* a landed gentleman as often as a *Peer*), they most probably obtained the regular baronial rank about 1445, when so many other titles were settled by the famous summonings to Parliament of that date. Nisbet indeed dates their elevation to the peerage a little earlier. He says, "The first of this family was Simon Fraser, a son of Sir Alexander Fraser, nephew of King Robert Bruce. He or his successor got the lands of Lovat, by marrying the heiress of the name of Bisset, and one of the heirs of the name of Fentons. The family was dignified with the title of Lords Lovat by King James I., the 3d of March, 1426. Hugh or Huchean Fraser of Lovat sat as a Lord in Parliament in the year 1430." The worthy Nisbet proceeds further to describe the family of Salton as descended from "another younger son" of the "above Sir Alexander, and his lady, sister to King Robert the Bruce."

It would be hopeless, however, at this hour to strive to fix with absolute certainty the right of precedence among the branches of the Fraser family, even

were the matter one of moment. It is not such, as already remarked; the Lovat Frasers became the true Clan Fraser. Indubitably, also, there were Bisset and Fenton marriages and successions, giving to the Lovat line their large Inverness properties. Hugh Fraser of Lovat, first lord by the computation of Douglas, certainly wedded one of the heiresses of the Fentons, as appears from authentic deeds of 1416 and of 1430. Hugh, second Lord of Lovat, lived up to the opening of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1500); and in the records of parliament a decret is found, ordering "Donle Macgilcallum to restore and pay to Hew, Lord Fresale, [the old spelling] of ye Lovait, 400 kye, at 20s. each; 36 horses at 26s. 8d.; 9 sheep at 2s. each; and £45 for certain household goods, taken from the said Hew, out of the Ard [Aird] and Easter Fernway, by the said Donle and his complices." The record gives a pretty picture of the locality and the times. The said Hugh, second Lord Lovat, possessing the really valuable properties of the Aird and Stratherrick, with other portions both of Inverness and Cromarty, was a man of weight in the world, and made a match with the daughter of the last of the Dunbars, Earls of Moray, according to some accounts. He left a son, named Thomas, who is usually reckoned as third lord. By successive intermarriages with the Grays, Grants, Stewarts, Mackenzies, and other northern houses of note, the Lords Lovat maintained their place, and increased their power and possessions until they became the heads of one of the most important northern clans. So they stood at the close of the seventeenth century, when there appeared a member of the family of pre-eminent distinction, the famous Simon, commonly called the twelfth Lord Lovat. On the history of this singular being volumes have been written, and he deserves a prominent word of notice here. The subjoined memoir of him was drawn up on a former occasion by the Editor of the present work.

From our earliest reading days, Simon Fraser, the last Lord Lovat of the Scottish peerage, has always appeared to us one of the most extraordinary personages commemorated in the entire collective annals of Great Britain. Wonder and admiration, disgust and abhorrence, are the feelings alternately excited, at least in the youthful mind, by the perusal of his singular personal history; and perhaps the closing scene of his career, when the aged man laid down his head upon the block, will awake in most bosoms the additional sentiment of pity, irreconcilable as it may seem with other emotions mentioned. Lord Lovat was also interesting as the last specimen, as respects many points, of the true feudal chieftain of the Scottish Highlands.

Simon Fraser was born, by his own account, in the year 1676. His father, styled Thomas of Beaufort, was third or fourth surviving son to the eighth Lord Lovat, so that, like a not very dissimilar character, Richard III., Simon was at birth pretty far removed from "the golden time he looked for;" but, we may well suppose, like the same illustrious usurper, he would be far from giving up hope, knowing that he, too,

"Could wet his cheek with artificial tears,
And frame his face to all occasions."

Obstacles moved one by one out of his way, however, by natural means. Two of his father's elder brothers died without issue, and the third left but one son, who became eleventh lord. To him, by a marriage with the daughter of the Marquis of Athol, were born two sons and a daughter, the latter of whom only survived to maturity, and entered strikingly, as will be seen, into Simon Fraser's history. Thus the latter personage stood in the position of *male heir* apparent to the Lovat property and peerage before the decease of his cousin, the eleventh lord. Our hero, then, after receiving an excellent education at the Aberdeen University, gave the first indications of what time proved to be his ruling characteristics, pride and deceitfulness, on being sent for by his cousin and chief to aid in raising a regiment of the Frasers for the service of William III. and Queen Mary. Simon, writing his own history as an avowed Jacobite, declares that he rejected the proposition with lofty scorn, until Lord Murray in private assured him of the corps being covertly destined for the service of the exiled King James. We thus learn that simple treachery made Simon indignant, but that double-dyed treachery was most commendable in his eyes. When the eleventh Lord Lovat died in September, 1696, Thomas of Beaufort, who was still alive, assumed the title of Lord Lovat, and his son that of Master of Lovat. The former claimed the title and estates both as male heir, and in consequence of a deed of settlement executed by the late baron in 1696. But the marriage contract of the same noble individual fixed his honours and entire succession on the offspring of his body, *male or female*. Here, then, was a fruitful source of dissension, the Honourable Amelia Fraser, daughter of the deceased lord, being backed in her claims by the most powerful family of the time in Scotland, that of her uncle, second Marquis of Athol. Simon first tried to carry off the lady, but did not succeed. However, he captured the head of the Salton Frasers, when the Murrays sought to match his son with the Lovat heiress.

When seized, Lord Salton had been rash enough to venture within the Stratherrick bounds. The daring author of this seizure wrote on the occasion to the commandant of Fort-William, and his letter is one of the earliest specimens on record of his diplomatic style of correspondence, whereof lying, cajolery, and menaces were the predominant ingredients. He artfully speaks of the recent outrage as an accident, and begs the commandant's advice, not so much for himself as for the sake of "ye 1500 men that are ready to die with me." This little closing hint would probably quash all desire to interfere on the part of the small garrison of Fort-William.

As if to prove that his regret and penitence for the last outrage was an utter mockery, Simon, now hopeless of snatching the young heiress from the Murrays, settled upon another plan of proceeding of still greater audacity. He resolved to quell perforce the opposition of the family of Athol, or perhaps to take revenge on them, by making the *Dowager* Lady Lovat his wife; and, seizing accordingly on her house of Castle Downie, he compelled her to go through the nuptial ceremony, and submit to its consummation. The tears and entreaties of the lady, who was old enough to be his mother, might have moved a heart of stone, it is told to us; but, as already observed, Simon appears to have had no heart whatever to be moved—even at this epoch, when he was but twenty years of age. Shameful force was resorted to against the lady, her very stays being ripped up with dirks. Simon called her his "dear wife" when it suited him, and repudiated her when he married again. Modesty kept the lady herself silent, but Lord Athol having the whole power of the Scottish executive in his hands, took immediate steps to revenge the wrongs of his sister on both Thomas of Beaufort and his son Simon. "Letters of intercommuning" were issued against them and their accomplices, and forces sent to hunt them down. The closing months of 1697, and the opening ones of 1698, were expended in a series of scuffles which the subject of our notice magnifies into battles, and in which he uniformly conquers. In September 1698, a full sentence of outlawry was pronounced against him, declaring his life and property forfeited for "high treason," such being the title given to some of his deeds. Simon continued to lurk among his mountains for another year or so, when his father died at Dunvegan in Skye, the seat of his brother-in-law M'Leod, to which place of perfect security the old man had been sent by his son. From this time forth, as male heir, he took the title of Lord Lovat, and was acknowledged as chief by nearly the entire clan. He soon afterwards obtained a remission of all the charges against him save those connected with the Dowager business, which the Athol family pursued so hotly, when the accession of Queen Anne increased their power, as to drive him to the continent. He bore a commission to the exiled Stewarts, he has stated, at St Germain's, and assuredly he was well received there, as well as by Louis XIV. If, as seems more than probable, Lovat was the man who first clearly pointed out to Jacobites abroad that their whole and sole hope rested on the Scottish Highlanders, much of the mischief of the Rebellions must be ascribed to his agency. He was sent back to Scotland, and, having assembled the Highland chiefs at Drummond Castle, he there urged an immediate rising of the clans, pointing out with his wonted sagacity that every succeeding year fixed the other party in power but the more firmly. Lovat spoke in vain, however; and what did he do next in consequence? He went to Queensberry, then head of the Scottish ministry, and disclosed (or pretended to disclose) all that the Jacobites were doing. This he called but a stratagem to deceive the enemy. Among other things, he showed some letters involving his old foe, Lord Athol; and his defence of his conduct throws a curious light on his principles of morality. Athol was a treacherous Jacobite, he says; and it was therefore the bounden duty of a sincere one to ruin "the incomparable villain" in the eyes of those to whom he really was true! That this could only at best be accomplished by lyingly representing him to the Hanoverians as a real and thorough-paced Jacobite, seems to have been as nothing in the eyes of Simon of Lovat.

In fact, Lovat had now fairly entered on the tortuous course of policy which he pursued to his dying day. If he ever was anything at all *truly* as a politician, he was a partisan of the Stewarts; but there were objects far dearer to him than any public ones, and these were Simon Fraser, his clan, his power, and his estates, to secure which he ever kept several strings to his bow, and played fast and loose with all parties, urged thereto by a strong confidence in his talents for chicanery, and an unconquerable propensity to keep these constantly employed.

On passing over to the Netherlands, as he did about this time, Lovat had his hands full to superfluity of his favourite business. He had given himself, in fact, three distinct parties to act with, to conciliate, and to deceive. These were the Scottish Jacobites, the court of St Germain's, and his Grace of Queensberry. As it strangely enough happened, the last was the most easily managed of all, for the whole of his revelations to the duke had by this time got wind, and all the friends of the Stewarts now looked on him with the deepest suspicion. They would not listen to his ingenious apologies, and actually obtained a *lettre de cachet* for placing him in a sort of honourable imprisonment in France. Things stood thus from 1705 to 1714. When the conference at the Hague broke up in 1709, the Jacobites thought the time suitable for an invasion, and Simon, irritated with them, or pursuing his old double policy, wrote an explicit warning on the subject to the Earl of Leven, promising to join him in repelling a descent with many "brave fellows." He had left that nobleman an ultra-Hanoverian, but, alas for consistency! Leven had since become a keen Jacobite, and sent the letter straight to the Court of St Germain's. Of course, this invader of his peculiar patent right of treachery is stigmatised by Lovat as "one of the vilest hypocrites on the face of the earth," and all, besides, that is bad. His own conduct he cannot deny, but pleads that he was "driven to desperation" by ill-usage. Yet the same personage, in the same pages, lays it down shortly before, that a man "should rather be shot than do an ill thing;" and boasts of it as his own unfading comfort,

that he "never betrayed either his trust or his friends, nor would not for the universe!" What a blessing is a clear conscience!

Lovat at last escaped from his state of semi-durance in France, through the agency of a clansman sent over by the Fraser gentry. They were driven to this step by some strange movements of Lovat's foes during his long absence. His female rival, daughter of his old acquaintance (and once "dear wife") the Dowager, had finally wedded Alexander Mackenzie of Prestonhall, who took the name of Fraser on his marriage, and claimed both the estate and title of Lovat in her name. He obtained some share of the property, but all fell into confusion within its bounds; and when it was at last proposed to change the name of the clan from Fraser to Mackenzie, the gentry attached to Lovat lost all patience, and sent over to France to bring him home if possible. The result was, that, by a dexterous artifice of Simon himself, he found his way to England, in spite of the refusal of the Court of St Germain's to sanction his release. Their conduct was infinitely impolitic towards the virtual chief of such a clan as the Frasers in any point of view, and especially when they were on the eve of their first rising; but they had got Fraserdale as an adherent, and thought, probably, that they could with safety overlook his rival Lovat. They found out their error, when, after various troubles, the chief arrived safely among his mountains. He was warmly welcomed by his clan; and, when the rebellion of 1715 broke out, his politic eye saw at a glance on which side lay all prospective advantages for himself, at least at that conjuncture. Lovat resolved to strike a blow which would give him title and lands, and fix him for ever in the good graces of the reigning family.

Inverness, the nearest town of importance to the Fraser bounds, was then in the hands of the rebels. Lovat hurried thither with his men, invested the place, and, by uttering the most tremendous threats against the garrison, terrified "the poor cowardly governor" into running off by night, and leaving the town at the discretion of the victor. This was a feat of which the latter boasted magniloquently all his days, though only, it should be observed, when he addressed Hanoverians; and certainly it had no slight effect in curbing the insurrectionary spirit in the entire north. How speedily thereafter the ill-conducted enterprise of Mar fell to pieces is known to all. The consequences of our hero's services were now not long delayed. In March 1716, a pardon for him was signed; and what his acts had been is even fearfully evinced by its terms, the product, doubtless, of his own supervision. It would appear as if he deemed he could not be safe, if there were any of the most hidden cracks and flaws in human nature which it did not cover. "It is (says his latest annalist) an astounding and horrible enumeration of all the crimes and abominations to which the human animal is liable." By obtaining this pardon, Lovat had gained one great point, and he did not allow the grass to grow under his feet in his way to obtain others. We find him in London in June 1716, honoured with private audiences of Majesty, and even boasting in his letters of there using his patronising influence in favour of Argyle and Islay, the dust of whose feet he would have licked off shortly before to win the slightest mark of their countenance. In August 1716, he was successful in obtaining an escheat of the Lovat property, all and whole, forfeited by Alexander Fraser or Mackenzie through his rebellious rising against government. But it was only a *life-rent* escheat, the confiscated insurgent having possessed no more than a *life-rent*. This drawback was a grievous one, and Lovat at once set actively about removing it, both by claiming his peerage, and by setting aside the heirs of the late life-renter at law.

Simon Fraser had now attained to the extreme height of his ambition, having become the admitted Lord of Lovat, and the head of a large and obedient clan. Well did he know how to use his acquired advantages. The authority of chieftainship, which, above all, was dear to his heart, Lovat now possessed to an extent only known in those days of hereditary and local jurisdictions. The story of the wife who pressed her husband to mount the gallows "to please the laird," was no *joke* in those days. At times, half a dozen delinquent dependents were to be seen hanging by the *heels* on the trees round Castle-Downie, his customary dwelling-place.

The master passion of Lovat's life, and indeed the only feeling which seems to have moved him truly and sincerely throughout his career, was family-pride—pride in respect to his clan—pride in relation to his own place as its head. Castle-Downie was his chief place of abode, and we have various accounts of his mode of life there. A host of retainers, amounting to several hundreds, were constantly about him, and these, "kenneled at night on straw," were fed at the same table with himself and his occasional visitors, though whisky and ale took the place of claret at the lower part of the board. Every man was seated according to his rank. In short, Lovat may be said to have been really the last of the Highland chiefs who maintained the clan-distinctions and practices in all their feudal force and purity.

From the year 1715 up to 1745, or nearly so, Simon of Lovat seems to have deliberately and uninterruptedly entertained the purpose of doing his utmost to restore the house of Stewart, notwithstanding his conduct in the first Rebellion. All his actions justify such a conclusion, though some parties erroneously represent him as irritated into Jacobitism by slights from government. We have before spoken of his directing the attention of the exiled family at St Germain's to the Highlanders, as the sole means of recovering their power in Britain; and he afterwards most actively furthered their interests in the north, nothing less than a Fraser *dukedom* being his stipulated reward. All the while he had a difficult game to play, being closely watched by the talented Duncan Forbes of Culloden, his friend and neighbour, the head of the Court of Session, and the main stoop of the Hanoverian interest in Scotland. It is equally amazing and amusing to note how Lovat attempted through long successive years to throw dust in the eyes of the President Forbes.

In 1724, Lord Lovat addressed to King George, "a Memorial on the State of the Highlands."

In this paper he very artfully insinuates the necessity of strengthening, with arms and new powers, the hands of the great chiefs, as being the sole parties competent to keep their various districts at peace. Independent Highland companies were actually raised, and our hero commanded one of them, but he was afterwards deprived of the post to his great chagrin. As to his other suggestions, the desire to strip the leading chiefs of their authority, in place of adding thereto, was becoming stronger every day among all the statesmen cognisant of the true condition of the Scottish north. So that Lovat failed here in his main aims.

It has been stated that he married unscrupulously during the life of the unhappy Dowager of Lovat, whose forced union with him must be in the reader's remembrance. In 1717, he wedded a daughter of Grant of Grant, who bore him two sons and two daughters, and, about a year after her decease in 1732, he took as his second wife Primrose, daughter of John Campbell of Mamore, brother of the Duke of Argyle, and ancestor of the present line.

So early as 1719, the tendencies of Lord Lovat in favour of the Stewarts had well nigh been prematurely exposed. He had written to the Earl of Seaforth, promising to join his lordship in aid of the Spaniards, then expected to invade the Highlands in the Stewart interests. This letter had been incautiously shown to a presumed Jacobite, but one who immediately disclosed its contents to government. Learning his danger timeously, Lovat posted off to London, leaving orders to his clan to *oppose and attack* Seaforth. His presence at court outweighed the effect of a reported letter, and when news came that the Frasers had seized Seaforth's Castle, and behaved gallantly in repressing the Spanish invasion, their chief rose into such favour, that the king condescended to become godfather to the young heir of Lovat, naming a proxy to act for him. To take a still stronger instance of the trust-worthiness of Lovat, let us look at what occurred in the years 1736 and 1737. John Roy Stewart, a notorious Jacobite, broke out of Inverness jail in the former year, Lord Lovat being then Sheriff. And whither might he go when at liberty? Straight to my lord the Sheriff's house, where he lived very comfortably for five weeks. When he left, it was to go abroad, and Lovat's coach conveyed him to the coast off which the ship lay. At their parting, his lordship "charged Roy Stewart to assure the Pretender, whom he called his king, of his fidelity, and determination to live and die in the cause; and his lordship moreover desired to have expedited to him without delay his commission as lieutenant-general of the Highlands, and his patent of a duke." All this was sworn to at the State-trials by a credible ear-witness. Well, observe what Lovat wrote in the following year to Lord Islay, a prominent member of that great Whig family which he had taken a wife to conciliate. "Is it possible," says Simon, "that I, in my senses and reason, could have the least thought or wish to see another government or any disturbance in this? Surely, I must be a madman if I wished the Pretender to prevail, who used me like a scoundrel, and put me in a dungeon. And if the Pretender did prevail, of which there is no manner of probability, and which I pray God may never happen, would I not be an idiot and a madman to imagine that any service I could do to the Pretender could balance the interest of my professed enemies? Duncan Forbes told me once, I might expect a gallows ten feet higher than ordinary if the Pretender prevailed, so that I must think that no man upon serious reflection can believe that, upon any consideration whatever, I could ever act or contrive anything against the present government." And so on to the end.

The duplicity evinced here is really enough to make one shudder, borne out as it is by solemn imprecations. But we now approach the eventful period to which Lovat had so long and anxiously looked forward, and which, in place of elevating him to the expected ducal eminence, was destined only to raise him to the scaffold. The landing of Prince Charles on the western coast, almost unattended, at the commencement of July, 1745, did not please our hero at all, who had counted on many French auxiliaries, and much French gold; yet he made all preparations for sending his clan to join the rising, all the while attempting to keep a door open for his own escape from all consequences. He wrote to President Forbes continually, lamenting his own old age, and inability to keep his clan from insurrectionary tendencies. In September, Forbes offers him an independent company in the government service. Lovat evades acceptance, and, as to certain rumours that the Frasers were to join the rebels, he says they might as well say that he was "going to join Kouli Khan."

The victory of Prestonpans, which was triumphantly celebrated at Castle-Downie, decided Lovat upon immediate action. But he resolved still to keep on his personal mask, and to ensure his own safety, and the integrity of his estate and honours. To effect this end, the old man made up his mind to *sacrifice his son and heir*! To the one side, that of the "dear, brave prince," he now boasted that scarcely any man but he would have sent the heir and "hope of his family, and the darling of his father's life," to "venture the last drop of blood in the glorious prince's service." To the Lord President, again, the crafty old man declared himself "vexed to the soul by his son's resolution to go and join the prince;" and that "all the creation will not keep him from going to live and die" in that cause. The young Master of Lovat thus spoken of, a lad of nineteen, was most strongly averse to join the rising, and only took the field at his father's urgent and incessant entreaties and commands!

Lovat continued to play the same double game, but he could not long even in appearance deceive Duncan Forbes. "I could sooner undertake to plead for any of the unhappy gentlemen now actually in arms than for your lordship," said the president, thus cutting away Lovat's main hope from under him. It is needless to dwell on the reply. The chief still keeps up the game. "Am I the first father that has had an undutiful son?" Such is his strain.

This is not the place to go over the incidents of the rebellion of 1745. The retreat from England galled Lovat grievously, and, as the prince moved back on the Highlands, he became

more and more uneasy. He sent for his son to come home, under the plea of raising fresh men, but most probably to have the credit of recalling the youth, however late in the day. But the spirited lad would not desert the cause in its decline. He adhered to Charles up to the disaster of Culloden, on the eve of which fatal day the prince, in his flight to the mountain-fastnesses, first met Lord Lovat. How different the meeting from that anticipated! Charles was much depressed, but the old chief of the Frasers even fiercely bade him think of his ancestor, the Bruce, "who lost eleven battles and won Scotland by the twelfth." They had soon to part to shift for themselves. Lovat had with his usual foresight provided a retreat on an isle in Loch Muily, but, being driven thence, he fixed his abode on the Lake of Morar, after suffering much through his infirmities during his wanderings. He was captured on Lake Morar, being at the moment enclosed in a hollow tree, which allowed only two limbs muffled in flannel to be seen by those in search of him.

The fame of Lovat's talents and peculiarities had spread far and wide, and, as he was borne in a litter to London, he created a much stronger sensation than any of the other prisoners. He was talked of as a kind of strange monster, unknown in civilised life. He seemed to derive entertainment from cultivating this impression. A young officer once peeped into his litter, and Lovat pretended to be asleep, till a good chance occurred, and starting up he tweaked the peeper's nose most unmercifully. When he reached London, one of his first visitors was Hogarth, whom he had before known, and the meeting gave rise to the well-known portrait of Lovat—one of the most popular of even Hogarth's works. Being committed to the Tower, he remained there till the 9th of March, 1747, when his trial commenced. It continued to the 18th, with few intermissions, and the prisoner was then found guilty. Both in his confinement, and on his trial, he behaved with a degree of fortitude and equanimity, that would have done honour both to a better man and a better cause. He did not disdain to make appeals for his life, but they were made with calmness and dignity. Various good sayings are ascribed to him at this juncture. He was asked if he had any questions to put to Sir Everard Fawkener—"No, only that I am Sir E.'s servant, and wish him joy of his young wife." When he took a final leave of the lords, he said, with his old bias to sarcasm, "God bless you all. Farewell! We shall not all meet in the same place again—I am sure of that." The Major of the Tower asking how he did, his lordship answered, "Very well; I am preparing myself for a place where very few majors and hardly any lieutenants-general go." On his return from the Lords to the Tower, an ill-favoured old woman screamed out, "You'll get that nasty head of yours chopped off, you ugly Scotch dog!" To which he retorted, "I believe I shall, you ugly English—," repaying the canine epithet masculine with the feminine. During his last speech at his trial, it should have been mentioned, he showed bitterness but at one moment, and that was while alluding to Secretary Murray. He poured on him a torrent of stinging scorn and indignation.

As April the 9th approached, the day appointed for the execution, he grew even more cheerful than previously, and it says much for his powers of fascination, that he obtained the good graces of all around him. His mind often reverted to the days of his power, and he hoped that the coronach would yet be sung for him among his own hills, for "I was (said he) one of the greatest chiefs of the Highlands." On the morning of the execution, he provided himself with a purse containing ten guineas for the executioner. Being assisted towards the scaffold, after all was ready, he looked round for a moment on the dense crowd, and said, "God save us! why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head!" A piece of scaffolding fell, and several people were killed. "The more mischief, the better sport," said Lovat. He looked at the coffin, and was satisfied with the inscription—"Simon Dominus Fraser de Lovat, Decollat. April 9th, 1747, Aetatis Suae 80." He examined the axe, and, giving the headman the purse, bade him do his work well, for if it was not done well, and he was able to rise again, he would be very angry. It was then that, sitting down in a chair, he repeated the line, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*" (It is sweet and becoming to die for one's country); and afterwards he added—

*"Nam genus et proavos et quae non fecimus ipsi:
Vix ea nostra voco."*

(For kin and sires and things not made by us,
I scarcely call our own.)

One blow sufficed to do the work of decapitation.

After occupying so much space, we must leave the reader himself to make any remarks, or draw what moral he chooses, from the history of Simon of Lovat. We have provided the materials.

So lived, and so died, Simon Lord Lovat, a man of extraordinary talents, though, by position and disposition, led to pervert them most strikingly. His eldest son, also named Simon, was attainted by Parliament, but the clear proof adduced of his having been forced into rebellion by his sire, obtained for him a free pardon in 1750, the title remaining under forfeiture. His services in raising men for the army, and his personal exertions at their head, as Colonel and (afterwards as) General, procured for him further favours from the reign-

ing family. The Lovat estates were restored to him in 1774. No doubt, as he had the honour of being chosen member of Parliament for the county of Inverness in 1761, though then absent in America, and continued a member of the House of Commons up to the period of his decease, the government of the time must have been so far influenced, in making these concessions, by the obviously undiminished popularity of the heir of the Frasers in the far north. A man in his estate and position in 1757, who could raise 1250 men in a week or two, was not to be lightly treated. With the battalions raised by him afterwards in 1776, forming the original 78th and 71st Regiments, he brought 3500 men in all into the service, if not fully more. They served bravely in various quarters. The Honourable Simon Fraser died in London in 1782, and, leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother, Archibald Campbell Fraser, for some years consul at Algiers. He raised a new Fencible Regiment on his estates in 1794, and became member for Inverness-shire in his brother's place. He had several children born to him in marriage, of whom Simon, the eldest son, became his successor in the Lovat inheritance, and representative, also, of the native county of the family in Parliament. He died in 1803, unmarried; and as none of the other sons (who predeceased him) left issue, the direct line of the Lords Fraser of Lovat came to a close; and the representation of the family, as well as its principal possessions, fell to the Frasers of Strichen, a branch descended from a second son of the fifth Lord Lovat, who flourished in the sixteenth century. The Strichen Frasers had long possessed a fair estate of their own, and the present head of the house, Thomas Alexander Fraser, was raised to the dignity of Baron Lovat of Lovat, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, in 1837. The non-restoration of the old Scottish title may have been owing to the desire of the government of the day, at once to replace the inheritor of the estates in the station of his ancestors, and to make the dignity practically useful, if not to add to its elevation. It may be that other circumstances prevented the attainder from being withdrawn. The right of the Strichen branch to the family succession has not passed undisputed. An American offshoot of the Lovat stem caused some noise by his claims a few years since; but he seems to have been wholly unable to substantiate them practically. Though many Frasers must unquestionably exist, descended from the early Lovat line, the Strichen house, seemingly, is that possessed of the clearest and closest connection.

Various families, who do not bear the Fraser name, are yet believed to be Frasers. For example, the Tweedies of Tweeddale have been ascribed to the old stock; and they certainly long held a share of the lands (Oliver Castle and the Oliver estate being among their possessions very lately) formerly belonging to the Frasers. As no better explanation has ever been given of the mode in which they got these lands, it may fairly be concluded that the Tweedies were really and truly of the house of old Sir Simon of famous memory, and received a new name from local position merely. It is true, that a more romantic origin has been put on record. A baron of the Fraser line, it is said, on his return from the crusading wars, found his lady nursing a fine baby at home; and, when challenged by the startled husband, she is reported to have told him, that, as she was walking by the side of the Tweed, the (not angry but amorous) spirit of the waters started forth before her, and that the child in question was the result of (on her part) an involuntary breach of the nuptial vows. The baron, it is further related, felt pleased rather than angry, and finally endowed the boy handsomely, giving him the appropriate name of Tweedie. "If all tales be true"—the saying is somewhat musty.

The MacShimeis (sometimes called MacImmies) have also the honour of being held the forbears of the numerous race of Simpson or Simson, which is assuredly the same term Saxonised. But it is probable that many a Simon besides the Fraser Simons, left parties to inherit the name of Sim's-son. Of the proper name of Fraser, there are many respectable estated families descended from the Barons Lovat and Salton; and indeed they are too numerous, both in the north and south, to permit of their being reckoned here in detail.

The (old and proper) Fraser ARMS seem to have stood as follows, though the Lords Lovat and Salton both carry them at this day differently:—

Azure, three (or five) Strawberry-flowers (fraises or frazes) argent.

CREST. On a wreath, a stag's head, erased or, armed, argent.

SUPPORTERS. Two stags sejant, proper, in the middle of holm-bushes, vert.

MOTTO. *Je suis prest* (I am ready).

BADGE. Yew.

["Castle-Downie!" was the battle-cry of the Frasers.]

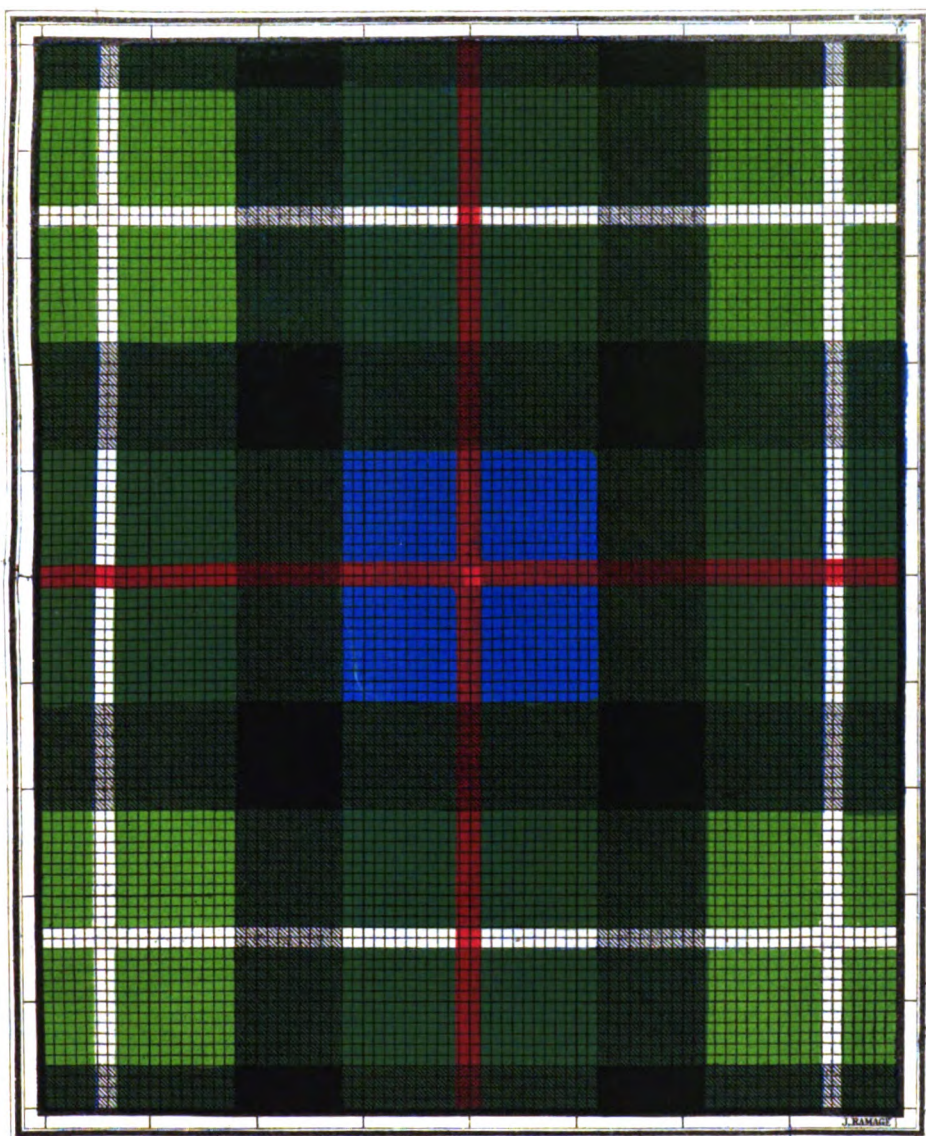


CLAN DAVIDSON OR MACDHAI.

It is difficult to say whether or not this certainly pure though minor branch of the Celts finds its right Gaelic name here, when set down as MAC-DHAI or MACDHAIBHIDH. The Highland bearers of the name, and not a few of those settled in the Lowlands, are certainly descendants of the CLAN CHATTAN, as has indeed been stated previously. The MacDhais have even been looked upon by some parties as the main actors in the great tournament (A.D. 1396) on the Inch of Perth, Mackay being read as MacDhai by those so inclined in opinion. Our own impression has already been given on this point; and it is to the effect, simply, that the combatants on that occasion were various Gaelic tribes of kindred origin, fighting among themselves for the honour of precedence, and, in short, the glory of being *the* Clan Chattan (or Wild Cats) *par excellence*. It is not our purpose to re-enter here into the particulars of that memorable conflict, but we cannot avoid giving a new specimen of the mode of dealing with Gaelic names, practised even by recent writers. "In the MS. of 1450," says Mr Skene, "the Macphersons are stated to be descended of a son of Heth, and brother of Angus, Earl of Moray; and it will be observed, that the name Heth is a corruption of the same Gaelic name which has been changed by historians into *Yha*. Clan Heth must have been the most ancient name of the Macphersons, and it follows, that they were the Clan *Yha* of the conflict. The leader of the Clan *Yha* is styled by the old authorities, Sha Fercharson." Surely the reader will now excuse us the more readily for feeling difficulties in the way of arranging Highland names, when it is thus shown how easily Heth is translated, by an acute modern writer, successively into *Yha* and *Sha*. The latter name is properly the same with SHAW, usually held to be a sept of the Clan Chattan; and the same descent is ascribed to the family of the FARQUHARSONS. At all events, these Lowland and Highland names are understood alike to take their origin from the said Shaw Farquharson, who, it is proper to state, has commonly been viewed by the Farquharsons, as well as the Macintoshes, as a scion of the Macduffs. Ferchard, the grandsire of Shaw Farquharson, by the way, may also be accounted the sire of at least many of the *Farquhar* name. The famous dramatist of the name exhibited the Celtic vivacity of temperament and imaginative cast of genius in no common degree, though he derived his origin directly from Ireland, not Scotland. The names of Ferchard, Farquhar, and the like, appear all to have the same foundation in Ferg or Fearg, the root seemingly of Fergus. The meaning of Feargachas is "choleric," and the term is probably generic, like so many others.

The name of Davidson is now very numerous over the whole British empire, though it would be ridiculous to reckon all so called as descended of the Scottish Clan Chattan. As in the case of the Simons, many a David who never saw the Highlands must have given rise to a race of David's-sons. The very first inklings of Christianity, with which the Celtic race was favoured, probably made the name of "the sweet singer of Israel" so far a popular one. The

XXXII



Clan Davidson



Clan Urquhart

Welsh "Taffy" comes unquestionably from this source, "Sir David" being the designation of the knight-military of Christianised Wales. The name of Davies obviously found root in the west of England in a similar way; and Davis, Davy, Dawes, and others, are names probably of similar origin. The Dawsons, most certainly, are but Davidsons in a contracted shape; though an ennobled Irish family of the name (Earls of Portarlington) claim to be descended from the illustrious house of *D'Ossune*, once well known in Italy and Sicily. We conceive this story to be but an ingenious fiction of some Hibernian king-at-arms, invented to raise the Portarlington family above the vulgar Dawsons of common society.

The northern Clan Dhui or Davidsons, it has been mentioned, were by some parties viewed as the Clan Kay of the Perth tournament; but on this point it is impossible now to attain to certainty. Some writers conclude David to have been at times changed, in the Highlands, into Tavish, and to have given rise to the sept of the MacTavishes. At least such is the probability. The direct line of the northern Davidsons is said to have come from David Dhu, fourth son of the famous Muriach, the parson of Kingussie, from whose elder descendants sprung the Clan Chattan chieftains. The third son, it may be observed, is called by some writers Neill Cromb, a name indicating his bent or stooping form, and "so famed for his mechanical works in iron as to have taken a surname from his trade, and to have become progenitor of all the Smiths in Scotland." The surname here meant is Gow, in the Anglo-Saxon tongue Smith; but, as to Neill Gow Crom being the ancestor of *all* the Smiths, one may well take leave to demur. The name is literally the most numerous in the British empire, and for very plain reasons. The trade of the "smith" was the most important practised in old days, when all men used armour and weapons, more or less; and the name therefore became extensively spread, some such epithet as Crom being usually the whole distinction between one and another of the calling. The genteel form of the name now-a-days is Smythe (enunciated as Smeithe); but the hammer is the true emblem of all of the name, spell it as they may. It is common in Germany as Schmidt; and it has various minor varieties among us, as Goldsmith, which sometimes assumes in German the shape of Schmidtbrecht (pronounced softly) or "bright smith." Neill Gow Crom has led us to digress from David Dhu (the black) fourth son of Muriach of Kingussie. Little is known of him, save that he was admittedly the ancestor of the Davidson branch of Clan Chattan. He founded the Davidsons of Invernahaven, long deemed the chiefs of this subsidiary branch of Clan Chattan; and which has still well-fortuned gentry of the name in the north, the Davidsons of Tulloch (representatives of the Invernahaven line) being considered the chiefs of the name. About a century since, this family lost or sold their possessions in Cromarty and elsewhere, but retained means and influence enough to establish themselves in the fine property of Tulloch in Ross-shire.

ARMS OF CLAN DAVIDSON.

Azure; on a Fesse, argent, between three Pheons, or; a buck couchant, gules.

CREST. A falcon's head, coupé, proper.

MOTTO. *Sapienter et sincere* (Wisely if sincerely).

BADGE. Red Whortle-Berry.



CLAN URQUHART.

The CLAN URQUHART falls in some measure under the same category as the Clan Dhui or Davidson, having been but a secondary Highland sept, at all times, in point of numbers and importance, if not admittedly a branch, also, of

a larger clan. Indeed, it is somewhat questionable if the Urquharts should be viewed as really a family of Gaelic origin at all. The probability, however, seems to be, as in so many other instances, that the tribe over which the chiefs of the name presided, and which once occupied under them nearly the entire county of Cromarty, were of the Celtic stock, come the first Urquharts whence they might. From their bordering so closely on the de-Gaelicised east of Scotland, the common people of Cromarty did not generally adopt a proper clan name; and, in the course of time, the district itself passed into the possession of other houses than the Urquharts. While a certain amount of dubiety about their origin is thus admitted, they nevertheless merit and receive a place here, as at least bearing a name of very old standing in the north of Scotland, though not precisely in the true Highlands.

The history of no family in existence, perhaps, has been more fully detailed than that of the Urquharts. Until the genealogical work of "Sir Thomas Urquhart, Knight of Cromarty," fell under our observation originally, the stories told of Welsh pedigrees, as being carried frequently beyond Noah, used to appear in the light of mere jests. That a late Laird of Grant, moreover, should have believed the wag, who, taking up a family Bible, stealthily converted the words in Genesis, "There were giants in those days," into "There were *grants* in those days," seemed to us always as but a good quiz on Highland pride. But the treatise of Sir Thomas Urquhart on "The True Pedigree and Lineal Descent of the most Ancient and Honourable Family of Urquhart, since the Creation of the World," will undeceive all who may doubt the reality of such claims. The said Sir Thomas was a man of great learning and merit, who flourished in the times of Charles I. and Cromwell, and was the author of many curious and interesting works, among which a translation of "Rabelais" stands pre-eminent. The attempt to render the masterpiece of the great French wit into another tongue, was one from which few men would not have shrunk with dismay; and yet Sir Thomas Urquhart not only accomplished the feat, but accomplished it so as to leave a perfect model of excellence to all translators in the time to come. The English language, indeed, possesses no comparable version of any foreign production. The pungent wit of Rabelais is translated with the most amazing fidelity, and his license of style, also, is even but too closely copied. The mind of Urquhart must have singularly approximated in cast to that of his eminent original; and his remaining productions, in truth, establish this fact fully. The almost boundless learning and redundant whimsicality of Rabelais were reproduced strikingly in his Scottish translator; and the death of Urquhart, as the tale is generally told, was as perfectly Rabelaisian as his life. He had fought bravely, and suffered severely in the cause of Charles I. and Charles II., and died suddenly, through a fit of excessive laughter and joy, on being informed of the restoration of the latter to the throne. Such was the personage who drew up the pedigree of the Urquharts "from the creation" down to his own time, and from whose labours we now hope to draw some entertainment for our readers.

In the first place, it should be observed that Sir Thomas Urquhart scorns the petty antiquity of ordinary Gaelic pedigrees, though these are sometimes old enough, and long enough, in all conscience. The Knight of Cromarty goes back point-blank to Adam and Eve, including in his line (as he himself says) "many illustrious families, from *thence descended*, which as yet are in esteem in the countries of Germany, Bohemia, Italy, France, Spain, England, Scotland, Ireland, and several other nations of a warmer climate, adjacent to that famous territory of Greece, the lovely mother of this most ancient and honourable stem;" that is, of course, the stem of the Urquharts. Though thus tracing his descent more directly to Greece, Sir Thomas begins his genealogy thus: "The names of the chiefs of the name of Urquhart, and of their primitive fathers: as by authentic records and tradition, they were, from time to time, through the various generations of that family." Then follow the first ten: "Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methusalah, Lamech, Noah."

It is needless to continue details. Suffice it to say, that Sir Thomas carries his

lineage down through a host of persons of the most extraordinary names, up to his own day, making out that he, "the said Sir Thomas is, by line from Adam the 143, from Noah the 134, from Esormon the 128, from Molin the 108, from Rodrigo the 100, from Alypos the 91, from Char the 76, from Astioremon the 68, from Lutork the 67, from Zeron the 32, from Vocompos the 30."

All this may seem to some to be mere raving, but the singular thing is, that, if raving, it was the raving of a man of acute intellect and vast learning, though eccentric and whimsical in no common degree. He has tied himself directly, as has been seen, with Adam. All men may do so generally; but he, not contented with giving a full list of intermediate names, actually enters into a detailed and anecdotal account of his progenitors, male and female, from the creation downwards; and, in so doing, he binds himself not only with the most famous personages of the whole early biblical history, but with those of half the old world besides. His grand starting point in the family annals occurs in the time of "Esormon," the fifth from Japhet, son of Noah, "to whose (Japhet's) inheritance befel all the regions of Europe after the deluge." This Esormon (he tells us) was sovereign prince of Achaia or Greece, which territory he derived as his share of Japhet's patrimony, through his great-grand sire, Penuel, "a most intimate friend of Nimrod, the mighty hunter." Esormon, "for his fortune in the wars, and affability in conversation, was surnamed by his subjects and familiars, *Ourohartos*—that is to say, 'fortunate and well-beloved.' After which time, his posterity ever since hath acknowledged him the father of all that carry the name of URQUHART." With the most perfect gravity Sir Thomas then describes the coat-of-arms of this great-great-grandson of Japhet, and adds that he married the queen of the *Amazons*!

We have thus already had the name of Urquhart explained, and some noted personages introduced to us. The next memorable passage in the family story refers to Phrenedon, who, it seems, "was in the house of the Patriarch Abraham at the time of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah." The twenty-sixth member of the line, we are told, wedded "the sister-in-law of the King of the Germans;" the thirty-third took to wife a "daughter of Hercules;" and the thirty-seventh married "Termuth, who was that daughter of Pharaoh who found Moses amongst the bulrushes." The fortieth in the roll, named Molin, formed a still more remarkable connection, taking to wife "Panthea, daughter of Deucalion and Pyrrha, of whom Ovid maketh mention in his *Metamorphosis*;" while his great-grandson married "Hypermnestra, the choicest of the fifty daughters of Danaus," those amiable ladies who (with one exception) murdered their husbands on the bridal night, and were in consequence condemned to pursue the hopeless and eternal task of filling sieves with water in the Tartarean regions. Sir Thomas Urquhart, it will be seen, does not stand on trifles in making out a handsome pedigree; and the gravity with which he refers to "indubitable evidents" in each case is most amusing. But, in reality, he tells many more singular stories than those yet adverted to. One of his sires chanced "to pass through the territories of Israel, where, being acquainted with Deborah, the judge and prophetess, he received from her a very rich jewel, which afterwards, by one of his own successors, was presented to Penthesilea, that queen of the Amazons that assisted the Trojans against Agamemnon!" Who will doubt "the tale of Troy divine," after receiving this piece of incidental circumstantial evidence? A lady named Nicolia, "supposed by many to have been the Queen of Sheba," with "a sister of Caius Marcius Coriolanus, a daughter of Alcibiades," "a daughter of King Agesilaus of Sparta," and "a niece of the lawgiver, Lycurgus," are enumerated among the other ancestresses of the Knight of Cromarty, as is clearly shown to be the truth (he says) by a certain "voluminous history of the house" in existence. (We take the last names almost at random, without attending to the order; but this point is of no consequence, as the chronology of Sir Thomas defies all arrangement.) It will be, on the whole, allowed that either he, or the author of the said voluminous history, has searched the annals of the world to some purpose, in pursuit of the task of compiling a respectable Urquhart genealogy. And, as the family is found contracting high

marriages all over the world, so are they also represented as originating nations and inheriting kingdoms without number everywhere, leaving us, if we may believe Sir Thomas, to conclude that not one throne on the face of the globe remained ultimately unoccupied by an Urquhart. But his own direct male line, be it noted, continued ever to be the chief one. He was the true head of his "most illustrious" house.

If it were not that the man proved himself, beyond all doubt, to be possessed of learning and talents of no common extent and kind, this entire notice of Sir Thomas Urquhart might well be condemned as a waste of time. But he is to be looked on, really, as a genuine curiosity in his way, such as the museums of humanity have seldom shown on their shelves. The first impression of the majority of reflecting people may perhaps be, on reading his genealogical history of his house, that he was only playing off a Rabelaisian hoax; but a closer inspection will lead to an opposite conclusion. Sir Thomas Urquhart was most undoubtedly sincere, whatever we may think about the continuous sanity of the fine intellect which he certainly possessed. However, we must return to the family genealogy, since princes and tribes innumerable were yet to spring from the Urquharts.

At what time the Urquharts first settled in Scotland, it is difficult to make out clearly from the account of Sir Thomas. While his progenitor, Epitimon, forty-first from Adam, wedded "the sister of Hiber, after whom Ireland was called Hibernia," the forty-eighth in the line is represented as marrying the sister of "Amphion, ruler of Thebes!" Various other Grecian and eastern unions follow even afterwards. The forty-ninth on the roll, again, took to wife "a daughter of Bacchus," having accompanied that most authentic historical personage "on his Indian expedition!" However, as Sir Thomas descends on the stream of time, he finds it necessary to keep the grand marriages of the house generally nearer home; and daughters of the kings of Ireland, of Wales, of the Scots, of the Picts, of the Anglo-Saxons, and such like parties, constitute the common lady-mothers of the family. A further change occurs as we proceed, daughters "of Gramus, first of the Grahams," of "Murray, first of the Morays," and of similar authentic Scottish houses, being among the wives of the Urquhart chiefs. Even after all these unions, however, Sir Thomas gets a catch of a dame of high note in the year 540, A.C., wedding an ancestor to "a daughter of King Arthur of Britain!"

The presumed founder of the castle of Urquhart in Cromarty was, it seems, Belistos, "agnamed" Chonchar, from whom sprung "the Ochonchars, a race of great antiquity and renown in Ireland." The Forbes family have long used Ochonchar as a by-name; and hereby, indeed, hangs a tale. They call the Urquharts a mere offshoot of the Forbeses. Sir Thomas not only disdains to acknowledge any such descent, but avers that the Forbes line was a subsidiary branch of his own. Vocompos, he says, the 123d from Adam in the Urquhart pedigree, had a younger brother named *Phorbas* Urquhart, who bore the designation of an early King of Athens, and left it to his Forbes descendants. Dean Swift once rallied the Scottish northerners on their pride of ancestry, by offering sarcastically a proof that one of the Forbes family was at the siege of Troy, and pointed accordingly to Euphorbus, whom he translated into "Hugh Forbes." He may have had in his eye the grave assertion of the Knight of Cromarty, that *Phorbas* Urquhart sprung from the Athenian King *Phorbas*. Adhering manfully to his assumed Grecian descent, Sir Thomas says that none need wonder that the name should "become afterwards a surname to the successors of *Phorbas*, the second brother of Vocompos. It occurred merely by reason of the aphæretical and apocopal curtailment of the syllables, Mack, Ap, and Son, for the quicker and more expedite delivery in the expression of those, that, without regard of surnames, were pleased to design men by their patronymical titles: by means of which scurvy custom, too much cherished as yet in many parts of both Scotland and Wales, the Forbeses (since they began to have two several lords of that name, besides many other very especial knights and gentlemen of good estates and fortunes) becoming almost forgetful

of the stock from whence they descended, would set up a genarchie by themselves; although, by the ordinary rules of heraldry, their very arms do sufficiently declare their cadency. Nor need we think strange why they are called Phorbas, or Forbes, and not Mack Phorbas, Ap Phorbas, or Phorbasson; because, for the reason before deduced, not only it, but likewise very many other more vulgar names, such as George, Henry, Alexander, Andrew, Wat, Tom, Gib, Dick, Peter, James, &c., pass for surnames over the whole isle of Britain, in the mouths of all; of whom not any, for the proper and peculiar designation of several thousands of its inhabitants, is able to afford any other cognominal denomination."

Our readers have probably now had enough of the eccentric knight's pedigree. The change of names, towards the close, is amusing. Such grandly sounding terms as Lustroso, Spectabundo, and Hedumenos, resolve into Philips, Johns, and Davids; while on the female side, in place of Bontadosas, Dominnellas, and Dulcicoras, we are fain to be contented with plain Dorothy, Marjory, and Girsell.

The version of Rabelais has been named as the grand work of this singular northern knight. He also wrote various original treatises, and, among others, a MS. book of epigrams, found recently among the papers of the Hyndford family. [Of these epigrams a sample follows:—

"Take *man* from *woman*, all that she can show,
Of her own proper, is nought else but *wo*."

But his best known piece is "The Jewel," a work professing (prefatorially, as the author himself would say) to lay down the elements of an Universal Language, and yet consisting mainly of sketches of eminent Scots who have flourished abroad. Some few odd remarks on language appear in the first pages, but Sir Thomas seems to have composed the essay while imprisoned for his loyalty to Charles I., and to have kept his grand secret of an universal language to ensure his liberation. What that tongue could possibly be, it puzzles us to conceive; since, of all men who ever put pen to paper, he seems to us the most unfitted to write in any form of language "universally intelligible." Rabelais served as his model, obviously, in all his literary efforts; and the style and meaning of that author have ever required deep scholarship for their true appreciation. Sir Thomas Urquhart has not been without his followers in our own vernacular British tongue; and the most distinguished of them all is a writer yet alive, (long may he be so!) Thomas Carlyle. This gentleman has been deemed the most original writer of the day, in point (at least) of style; but it will be no difficult matter to prove that Sir Thomas Urquhart preceded him in this respect in his chosen walk, both of them, however, being in reality so far copyists of Rabelais. Undoubtedly, the later German writers, as is usually admitted, have to a certain degree affected the literary developments of Carlyle; but we conceive that a single extract, such as that which follows, will convince the world that the Knight of Cromarty is the true inventor, in our British language, of that mode of writing which has been called of late "Carlyleism." Sir Thomas, while supporting the cause of Charles I. and Charles II., came also to imbibe a serious dislike to the hot Presbyterian party in Scotland, and charges them bitterly with a love of Mammon, or (as he calls it) *Mammona*. He says—

"How this covetousness, under the mask of religion, took such deep root in that land, was one way occasioned by some ministers, who, to augment their stipends, and cram their bags full of money, thought fit to possess the mindes of the people with a strong opinion of their sanctity, and implicit obedience to their injunctions: to which effect, most rigidly Israelitising it in their synagogical sanhedrims, and officiously bragging in their pulpits that no nation (for being liket to the Jews of any other) was so glorious as it; they, with a pharisaical superciliosity, would always rebuke the non-covenanters and sectaries as publicans and sinners, unfit for the purity of their conversation, unless, by the malignancie or over-mastering power of a cross winde, they should be forced to cale the hypocritical bunt, let fall the top-gallant of their counterfeit devotion, and, tackling about, to sail a quite contrary course (as many of them have already done), the better at last to cast anchor in the harbour of profit, which is the butt

they aimed at, and sole period of all their dissimulations. But this affecting only a part of the tribe of Levi, how the remainder of new Palestine (as the Kirkmanetic Philarchaists would have it called) comes to be upbraided with the same opprobry of covetousness, is that which I am so heartily sorry for, that to wipe off its obloquy, I would undertake a pilgrimage to old Judea, visit the ruins of Jerusalem, and trace the footsteps of Zedekiah's fellow-captives to the gates of Babylon. Another thing there is that fixeth a grievous scandal upon that nation, in matter of philargyrie, or love of money; and it is this: there hath been in London, and repairing to it, for these many yeers together, a knot of Scottish bankers, collybists, or coine-coursers, of traffickers in merchandise to and againe, and of men of other professions, who by hook and crook, *fas et nefas*, flight and might (all being as fish their net could catch), having feathered their nests to some purpose, look so idolatrously upon their dragon of wealth, and so closely (like the earth's dull center) hug all unto themselves, that, for no respect of virtue, honor, kindred, patriotism, or whatever else, be it never so recommendable, will they depart from so much as one single penny, whose emission doth not, without any hazard of loss, in a very short time superlucrate beyond all conscience an additional increase, to the heap of that stock which they so much adore: which churlish and tenacious humor hath made many, that were not acquainted with any else of that country, to imagine all their compatriots infected with the same leprosie of a wretched peevishness; whereof those *quomodocunquies*; clusterfists and rapacious varlets have given of late such cannibal-like proofs, by their inhumanity and obdurate carriage towards some (whose shoo's-strings they are not worthy to untie) that were it not that a more able pen than mine will assuredly not fail to jerk them on all sides, in case, by their better demeanor for the future, they endeavour not to wipe off the blot wherewith their native country by their sordid avarice and miserable baseness hath been so foully stained, I would at this very instant blaze them out in their names and surnames, notwithstanding the vizard of presbyterian zeal wherewith they maske themselves; that, like so many wolves, foxes, or Athenian Timous, they might in all times coming be debarred the benefit of any honest conversation."

Is not this Carlyleism all over? Let us give Sir Thomas Urquhart his due. He certainly preceded our eminent contemporary of the nineteenth century in that style of writing, which keeps in view aptitude and force of expression only, and discards completely all considerations as to its intelligibility by the many. Both praise and dispraise are here involved, and both in no common degree.

Sir Thomas Urquhart must now be taken leave of. He was succeeded by his brother, and that brother by a cousin, in whose time the Cromarty property, much embarrassed by the early Stewart troubles, was sold to the Mackenzies, afterwards Earls of Cromarty. Finally, the representation of the Urquhart line devolved on the Urquharts of Meldrum (an estate inherited through a Seton heiress), in whom it still remains. They are of the direct stock, which Sir Thomas has connected with Tubal Cain, Bacchus, the *Pharisehs*, Hercules, Alcibiades, Lycurgus, and so many other eminent personages of old. The Urquharts of Craigston, and a few more families of the Cromarty line, have yet respectable positions in the north of Scotland.

The Urquharts, it may be observed, in conclusion, are referred by Sir George Mackenzie and the ordinary genealogists to the Forbes stem. As has been indicated, the two families carry nearly the same coat of arms. "A brother of Ochonchar," says Nisbet, "who slew the bear, and was predecessor of the Lords Forbes, having in keeping the castle of Urquhart, took his surname from the place." Sir Thomas not only reverses the case here, but will have many places, as Glen-Urchy [or Urchar], to be named from the Urquharts. The Greek etymon of *ourahartos*, or "well-beloved," must be looked on as but an ingenious fancy of the knight; and the likelihood is that the name had a local origin.

ARMS OF CLAN URQUHART.

Or three bears-heads, erased gules, languid azure.

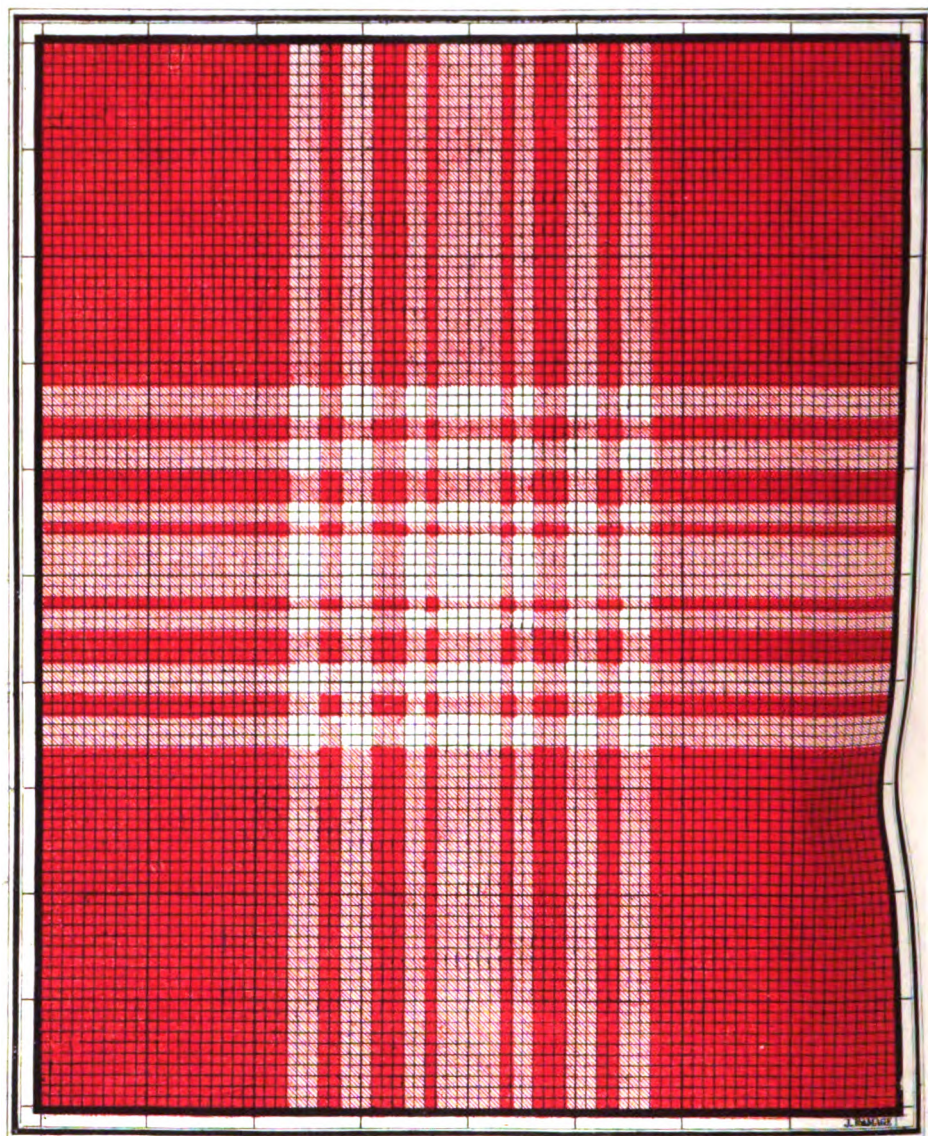
CREST. A demy otter issuing from the wreath sable, crowned with an antique crown, or holding betwix his paws a crescent gules.

SUPPORTERS. Two greyhounds, proper collared gules and leashed, or.

MOTTO above, *Par mare et terras* (over seas and lands); and below, *Mean, speak, and do well*.

BADGE. Wall-flower.

XXXIV



Clan Menzies

CLAN MENZIES.

The CLAN MENZIES, while long ranking distinctly among the septs of the Scottish Highlands, is yet almost admittedly of foreign origin, like the Frasers and Stewarts. That is to say, neither the name nor its original introducers appear to have been Gaelic primarily, though in the course of time the blood of the Menzies chieftains must have been largely Gaelicised, while the generality of the tribe may ever have been of the pure Highland stock. Mr Skene conceives the first appellation of the family to have been Meyners. "Their arms," he says, "and there semblance of name distinctly point them out to be a branch of the English family of Manners, and consequently their Norman origin is undoubted." It is true that there is a similarity in the armorial bearings of the Manners and Menzies houses, and they may have had a common Norman source, though the very peculiar spelling and pronunciation of Menzies would rather seem to indicate a Saxon derivation. The term is exactly that, in point of sound and orthography, which the Anglo-Saxons used to denote a body of men or a "following"—to wit, "Menzie" or "Menyie." It is possible that the head of a band of strange "Menzie" may have obtained his permanent name from their common and collective designation. The chief of the "Menzie" might easily be turned in time into the chief of Menzies. The name was formerly pronounced Mengues or Mingies, but now more commonly Meenies.

This origin of the Menzies name is, we admit, entirely conjectural, though in that respect it stands only on a par with other explanations. The first race is supposed to have come to Scotland in the days of Malcolm III.; but the first appearance of the name in charters occurs in the time of William the Lion and Alexander I., when it is spelled Meyners. The family had acquired, even at this early period, estates of no inconsiderable extent in Perthshire or the Athol district, since Robert de Meyners is found assigning the lands of Culdares to Matthew de Moncrief, a gentleman belonging to another ancient and yet existent house in that region. Alexander, son of Robert, appears to have been possessed of the lands of Weem, Aberfeldie, and Glendochart, as well as of Durisdeer in Nithsdale, which last has been viewed as his original possession before he obtained estates in the north. The "Menyesses" of Athol and Appin Dull are named in the Parliamentary Rolls of 1587 as among "the clans that have captains, chiefs, and chieftains." In nearly the same localities which they occupied in Perthshire in the thirteenth century, the Menzies family remain seated to this day. On the banks of the mountain feeders of the Tay, they still hold a variety of lands. Castle Menzies, the principal modern seat of the chief, stands to the east of Loch Tay, and the property around it stretches into the centre of the Athol country. Weem Castle, the old mansion, is a picturesque piece of antiquity, situated under a rock called Craig Uamh, whence the name of Weem.

Of the numbers of the Clan Menzies, President Forbes thus writes about the year 1740. "Sir Robert Menzies of Weem is the chief. In Gaelic he is called Menairich. [Menairich, or Meinanich, is properly the generic name of the whole sept.] He has a very handsome estate, all holding of the crown, lying in Rannoch, and Appin Dull in Athol, and can raise 300 men." The family of Menzies of Weem is the same as that now commonly known as Menzies of Menzies or That Ilk, the head of which, Sir Robert Menzies, is a Baronet, by a Nova Scotian creation of 1665. The family are styled commonly of Weem when mentioned in old histories. For example, we find "David Menzies of Weem (de Wimo)" appointed governor of Orkney and Shetland in 1423, "under the most clement lord and lady, Eric and Philippa, king and queen of Denmark, Swedland, and Norway."

In like manner, the Menzies chiefs receive occasional and honourable mention at various periods of the annals of Scotland. Their individual clan

history, however, is of little interest or importance. Many of the name distinguished themselves highly, like the Monroes and Mackays, in the wars of Europe during the days of Gustavus of Sweden and other great commanders; and they have since figured not less creditably in the later contests on the battle-field of their own country. They remained loyal generally to government during the rebellions. A respectable gentleman of the name, however, Menzies of Culdares, was out in 1715, and received a pardon. In 1745, he was unable to take the field, but sent a fine charger to Prince Charles, the servant conducting which was captured and executed. He was offered his life if he would disclose the name of his master or employer; but the poor fellow despised the office of an informer, and perished in his fidelity. Menzies of Pitfoddels is an offshoot of the clan, long and well estated in Aberdeenshire. Culdares, Chesthill, Blackhall, Pitnacree, and Dalnagairn are among the cadet branches still existing.

ARMS OF CLAN MENZIES.

Argent, a chief, Gules.

CREST. A savage's head, erased proper.

SUPPORTERS. Two savages, wreathed around the head and loins.

MOTTO. With God I shall.

BADGE. Heath (a species named the Menzies heath).

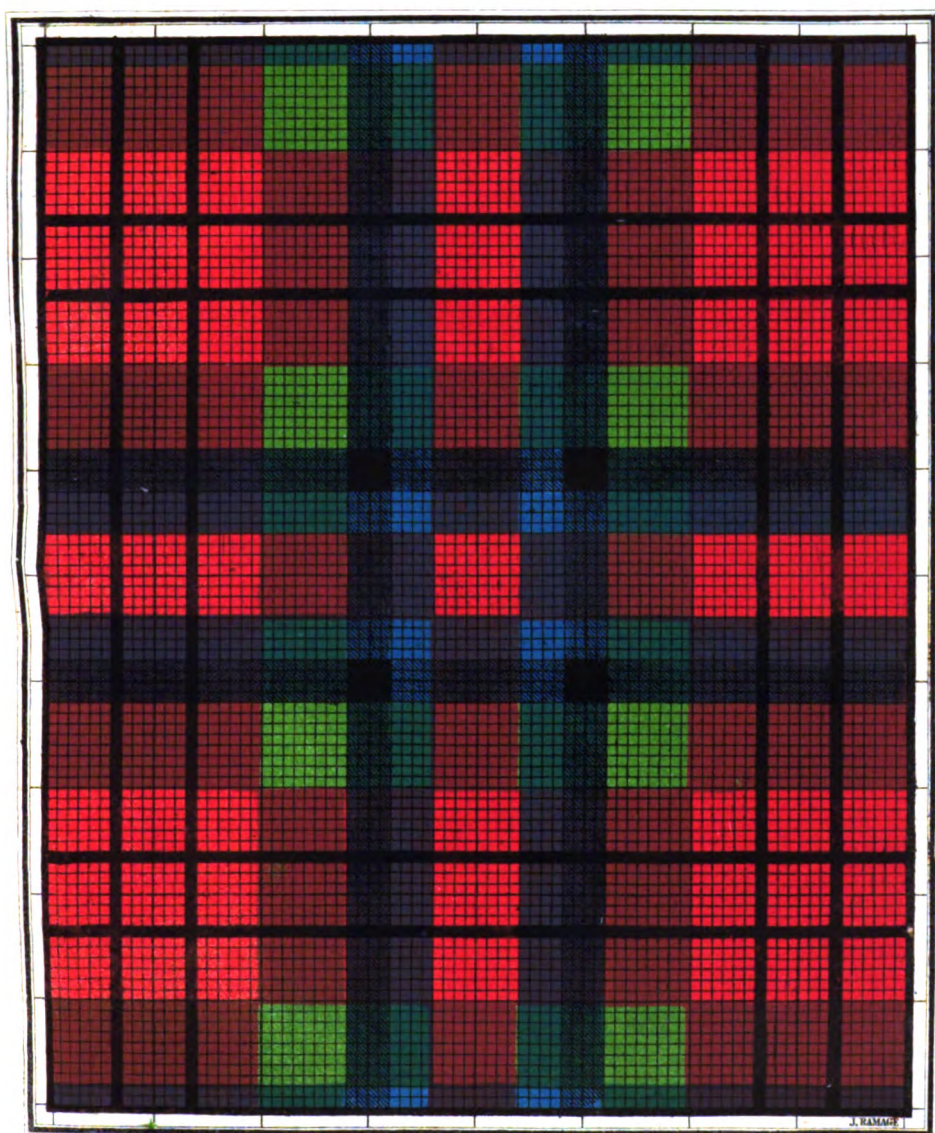


CLAN MACDUFF.

Upon what grounds a place among the clans has been refused to the Macduffs by certain writers, does not seem to us very clear or comprehensible. The great antiquity of the name and house cannot be for a moment disputed; and, if a judgment should be formed from designation merely, their Gaelic origin is as little to be questioned. True it is, that the Macduffs are not found located, even in the earliest times, within those mountainous limits which assuredly have long held the major portion of the true Gael; but this fact is not of sufficient importance to overturn their pretensions to a direct and close affinity with the native Alpinian race of Scotland. It is possible that they may have been a remnant of the southern Picts or Gael, left in possession of their lands and honours on the general overthrow of that people, by Kenneth II., in the ninth century. Their central position on the Forth renders this supposition by no means improbable; and, indeed, such is the actual statement made in the traditional genealogies of the family. These relate that Kenneth II. bestowed on Fife Macduff the whole district betwixt the Forth and Tay, then called Othelinia, and made him hereditary Thane thereof, for his services at the great Pictish catastrophe. Be this as it may, there is at least every reason to believe that the Macduffs were of pure Gaelic origin; and that they did not belong to that class of southern or Anglo-Norman incomers whom the Scottish monarchs, from time to time, planted so extensively along the north-eastern coasts, to overawe the relics of the native population. An old tradition among the Macintoshes ascribes that family in the male line to the Macduffs. Shaw Macduff, it is said, a second son of the Thane of Fife, left a descendant who wedded the heiress of the chief of Clan Chattan, and carried the headship of that sept to his successors. But, as has been already shown, there exist strong grounds for deeming the Macintoshes to have been the lineal male progeny of the Clan Chattan chiefs, and not a branch of the Macduffs. They quarter the arms of the latter house with their own, no doubt; but any subsidiary connection may have led to this result.

The first Macduff noted in history was the eminent Thane, commonly styled

XXXV



Clan Macduff

the eighth of his line, who aided so powerfully in the overthrow of the usurper Macbeth, and in the restoration of Malcolm III. to the throne of his sire, King Duncan. The outline of this entire romantic story has been stamped ineffaceably on the national mind by the "Macbeth" of Shakspeare. When that usurper fell (at Lunfanon or Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire, not at Dunsinane), the new king Malcolm, surnamed Canmore, rewarded Macduff most liberally, granting to him several extraordinary tokens of royal grace and gratitude. The right of crowning the monarchs of the land was vested in his line hereditarily; the privilege of leading the van of the national armies formed another boon to the house; and, thirdly, the Macduffs received a peculiar privilege of sanctuary, even in cases of murder by them committed. Of the latter privilege, all related within the ninth degree of kindred to Macduff were entitled to partake. It has indeed been remarked by disputative commentators on our annals, that no clear proof exists of the Macduffs having received these favours specially from Malcolm Canmore. That they did receive them at some period is not denied, however, and the great services rendered by the Thane of Fife to that sovereign, strongly confirm the supposition that from him alone these singular grants could have come. The common supposition also is, that Malcolm introduced the title of Earl, in place of Thane, into Scotland, and that Macduff was one of the first parties raised by him to the former rank. Nothing can be more natural than that his English exile should have prejudiced the Scottish prince in favour of such innovations; but again the point has been made the subject of cavil, and merely because no earls chance to be named until the time of his sons. All this is but vain and empty contention. The Macduffs certainly took their place among the most potent nobles of the kingdom in the days of Malcolm Canmore, and well merited such a distinction by their important services.

Regarding the privilege of sanctuary accorded to the Clan Macduff, a variety of accounts have been given, and we select the following from a very ingenious work by Mr James Knox on the "Topography of the Basin of the Tay." He says—

"Sir Robert Sibbald, in his 'History of Fife,' 1710, quotes in support of these supposed privileges of the earls of Fife, an epitome in his possession of the 'Book of Pasly.' This book, vulgarly called the 'Black Book of Paisley,' was chiefly a transcript of 'Fordun's Chronicle,' made by the monks in the monastery of Paisley, and continued by them. The extract given by Sir Robert is to the same purport with what Winton says in his chronicle, 1410; and we quote his words, as affording a good specimen of the language of the country in the beginning of the fifteenth century. [Of course, the Earl of Fife is the party here privileged.]

'First, fra his sete till the alter
Then he should be the king's leder,
And in that sete to set him doune,
To take his coronatioun;
For him and his posteritie
When ere the kings suld crownit be.'

'Efter that the *second* thing
Was, that he askat at the king
Till have the vawart of his bataile,
Whatever in war wald it assail.'—
'War, the waward suld governit be
Be him and his posteritie.'

'Efter then the thrid asking'—
'Gif ony, be *suddand chawdmelle*,
Hapnit sua to slane be'—
'Gif the sua slane war gentilman,
Four and twenty merks than,
For a zeman twelf merks pay,' &c. &c.

In the 'Regiam Majestatem,' a juridical tract, first published by Sir John Skene, in 1609, and considered a book of Scottish law by the Parliament of 1469, we find the statutes of Alexander II., who died 1249: [though] they are indeed, by many, suspected to be spurious. Among these statutes, there is one respecting the Earl of Fife, from which it would appear that he had some peculiar privilege. Chap. xv. 'Of Amerciements to be taken up fra them, quha passen nocht to the king's hoist.' Paragraph 3. 'Na earle, nor his servants, may enter in the lands of anie freeholders haldand of the king, to tak up this unlaw; bot onlie the Earle of Fife.' There

is here a marginal note,—‘And he may not enter as earl, bot as *Muir* to the king of the earldom of Fife, for uptaking of the king’s duties and richts.’ Under the *Brechin* system, however, which prevailed before statute law, all crimes were commuted; and theft, rape, and murder were punished by a fine, which was paid in cattle. Sir John Skene knew this; and, apparently desirous to make out a grant in favour of the Earl of Fife in some measure consistent with the state of society in ancient times says, ‘The croce (cross) of elan Makduff had privilege and liberty of girth, in sik sort, that when onie manslayer, being within the ninth degree of kin and bluid to Makduff, sometime Earl of Fyffe, come to that croce, and gave nyne kie and an colpindach, or young kow, he was free of the slaughter committed by him.’

The reputed sanctuary of Clan Macduff, above alluded to by Skene, is Macduff’s Cross, which is situated about half a mile south of the road leading from Abernethy to Newburgh. The pedestal, which is all that remains, is a large rough quadrilateral block of freestone, with no vestige of inscription; nor is there any appearance of a hollow in which an upright column could have been inserted. Sir James Balfour, however, in his ‘Notes upon Fife,’ tells us ‘That it was broke to pieces by some of the Congregation, as they named them, in the time of the reformation in religion, and pulling down of churches, in their coming from St Johnstown, in Perthshire, to Lundoris.’ He says, ‘The inscription, even at that time, was so outworn, that he who copied the samen (given to Sir James, by his son), had much ado to make words of some dispersed and outworn bare characters, these remaining to view being Roman, betwix intermingled Saxon.’ Sir John Skene, 1609, says, ‘He saw, in the stane of this croce, sundry barbarous words and verses written, which he willingly pretermitted, and yet some of them appeared to be conform to this purpose,—*Propter Magridin*,’ &c., giving the two last lines. Sir Robert Sibbald, 1710, says, ‘When I saw them, time had so defaced them, I could discern none upon the pedestal of the cross: the rest of it is not to be seen.’ He produces a copy from an essay upon the inscription of Macduff’s Cross, by the ingenious Mr J. Cunninghame. This Mr Cunninghame was told of an exact copy, with a true exposition, in the hands or books of the clerk at the Newburgh. The reading, which was approved by Mr Cunninghame, was thus:—

‘Makdradum dragos mairia laghsлита largos
Spalando spadus sive fig knighthite gnaros
Lothca leudiscos larcieingen lairia li-cos
Et colovurtos sic fit tibi bursia burtus
Exitus et bladadrum sive lim sive lam sive labrum.
Propter Magridin et hoc oblatum
Accipe smeleridem super limthide lamthida labrum.’”

Mr Knox speaks rather contemptuously of this “farrago of barbarous jargon,” compounded of Latin, Saxon, Danish, and old French words, some “feigned, seemingly, for the matter’s sake;” and he marvels how learned men should have thought it worth while to write lengthy comments on such stuff. For our own part, we feel by no means sure that the barbarity of the jargon is not the very best proof of the actual antiquity and authenticity of the preceding inscription. The clergy of the same period, when summoned to a conference with Margaret, queen of Malcolm Canmore, were utterly taken aback by the learning of the royal lady, and masters themselves of no language but the Gaelic. Even for the Saxon tongue, not to speak of the Latin, they required interpreters. Accordingly, the inscription on Macduff’s Cross may not unfairly be regarded as a genuine specimen of the general clerical learning of the day. The two last lines seem to contain the gist of the legend, implying that, “on account of St Magridin or Macgrider, absolution was to be received by oblations and kissings of the stone.” Several personages, of kin to the Macduff line, are reported to have claimed and obtained the privileges of sanctuary at the Cross.

“Sir John Skene says, ‘He saw an auld evident, beand that Spens of Wormistoun, beand of Macduff’s kinne, enjoyed the benefit and immunity of this law, for the slaughter of ane called Kinniemouth.’ Sir Hugh Abernethy, and many others, are said to have made the same claim. In the notes to the “Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,” vol. ii. p. 350, it is said, that a laird of Arbuthnot, too, enjoyed the advantage of this privilege; and there is a document produced, showing that it was pleaded in behalf of one of the Morays of Abercairney, who had killed William de Spalden. No light is thrown upon the nature of the privilege by this document, which may perhaps be spurious. It has always been understood, that the immunity related only to killing on sudden provocation, *suddand chawdmelle*; yet, in the case of Arbuthnot above mentioned, it was widely different; for he had, along with others, from premeditation and design, foully murdered the sheriff of the Mearns. The story affords a specimen of the savage manners of Scotland in the beginning of the fifteenth century. ‘This person, whose name was Melville of Glenbervie, bore his faculties so harshly, that he became detested by the barons of the country. Reiterated complaints of his conduct having been made to James I. (or, as others say, to the Duke of Albany), the monarch answered, in a moment of ungarded impa-

tience, 'Sorrow gin the sheriff were soddin, and suppit in broo!' The complainers retired perfectly satisfied. Shortly after, the Lairds of Arbuthnot, Mather, Lawrieston, and Pittarow, decoyed Melville to the top of the hill of Garvock, above Lawrencekirk, under pretence of a grand hunting party. Upon this place (still called the Sheriff's Pot), the barons had prepared a fire and a boiling caldron, into which they plunged the unlucky sheriff. After he was sodden (as the king termed it) for a sufficient time, the savages, that they might literally observe the royal mandate, concluded the scene of abomination by actually partaking of the hell-broth. The three lairds were outlawed for this offence. The laird of Arbuthnot is said to have eluded the royal vengeance, by claiming the benefit of the law of Clan Macduff. A pardon, or perhaps a deed of repledgiation, founded upon that law, is said to be still extant among the records of the Viscount of Arbuthnot.—('Minstrelys,' vol. ii.) Such a pardon has never met the public eye, and the subject is still involved in obscurity. We think it most probable, that the pardon of Arbuthnot would be founded on the implied permission to kill the sheriff, contained in the fretful answer of the sovereign."

Sir Walter Scott composed a drama on the subject of "Macduff's Cross," and his notes thereon convey nearly all that is known about this family privilege, either historically or traditionally.

As observed, the friend and restorer of Malcolm Canmore may reasonably be held as the first Earl of Fife. He was succeeded serially by Duffagan, Constantine, and Gillmichel, all of whom are distinctly mentioned in charters of the twelfth century, in connection chiefly with the records of the monastery of Dunfermline, and during the reigns of Alexander I. and David I., sons of Malcolm Canmore. Gillmichel, fourth Earl of Fife, died in 1139, leaving two sons, Duncan and Hugo, the former his successor in the earldom, and the latter the founder of the noble family of Wemyss. Such, at all events, is the statement made by Douglas and other writers on the Scottish peerage. Tradition, however, gives a more interesting account of the origin of the house of Wemyss. It relates that, during the reign of Macbeth, one of the sons of Macduff sought and found refuge from his persecutors in the caves or coves on the eastern coast of Fife, and that the name of *Jan na Uamh*, "John of the Cave," was given to him accordingly, originating the family appellation of Weems or Wemyss. The Gaelic *uamh* is pronounced nearly as Weem, and the Irish or Erse word *weimh*, signifying a "cove," approaches it still more closely. Whether tradition be correct or otherwise in carrying back the story to the time of Macbeth, it appears undeniable that an offshoot of the Macduff line actually received a name from these *weimhs* in Fifeshire, and left it to a special race of descendants, now represented by the Earls of Wemyss and other families of distinction.

Duncan, fifth Earl of Fife, was a personage of great consequence in the reign of David I., and, according to Winton, received from that king the office of regent of Scotland, during the minority of Malcolm IV. Various families of Duffs and Fifes are said to have sprung from younger sons of this Duncan. At his decease in 1154, he was succeeded by another Duncan, sixth earl, who filled the post of Justiciary of Scotland in the reign of William the Lion, and was a party to the convention made by that monarch with Henry II. of England at Falaise, in 1174. He also founded the nunnery of North Berwick. By a marriage with a relative of the royal family, Duncan appears to have added largely to his possessions in the counties of Fife and Perth. Dying in 1203, he left three sons, Malcolm, seventh earl, Duncan, father of the eighth earl, and David, who received the lands of Strathbogie; and, taking that designation, became sire of John de Strathbogie, created Earl of Athol.

Malcolm, seventh earl of Fife, is chiefly noted in history as the founder of the fine Abbey of Culross. Leaving no issue on his demise in 1228, he was succeeded by his nephew, Malcolm, eighth earl, a man of the highest influence in his time, and deeply engaged in all the transactions carried on with England during the reigns of Alexander II. and Alexander III. Earl Malcolm strongly supported the English interest in Scotland; and, on the union of Alexander III. with Margaret, daughter of Henry III., he was nominated one of the regents of the country, and guardians of the young king and queen. Though friendly to England, however, the Earl of Fife does not seem to be directly chargeable with participating in the grasping schemes which the Plantagenet princes began about this time to entertain relative to Scotland. He was one

of the Scottish nobles who exacted an oath from Henry III., that he would safely restore Queen Margaret and her child when she went to England for her accouchement in 1260. The frequent intercourse of the Earl of Fife with the southrons led to his forming a marriage with a daughter of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales. He died in 1266.

Besides his son and successor Colban, ninth Earl, Malcolm left a second son, Macduff, who was destined to play a very prominent part in the public affairs of the age. The Fair Maid of Norway, grand-daughter of Alexander III., having died without offspring, the memorable contest for the succession to the Scottish throne commenced betwixt Baliol and Bruce. The episode in which Macduff mainly figured on this occasion had its foundation in a grant of lands made to him by his father, and of which he was dispossessed by the Bishop of St Andrews, guardian of the tenth Earl of Fife, then in his nonage. The six Regents of Scotland, appointed at the death of Alexander III. in 1285, restored the lands to Macduff on appeal being made to them; but the first Parliament of John Baliol, held at Scone in 1292-3, again stripped him of his possessions, and even imprisoned him temporarily. Macduff offered to prove his father's grant, as well as the royal confirmation thereof, by written evidence, but the Parliament would not listen to his petition. Exasperated by this treatment, and also by the recent murder of his nephew, the injured man appealed to Edward I. against Baliol and his council. The appeal, as some authorities relate, was actually presented while Baliol was seated beside King Edward in the Parliament of England. Being cited to reply, the royal Scottish puppet at first refused obedience, and then required leave to answer by a procurator. To this demand, however, the haughty Plantagenet would not accede, and ultimately compelled the humiliated Baliol to appear before the assembled English senate, and plead for himself from an inferior place. "Not daring to show his resentment," says Buchanan, "he bore this affront in silence," and returned home as soon as possible, boiling with indignation, and revolving schemes of revenge. He soon after threw off his allegiance to Edward, only to sustain fresh defeats and undergo reiterated degradations.

Macduff, whose case had produced such important results, received from Edward a decree in his favour; but, nevertheless, to his honour be it recorded, he joined the standard of independence under Wallace, and fell, fighting gallantly, at the battle of Falkirk, 22d July, 1298. All the acts of this Macduff have been ascribed by some writers to an Earl of Fife, but, beyond question, erroneously.

During the career of Macduff, the main line of the noble house of Fife had been represented by Colban, ninth Earl, who died young, leaving a son Duncan, tenth Earl. Duncan was nominated one of the six Scottish regents in 1285, but his career proved a very brief one. At Petpollock, on the 25th September, 1288, when only in his twenty-sixth year, he was treacherously murdered by the Abernethies and their associates. One person suffered death for this crime; but the Abernethies were a powerful house at the time, and their detestable deed did not meet the full punishment which it deserved.

Duncan, eleventh Earl of Fife, was an infant of three years of age at the period of his sire's assassination. His right to place the crown on the Kings of Scotland was admitted at the installation of Baliol in 1292, but, on account of his tender age, a deputy performed the office. Edward I. deemed it of moment to secure the young Earl to his interests, even by wedding him to a lady of the blood-royal of England. The hand of Mary de Monthermer, his grand-daughter by Joan, countess of Gloucester, was accordingly bestowed on Duncan in 1306, with consent of the Pope, and all such formalities as attend the unions of princes. In consequence of this connection, the Earl of Fife stood originally in opposition to Robert the Bruce, and, when that restorer of Scottish independence was crowned at Scone on the 29th March, 1306, the task of conferring on him the emblem of sovereignty fell to the sister of Duncan, Isabel, countess of Buchan. Neither the ties formed by her brother with Edward, nor the bitter hostility of her husband (John Cumyn) to Bruce, could deter this high-spirited lady

from performing what she held to be a high duty to her country. In that age, indeed, a coronation would have been deemed utterly null and void by all men, had not a person of the blood of the great Macduff officiated at the ceremony; and when the Countess of Buchan fell into the hands of King Edward, as she unhappily did shortly afterwards, he took a revenge fearfully expressive of his sense of the service she had rendered to Bruce. He issued orders that, in one of the turrets of the Castle of Berwick, a cage should be constructed, strongly latticed with wood, cross-barred, and secured with iron; and that in that cage should be placed the Countess of Buchan, under so strict a guard that she should have no opportunity of speaking with any one of the Scottish nation, nor, indeed, with any save her custodiers and such women as might be appointed to attend her person. The only convenience added to this cage was a small retiring-chamber. In this barbarous species of confinement the Countess passed seven years, at the end of which period she was liberated by Edward II., and given in charge to Henry de Beaumont, an English baron who had wedded her husband's niece. The English annalists have scandalously vilified this noble daughter of the house of Macduff, ascribing her conduct to "an adulterous passion for the madman whom she crowned." Their bitterness serves but to heighten the glory of her conduct.

Duncan, eleventh Earl of Fife, became reconciled in due time to King Robert the Bruce, and was even the first noble who signed the famous letter to the Pope, A.D. 1320, asserting the independence of Scotland. His son Duncan, twelfth Earl, being taken prisoner at Dupplin in 1332, found it necessary to submit to Edward Baliol, and to assist at his coronation, in the same year, at Scone. On the return of David II. from France, however, he again joined the Bruce party, and, being captured with his sovereign at Durham in 1346, stood a serious chance of losing his life on account of his former oaths of fealty to Baliol. He was spared on condition of his paying a large ransom, and, having been allowed to return to Scotland to collect it, he died there in 1353. With him whom, following Douglas, we have named the twelfth Earl, though by others he is called the eleventh or tenth, the direct male line of the Macduffs came to a close. The last Earl left one daughter, Isabel, Countess of Fife in her own right, whose large possessions led to her contraction of four successive marriages, all of them unproductive of issue. Her second husband was Walter Stewart, second son of Robert II., and this connection with the royal family probably induced her to enter into a compact with Robert Stewart, afterwards Duke of Albany, for his succession to her in the earldom. At her decease he did so succeed, and his son Murdoch became generally known by the title of Earl of Fife. That and all the other titles of the house of Albany, however, fell to the crown when James I. sent nearly its whole surviving members to the scaffold.

The title of Earl of Fife, after its lapse to the crown in 1423, remained long in abeyance, though the Macduff family had left various branches, bearing usually the southern form of the name, or simply Duff. At length William Duff, son of William Duff of Dipple, was raised (in 1735) to the Irish peerage by the title of Lord Braco of Kilbryde. The large estates of his cousin, Duff of Braco, had fallen to him, and for his loyalty during the last Scottish Rebellion, and other services, he was advanced (in 1759) to the dignity of Earl of Fife and Viscount Macduff, still in the peerage of Ireland. His sons, James and Alexander, succeeded respectively as the second and third Earls. The latter of these took to wife Mary, daughter and ultimate heiress of George Skene of Skene, from which union sprung JAMES DUFF, the present and fourth EARL of FIFE, and the heir-presumptive to the title, the Hon. General SIR ALEXANDER DUFF, G.C.H., Colonel of the 37th Regiment of Infantry. His eldest son, James Duff, Esq., represents Banffshire in the British Parliament. The present Earl is Baron Fife in the peerage of the United Kingdom.

It may be observed, that the recent assumption of the simple name of Duff, in place of Macduff, accords with perhaps the most rational explanation of the

family patronymic. By this view, it is referred to the Gaelic *Dhu*, or **Black**; nor is the change to *Duff* by any means forced or improbable.

Though embarrassed of late years, a noble property still remains in the possession of the representatives of the Macduffs of old, the illustrious Thanes of Fife. It contains several stately mansions and castles; and its scenery, hill, plain, and forest, is unsurpassed for varied grandeur in the entire north of Scotland.

ARMS OF THE CLAN MACDUFF.

Or, a Lion-rampant, gules, armed and langued azure.

CREST. A demi-lion, holding a sword.

SUPPORTERS. Two Savages, wreathed with laurel.

MOTTO. *Virtute et opera* (By virtue and exertion).

BADGE. Red whortle-berry.



CLAN GRANT.

Few names have occasioned a greater amount of discussion than that of the **CLAN GRANT**. The circumstance of their having been long settled among the pure Gaelic sept of the north, and having been characterised by all the peculiarities of clanship, without having ever adopted a patronymic of the customary Highland kind, has mainly led to the ambiguity enveloping their origin. However, it seems probable, if not certain, that the Grants at large came of the genuine old Alpinian stock, even if they at one time had a chief set over them of foreign descent. Those who adopt the latter idea, find the origin of the name in the word *grand* or *de grand*, or *le grand*, signifying all of them, that the primary holder had been denominated "The Great" among the Norman-French. This etymology, indeed, is the most feasible advanced by those who deny the name of Grant to be Gaelic. Buchanan of Auchmar tells us, that "the Grants assert themselves to be of a Danish descent, from Aquin de Grand or Grant." But if the name be derived from "grand," the source cannot well be considered Danish, but must rather be set down as Norman or Anglo-Norman. Nisbet, however, states that "one Vanbessan, a Dane, by his MS. in the Lawyers' Library, brings the first of this name from Norway to Scotland;" and Sir George Mackenzie deduces them from England, upon (the faith of) Holinshed's mentioning one of the name of Grant of old, as a "repairer of the University of Cambridge." The latter argument is obviously quite worthless, and appears to be but a play on the name of Granta, given in English-Latin to that academical institution. The Vanbessan story is unsupported by other authorities. Mr Skene remarks: "For the Norman origin of the Grants I have upon examination entirely failed in discovering any further reason than that their name may be derived from the French *grand* or 'great,' and that they occasionally use the Norman form of *de Grant*. The latter reason, however, is not of any force, for it is impossible to trace an instance of their using the form *de Grant* until the fifteenth century." The writer now quoted makes a curious slip here, since he tells us within but a few succeeding sentences, that Lawrence and Robert Grant appear as witnesses to a deed of date 1258, and are there specially called the sons of "Gregory *de Grant*." We have thus an instance, given by Mr Skene himself, of the use of the Norman *de* some hundred and fifty years before the fifteenth century.

On the whole, it seems now impossible to determine the origin of the name and line of the chiefs of the Clan Grant. The epithet Grant is usually held not to be territorial (as in so many other cases) but personal; and, as if to confuse the matter still more completely, it is said to have formed a personal epithet in the Gaelic tongue, as well as in the various dialects of the old French. If

XX XVI



Clan Grant

really of Gaelic origin, the term had assuredly a most unfavourable meaning, indicating a founder ranking among the "ugly, ill-favoured" specimens of humanity. Come the clan-designation whence it might, however, our impression remains the same, that the great body of the Grants were Gael of the stock of Alpine, which, after all, is the main point to be here considered. The traditions of the sept itself support this view of the case strongly. They almost unanimously refer their origin to the stem of the Macgregors, and reckon Gregor Mor Macgregor, who lived in the twelfth century, as the immediate founder of their own particular line. They showed the strength and sincerity of their convictions on this point by holding a formal meeting with the Macgregors at Blair-Athol even so late as in the beginning of the eighteenth century, to consider of the policy of a complete clan-reunion. It is probable that the Grants were partly displeased at the time with their chiefs, who had almost always supported (after 1688) the governments established on the fall of the Stewarts, and had discountenanced the Jacobite tendencies of their dependents. The Grants, in short, were in all likelihood desirous of sharing in the plunder of the south as well as their neighbours, and disposed to grumble at the restraint put upon them during the various Stewart insurrections. At the meeting with the Macgregors, it was agreed that the two septs should re-unite, and that the common surname should be MACGREGOR, if the ban then resting on that appellation should once be removed. Otherwise, the name of Macalpine or Grant was to be adopted. For fourteen days this strange assembly lasted, and was only rendered abortive in the end by disagreements as to the common Chieftainship. The whole affair afforded the most potent evidence imaginable as to the belief of the two clans in their conjoint descent from the Siol Alpine.

The deed of the year 1258, before mentioned, speaks of *Laurentius et Robertus dicti Grant* (named Grant), as sons of *Gregor* or *Gregory de Grant*, who acquired the lands of Stratherrick by marriage with a Bisset. Some writers have asserted the Grants to be themselves actually Bissets, and it is singular enough that, within a few years after 1258, charters are found alluding to a "Bisset of Stratherrick." The marriage of Gregor, or Gregory, with a Bisset heiress is unquestionable, however; and his ultimate succession to the lands of Stratherrick is also a matter beyond dispute. It has been before mentioned that the name of Grant has usually been held as personal (from either the Norman *grand* or the Gaelic *grand*); but it should also be stated that Dr John Macpherson, a good scholar, refers the name to a moor or plain called Grantach or Griantach, in the centre of Strathspey. It contains many Celtic or Druidical remains; and the crest of the Grants is certainly Baalish, being a "burning mount." This is a fair conjecture, but, however derived, the Grants rose soon to distinction. In the reign of Alexander III., Lawrence Grant is found bearing the high office of Sheriff of Inverness, a clear proof of the already consolidated power of the family. The same Lawrence married the heiress of Glencharny in Strathspey, and obtained with her large domains, still forming the chief possessions of the Grants. The son of Lawrence was fortunate enough to contract another marriage with an heiress (of the name of Wiseman), and so acquired new lands in Banff and Elgin-shires. However, his only surviving child was a daughter, Christina, and she, by marriage with a Fraser of the Lovat house, carried away a large portion of the Strathspey properties to her spouse, while "Malcolm le Grant," the male heir of his line, retained chiefly Stratherrick. But all parties soon saw fit to alter this destination of things. Fraser and his wife gave up the Strathspey estate in exchange for Stratherrick, where the husband found himself much more comfortable, being among his own people, as Malcolm Grant felt himself likewise, when he settled in the Strath of Spey. To this day the Frasers and Grants are the main occupants of these two regions. As the heads of the Lovat family are found soon afterwards in possession of Stratherrick, it seems probable either that the heiress of Grant had wedded the direct heir of the Frasers of Lovat, or that, according to a pretty common custom, the head of that family had in time absorbed the

possessions of his relative and dependant. At all events, Stratherrick became a prominent section of the Lovat property.

The Grants continued to prosper in the north after this final settlement in Strathspey. As before observed, the tenure of such a sheriffship as that of Inverness-shire stamps the family as one of high note at the time, though the Frasers of Lovat also held that office occasionally. The Grant chiefs appear at first to have taken their earliest and most common designation from their lands of Freuchie, though often called "Of that Ilk" in old charters and other documents. John Grant of Freuchie, the grandson of Gregory de Grant, joined Wallace, and shared both in his successes and reverses, being ultimately captured by the English, and kept long a prisoner in London. Several barons or knights (most men of property were either really knighted in those days, or obtained the title by courtesy) followed in the family roll, and were for the most part singularly prosperous in life. John, called the Bard, and reckoned as the tenth chief of Grant, obtained new or confirmatory charters of various lands from James IV., on terms which prove the power and extent of the clan beyond dispute. The king, then projecting the English war which ended so disastrously at Flodden, bargains with John Grant of Freuchie for "the aid of three knights, with all the serviceable men of the Grant clan, at any convocation of the lieges by him or his successors, within or without the kingdom, for the purposes of war." The estate of Glenmoriston, still held by a branch of the Grants, appears to have been chartered about this time, or in the beginning of the sixteenth century, to the same John The Bard. Descending to the time of James VI., we find John, counted as the fifteenth Laird of Grant, to have been knighted by the Scottish sovereign, and to have individually possessed great estates, notwithstanding the gradual allotment of shares thereof to the many preceding offshoots of the house. Ludovic, seventeenth chief, held the office of sheriff of Inverness, like many of his ancestors. Alexander, the next of the line, was succeeded by James of Pluscarden, his brother, who had wedded the heiress of Sir Humphry Colquhoun of Luss, and, by Queen Anne's favour, had been created a Baronet in 1704, with the view of the Luss succession. The death of his brother, however, made him Sir James Grant of Grant, and the baronetcy obtained by him is still a title of his eldest descendants. The proper Colquhoun baronetcy, as before stated in this work, was one of the oldest on the Nova-Scotian roll, being of date 1625, the first year in which such dignities were granted. The second surviving son of Sir James Grant succeeded to his *mother's* property, and bore the title of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss; but there appears to have occurred some confusion about the after-allotment of the titular honours of the family. Sir Ludovic Grant of Grant took up, as he was seemingly justified in doing, his father's baronetage of 1704; while the second son, successor to the estate of Luss, was usually styled Sir James Colquhoun of that Ilk. The male heirs of that line, nevertheless, the Colquhouns of Tillyquhoun, seem to have claimed and obtained the old family baronetcy of 1625; and we find a new baronetcy, of the United Kingdom, to have been consequently conferred in 1786 on James Colquhoun of Luss. But the present Sir James Colquhoun of Luss bears both titles, that of 1625 as well as that of 1786.

Sir Ludovic Grant of Grant continued the line of the chiefs of the family now especially under consideration. He took to (his second) wife Lady Margaret Ogilvie, daughter of the Earl of Findlater and Seafield, and by her left descendants, who succeeded to the estates of their maternal grandsire, as well as to the honours of the Seafield earldom. That title had been conferred on a son of the Earl of Findlater, who held the highest offices (such as those of Secretary of State, Lord Chancellor, Lord of Session, and Lord of the Exchequer and Treasury) during the troublous times concerned in the Union. He was one of the commissioners appointed to carry through the treaty, and his conduct on the occasion does not impress us with high ideas of his patriotism. He was the man who said, when the treaty received its signatures (in a low cellar, by the way, of the High Street of Edinburgh), "Now, there is an end of an

wild sang!" Though, at this phase of his life, he must be regarded as but an able and unscrupulous tool of England in carrying through a measure which seemed to give her temporary predominance, while really essential to the ultimate welfare of both ends of the island, Lord Seafield had the spirit to complain loudly, as one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, of what he deemed to be infractions of the Act of Union. He even moved in the British senate for the repeal of the treaty, and lost his motion only by four votes. Such was the personage to whom fell the united honours of Findlater and Seafield, and whose grand-daughter carried the latter title into the Grant family. Sir Ludovic, by his wife, Lady Margaret Ogilvie, had an heir, Sir James Grant of Grant, father of Lewis Alexander Grant-Ogilvie, who became Earl of Seafield by the decease of James, fourth peer of the direct line, A.D. 1811. The annals of the clan, however, merit a word before allusion is made to the present position of its chiefs.

The Grant chiefs appear to have been for the most part prudent men in their day and generation. They throve well in the world, and, with a few exceptions, were ever found on the side of order and good government in the most critical periods of the national history. Some branches of the clan, indeed, and particularly the Glenmoriston Grants, who had a location apart from the main body of the tribe, and were in a great measure independent of their actual chiefs, joined the later risings in favour of the Stewarts, and played no unimportant part therein. Sir James Grant of that Ilk, already mentioned, the head of his house, was active in his support of the crown at the close of last century. He raised a "Grant or Strathspey" Regiment of Fencibles, destined for home service, in 1793; and in the following year he was able to add 1300 men to the regular British army, the corps forming at the time the ninety-seventh or Strathspey Regiment of Infantry. Stewart of Garth, in noticing the enrolment of the Fencibles, gives a noble character of their chief, terming Sir James (in words applied by Clarendon to Charles I.) "the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian." Remembering the acts of duplicity justly chargeable on Charles I., a sovereign at best but negatively estimable, we hope and believe that the Jacobite leanings of Garth have led to a comparison even unfavourable to the Laird of Grant. Sir James was a man "universally beloved and respected." Nevertheless, his Fencible regiment caused some trouble in its time. The Highlanders had no idea, on enlisting in such bodies, of being asked to quit their native country, and serious disturbances occurred at Linlithgow and Dumfries in 1794 and 1795, when such a proceeding was urged on the Grant Fencibles. The chief, being sent for, quieted one outbreak, but the mischief had proceeded so far in the second instance that two men suffered capital punishment for mutiny. All the Fencibles were disbanded in 1799.

If space permitted, the reader might be amused with the remarks of General David Stewart of Garth on the Grant regiments, in connection with the subject of "the value and importance of preserving undisturbed an ancient, faithful, and attached tenantry, and of that personal influence possessed by many former Highland noblemen and landed proprietors, by which they could, at any time, command the personal service in the field of their tenants and kinsmen." The worthy Highlander and brave soldier, blinded by his prepossessions in both characters, proceeds to tell us triumphantly that Lord Perth, with all his great estates, as well as the Lords Strathallan, Nairne, and George Murray, could scarcely bring a handful of men a-piece to join the rebellions of the last century. These and such-like facts prove, according to Garth, that a Lowland neighbourhood had grievously deteriorated the character of the followers of the chiefs in question; and had weakened that "feudal, hereditary, and chivalrous attachment to their persons and families" which existed in preceding times. The total incompatibility of the ancient system of clanship with the state of modern society, and the constant danger to the peace of the country at large from that very possession of a "feudal and hereditary" power by so many petty district chiefs, are matters entirely lost sight of by the honest Peninsular

veteran. Sir Walter Scott, however, the very party whose genius threw a lustre, as novel as it has proved lasting, on the Scottish Highlands and all therewith connected, looked at the subject in a more just light, and in his later works, at least, supplied an antidote to the somewhat perilous fare of his early poems and romances. After finely remarking, that the view which we cast on the system of clanship is "like looking back upon a Highland prospect enlivened by the tints of a beautiful summer evening," he observes that our cool reason must admit that clan system to have been hostile to liberty, and to all religious and moral improvement, by placing the very existence of whole tribes at the mercy of individuals influenced by no restraint save their own pleasure. Sir Walter further answers all Garth's commendations of Highland fidelity in a few words, pointing out the obvious fact that such things only rendered the system more deeply perilous. "The power of ravaging the estates of a neighbour or the Lowlands, by letting loose upon them troops of bandits, kennelled like bloodhounds in some obscure valley till their services were required, was giving to every petty chieftain the means of spreading robbery and desolation through the country at his pleasure. It is impossible, in sober sense, to wish that such a system should have continued, or to say that, in political wisdom, the Government of Great Britain ought to have tolerated its longer existence." Such are the matured sentiments on Highland clanship (occurring in the "Tales of a Grandfather") of the author of "Waverley" and "Rob Roy." Scott was, indeed, too clear of vision not to discern the full truth in this case, though the man never lived who had stronger predilections for the system of chiefs in all its varieties—Saxon, Norman, and Gaelic. The spirit of feudality tinged his whole life and writings. It made him a private trooper in the Yeomanry, and, but for his lameness, would have turned him into a soldier wholly, which event, to use his own words on Dryden, might haply have

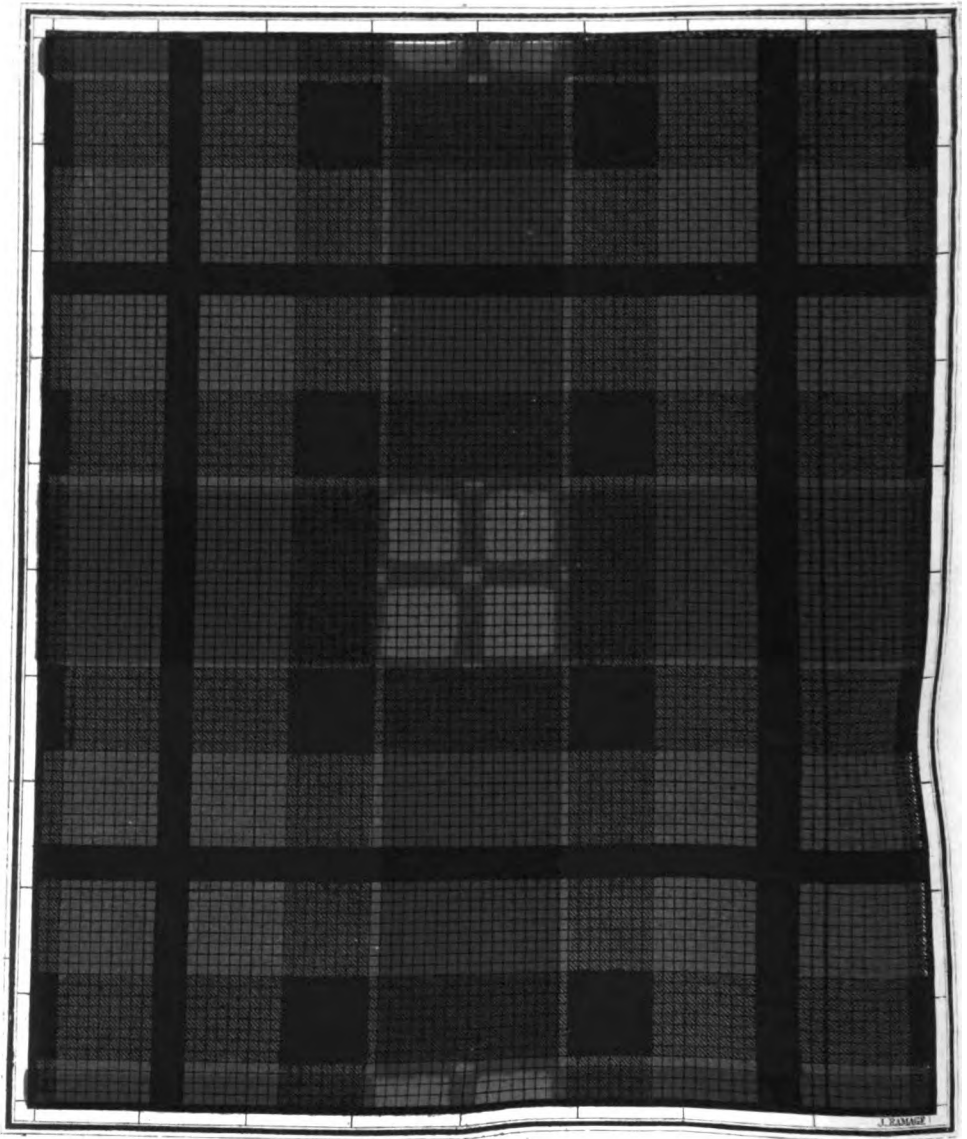
"The world defrauded of the high design,
Profaned the God-given strength, and marr'd the mighty line."

The same spirit led him to picture all his personages in humble life, as chiefly estimable for fidelity and devotion to their superiors, and more particularly their "natural" or feudal superiors. In all the Waverley tales this peculiar bent may be traced; and, in that first novel alone, Evan Dhu Maccombich, Davie Gellatley, and even Bailie Macwheeble, may be instanced as characters rendered mainly interesting through their attachment to those above them. Sir Walter Scott, therefore, had a strong personal bias to overcome in recording the preceding opinions on the system of clanship; and his testimony is all the more valuable accordingly.

Lewis Alexander Grant Ogilvie became fifth Earl of Seafield by the decease of the fourth and last peer of the Ogilvie name in 1811. The Findlater earldom had been differently destined by the original patent; and though various claimants have appeared, none of them have yet established their rights. The first Earl of Seafield of the Grant name was succeeded, in 1840, by his brother FRANCIS WILLIAM GRANT OGILVIE, Lord-Lieutenant of the county and Colonel of the Militia of Inverness, and one of the sixteen Representative Peers of Scotland. By his union with Miss Dunn, his lordship has issue JOHN CHARLES, VISCOUNT REIDHAVEN, and several other children. The high estate of the Grants suffered no diminution, of course, from this last succession, which calls oddly to mind a story told of one of the past Lairds of Grant. On some person speaking to him of the propriety, either of his asking or accepting a peerage, the chief replied, "But wha wad be Laird o' Grant?" With so many other heads of the Gaelic septs, the glories of his chieftdom were paramount in his eyes to all earthly dignities. A king might make "a belted knight, a marquis, duke, and a' that," but to make a Laird of Grant stood not within the compass of imperial might. So the Laird of Grant felt, and prized himself proportionally.

Many anecdotes have of course been related, bearing allusion to members of

XXV71



Clan Mackay

the numerous and important tribe of the Grants. But into these our space will not permit us to enter at large.

ARMS OF THE CLAN GRANT.

Gules, three antique crowns, Or.

CREST. A burning Mount.

SUPPORTERS. Two Savages, wreathed.

MOTTO. Stand sure.

BADGE. Pine (or, according to others, Cranberry Heath).



CLAN MACKAY.

The powerful and numerous CLAN of the MACKAYS has long been established in the far north of Scotland, or in that portion of it directly looking towards the Hyperborean Seas. By maps of the country drawn up in the fifteenth century, it appears that the district in question was then called Caithness, though now included mainly in Sutherlandshire. An earlier name than either for the region, however, was Strathnaver, the loch, stream, and vale of the Naver giving origin to that appellation. More recently the possessions of the Mackays received the common designation of "Lord Reay's country," from the title of the ultimately ennobled chieftain of the tribe. The changes which have taken place in respect to the boundaries of Caithness and Sutherland tend to confuse greatly the early history of their various inhabitants. No want of materials can be complained of, certainly; since the folio volume of Sir Robert Gordon on the Sutherland house, and the quarto of Mr Robert Mackay of Thurso on his own sept, are only too diffuse and lengthy to serve conveniently for sources of reference. However, the grain must just be sifted from the chaff with as much care as possible.

Regarding the proper origin of the Mackays, annalists and genealogists are widely at variance, as usual, among themselves. By some writers the tribe has been referred to the Mackyes of Argyle and Galloway, but there is really little or nothing to support this notion save the mere sound of the name and the fact that Mackyes and Macghies did exist in the south-west of Scotland. Others, again, have ascribed the descent of the Mackays to the house of Forbes, and here the testimony is stronger, though still defective. It certainly is by no means impossible that a Forbes cadet should have obtained a settlement on the shores bordering on Cape Wrath, but there are strong reasons against such a conclusion. For example, the Mackays had attained to such a degree of power and pre-eminence in the fourteenth century as to render it almost incredible that the first of them should have flourished, as the story in question assumes, little more than a hundred years before. In the records of the famous Parliament held by James I. at Inverness in 1427, the chief of the Mackays is distinctly stated to have then had at his command not less than *four thousand* followers—a train which throws utterly into the shade the power and numbers of the supposed parental stock of the Forbeses. The very name of Mackay itself speaks strongly against any other than a pure Celtic connection, as the generality of the stranger barons, planted in the north, preserved the names which indicated their original descent. The Celto-Irish incomers often become "Macs" readily and naturally, but not so the settlers from the south or east of Scotland.

One of the arguments adduced to establish the presumed affinity of the Mackays and Forbeses, is founded on the Arms of the two families. Both of them carry Bears' Heads of the same Tincture and Field. But this circumstance of itself cannot be held decisive of the question. Nevertheless, the story relating to these Arms may be told in the words of Nisbet. He says that Alexander, a younger son of that Ochonchar who killed a bear, and was thence named

For-Bear (afterwards changed into Forbes), left behind him a series of descendants, of whom the fourth in order was Donald of Strathnaver. [By the way, it may be observed that this etymological explanation of the term Forbes, almost ridiculous in any point of view, is rendered still more so by the fact that nearly all Scotland spoke Gaelic at the period. Forbes, pronounced in that tongue *Ferbas* or *Ferbasach*, means "a bold man," and gives a far more rational etymology of the name than the For-Bear story, which assumes the use of Saxon.] "The son and successor of Donald," continues Nisbet, "was Y (or Yi-) Mhor, from whom began the surname of Macky (that is, the Sons of Y), and whose great-grandchild was Angus, father of Y, alias Odo Mackay. He was much in favour with James IV., who gave to him all the lands of the Sutherlands of Delred, including Farre, Strathie, Kynneve, Kynned, Golspie, Dilrie, and others." But while Nisbet, following Sir Robert Gordon in his *Memoir of the Sutherlands*, thus adheres to the notion of a Forbes connection, almost all our other heraldic writers take a different view of the case. Even if the Ochonchar origin were admitted, however, the family of the Mackays might be viewed as Celts of the Irish stock, since, though the Forbeses think differently, such, by the common accounts, were the O'Chonchars. Without allying them to the Forbeses, there exist some grounds for deeming the founders of the clan Celto-Irish. Pennant's inquiries in the north led him to favour the conclusion, that "Lord Reay's family derived their origin from Ireland in the twelfth century, when King William the Lion reigned." The occasion of their settling in the north, we are further told, is mentioned by Torfaeus. That old Scandinavian states them to have gone "as captains of a number of warriors to drive out the Norwegians," or Norsemen generally, from the northern mainland of Scotland; and he adds that "the ancestors of Lord Reay's family drove the Danes from these parts." It is reasonable to suppose that the leader of Irish auxiliaries, in such a case, would be rewarded with grants in the district thus cleared of its Norse rulers. Mr Skene will not admit of an Irish descent on the part of the first chiefs of the Mackays, and classes the whole clan, leaders and followers, among the ancient inhabitants of Caithness. To us it seems enough to assume or admit that the great body of the Mackays were certainly of the race of the Scottish Gael, and that the line of the chiefs was at least Celtic. It may be displeasing, we feel, to readers of the pure old Alpinian blood to find this conclusion so often arrived at—namely, that incomers from Ireland were thus endowed with lands, and became the heads of tribes, in the region of the Scottish Gael; but it should be kept in mind how natural it was for such things to occur in the early circumstances of the country. It would be hard to say whether the proper natives of the north, or the Scandinavian intruders upon them, caused the Lowland authorities the greatest amount of trouble in past times; and to repel the former and expel the latter they needed all the assistance which they could procure, whether from Irish adventurers or from the south of Britain. The almost indispensable result of success, in most instances, was the fixed settlement of the leaders of these auxiliaries in the subdued districts, in order to maintain the peace in future. Nor ought the Gaelic people reasonably to feel reluctant to admit the probable Irish descent of the founders of such tribes as that of Mackay; since in that case, as in many others, the natives were only relieved, in reality, from the domination of the Norse strangers by men sprung from their own race fundamentally.

Though thus leaning, it will be observed, to the almost universal tradition, that the first chiefs of the Mackay line were of the Celto-Irish stock, it is but right to remark that Mr Skene finds mention made in the Norse Sagas of a personage named Magnus, who was a great man in Strathnaver in the twelfth century, and who corresponds, in point of date, with a Magnus in the Gaelic list of Sir Robert Gordon; and this coincidence is held strongly to confirm the supposition that the Mackays are sprung from the "old native Maormors of Caithness." This point seems extremely dubious. At all events, the Magnus of Sir R. Gordon fought under Bruce at Bannockburn, and, at his decease, left a son named Morgan, after whom "the whole familie of Mackay is generally

called Clan-wic-Worgan in Irish or old Scottish." This is so far true, though the word is as often spelled Morgan, and the name of Morganach was never borne generically save by a branch of the clan. This Morgan flourished betwixt 1315 and 1325, being the fifth from the supposed Celto-Irish founder, Alexander, according to Mackay of Thurso, the historian of the family. His son, Donald, married the daughter of the chief of the small western isle of Gigha, and here, says the common story, we are to look for the origin of the name of Mackay. It is said that the chief of Gigha was named Iye, and that Donald gave the same appellation to his son and successor, who handed the name of Mac-Iye or Mackay to his whole clan and posterity. We cannot properly omit all notice of this almost universally received explanation, but must own, at the same time, that the name seems to us referable to a very different source. Among the many forms in which the generic word *CATTI* occurs, signifying the *whole native population* of the far north, one is "Keith," broadly pronounced "Kay" in Gaelic. Now as Iye, the presumed originator of the clan-designation of Mackay, lived or ruled betwixt 1340 and 1370, and as the Mackays were actually numbered at 4000 men in 1427, it seems far more rational to conclude that they took their name from the old Catti of Cattiness than that they were styled after a single and recent chief, Iye, grandson of the laird (Iye) of Gigha. Amid a host of conjectures, the preceding is in our eyes the preferable one, if, indeed, one may venture on any guess where the spellings are countless—as Mackay, Macky, Mackye, Macghie, Macguy, Mackai, Macghe, and so forth. Duncan Forbes gives us another form, telling us that "the Gaelic name of the Reay chief is "MACAOI." Mr Mackay of Thurso coolly remarks, that it is "not at all improbable that the names Iye, Hugh, Odo, Donald, and Niel, if not Ewen also, are all from the same root!" This assumption calls to mind the story of Dean Swift, to the effect that the famous Macedonian conqueror of old was, from his youth, very fond of roasted eggs, and that, on his return from hunt or battle, the preparatory cry rang uniformly through his kitchen, "All eggs under the grate!" whence arose his name, says the Dean, of "Alexander the Great!" The Gaelic etymons appear of kindred scope and the like unscrupulous audacity; and yet we do not doubt their foundation generally in the truth.

The earliest member of the Mackay house of note was undoubtedly Angus Dhu or Dow, son or grandson of Iye, the presumed founder of the clan name. Angus Dow was the head of his clan in 1396, when the battle of the North Inch of Perth took place; and the idea of the proper Mackays being engaged therein is completely controverted by his personal history, and more particularly by the duration of his life. He died, not on the Inch in 1396, but in 1429, through an arrow-shot received in a battle with the men of Sutherland. Though hopeless of throwing any further light on the Clan Chattan conflict at Perth, it may be remarked that the family annalist of the Mackays, while holding it ridiculous to imagine that sept to have been there engaged, since they dwelt so far apart from the Mackintoshes, and were always on the best of terms with that sept, at the same time thinks it probable that the Camerons were the true Clan Kay of the fight, and that that much disputed term is but a version of MacAodh, MacAodhan, or (in the Saxon form) MacEwan. MacAodh sounds as MacAoi in Gaelic, assuredly; but though the name of MacEwan has been often borne by Cameron clansmen, it has been still more often borne by the Macphersons, and the Gaelic riddle of the Inch, therefore, remains as much as ever unsolved by the view taken by Mr Mackay of Thurso, historian of his tribe.

Angus Dow Mackay first distinguished himself by opposing Donald of the Isles, who had inflicted some injuries on his friends or kinsmen; but the island-lord defeated Angus in a bloody conflict at Dingwall, killed his brother Roderick, and took himself captive. According to the usual policy of the age, however, Donald not only released the chief of the Mackays after a time, but gave him a daughter to wife. Perhaps it should rather be said that he made Angus buy his freedom by wedding a (possibly somewhat unmarketable) Miss Mac-

donald, after the fashion in which Gideon Murray indubitably compelled young Harden, in similar circumstances, to marry "muckle-mou'ed Meg" of Elibank. The permitted choice in the latter authentic case lay between the *altar* and a *halter*—two materially different things with all men save the good citizens of London. Such unions must have been more common of old, we suspect, than family pride has allowed genealogists to put on record. Be this as it may, Angus Dow Mackay carried his lady, daughter of Donald of the Isles, to his home in Strathnaver, and had by her a son and heir named Neil-Wass, which latter epithet is said to have been derived (by a corruption) from the *Bass*, where he lay long captive. It is worthy of note, that Bower, the continuator of Fordun's "Scottish Chronicle," speaks of Angus Dow by the name of "Angus Duff, alias Macgye," from which first term (as already remarked) we may trace the origin of Duff, with some probability, back to the simple root of Dhu or "black." It has been remarked, and is indeed obvious, that almost all the Gaelic names have had their source in the personal attributes either of individuals or septs. The generic names of entire septs have in most cases a meaning akin to that of "wild," "fierce," or "savage;" and the reason seems to be, that such generic names were usually bestowed in the first instance by neighbours, and only became affixed to or adopted by the clans themselves in the course of time, and through usage by other than Gaelic writers. When a Saxon writer spoke of the men who fought under Donald of the Isles at Harlaw, he could give them no name but Macdonalds. Whatever they called themselves, this name was thus fixed on them in history. An individual chief of mark and likelihood, again, who chanced to be of dingy hue, gave very oft a name thereon founded to his descendants and his tribe. It should be noticed, however, that Angus Duff or Dow Mackay could not be the ancestor of the Duff's or Macduff's of history, since he lived only in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He seems to have fallen into serious disputes with his Caithness neighbours, and to have been a constant object of jealousy and alarm, above all, to the Sutherland family. A fierce battle with the men of eastern Caithness was fought by Angus at Helmsdale, off the Ord of Caithness, and many fell on both sides. Partly on account of this outrage, and partly because he supported his brother-in-law, Alexander of the Isles, in his claims on the Ross Earldom, the Mackay chieftain was one of those summoned to Inverness in 1427 by James I., who forced him to give up his son Niel into the royal hands, as a hostage for his future loyalty. It is at this period that he is represented, on unquestionable authority, as "*dux quatuor millium de Strathnaver*" (the leader of four thousand Strathnaver men); and we also find, that, at the same period, subsidiary chiefs of the name of Mackay existed, with large separate estates and followings. Thomas, son of Niel Mackay, for instance, having slain a gentleman named Mowat, was by his own two brothers entrapped and delivered up to the justice of the king (in 1427), the said brothers obtaining in recompense all his numerous lands in the shires of Ross, Inverness, and Sutherland. The charters in their favour are still extant, and prove almost beyond a doubt that these separate families of Mackays, and indeed the clan generally, must have taken their name from a much earlier source than Iye, sire or grandsire of Angus Dow. The two unnatural brothers just mentioned, after acquiring their stipulated possessions, turned their arms against the said Angus Dow, chief of their name, being mainly instigated thereto, seemingly, by the Earl of Sutherland of the period. At Drimnacoub, a place near Tongue, they were met by the men of Angus Dow, led by his younger son, John Aberigh, and both of them fell in battle. John Aberigh escaped with life, but, according to most accounts, could scarcely boast of any other token of victory, so fierce and deadly had been the struggle. The spot proved fatal, moreover, to Angus Dow himself; for the now aged and infirm chief, having caused himself to be borne to a mound near the scene of the conflict, was killed by an arrow from the bow of a lurking Sutherlander, after the general dispersion of the combatants of both sides. So fell one of the most eminent of the old Mackay chieftains. John Aberigh retained for a short time the headship of the

clan, and then resigned it to his elder brother, Niel-Wass or Bass, on the latter being freed from confinement. John Aberigh received various lands from Niel, and founded a Mackay branch, called the Sliochd-ean-Aberigh, or an-Abrach, long fixed in Sutherland. In the history of Niel of the Bass, there occurred little worthy of note after his accession to the chiefship.

Angus Mackay succeeded to his father Niel in the middle of the fifteenth century, and was in turn followed by a line of chiefs whose time seems to have been wholly spent in fighting with their neighbours. A couplet is repeated in the district at this day, which enumerates their chief opponents:—

“Sinclair, Sutherland, Keith, and Clan Gunn,
Never was peace where these four were in.”

The issue of the countless struggles among these tribes was, that the Keiths, Gunns, and Mackays, the purest Erse people of the whole, sunk before the Sinclairs (whose chiefs were certainly of the Norman St Clairs) and the Sutherlands, who had almost always the countenance of the regal Lowland authority. But the Mackays long held out stoutly against the latter family, who formed their principal adversaries; and Odo or Y-Mackay of Strathnaver, having apprehended upon a royal warrant Alexander Sutherland of Dalred, for a heinous murder committed by him, was rewarded in 1499 with a charter confirming him in his own lands, and assigning to him a great part of those of the delinquent whom he had seized. This charter contains the first proper instalment of the clan in their possessions by the Scottish sovereigns, whose power in the north was now becoming more stable. The death at Flodden, however, of James IV., who, like all the more active Lowland monarchs, had opposed the growth of single powerful families in the north, allowed the Gordons, now become by marriage Earls of Sutherland, to wrest from the Mackay chief many of the lands chartered to him in 1499. Indeed, the union of Adam Gordon of Aboyne with Elizabeth, heiress of the Sutherlands, elevated the latter house to lasting and decided supremacy among its neighbours. Adam was next brother to the Earl of Huntly, head of the great Gordon sept, and proudly called the “Cock of the North;” and the conjoined influence of the two families proved irresistible, giving especially a heavy blow to the rivalry of the Mackays. It is true that, in the year 1539, James V., a prince of spirit and prudence like his sire, again reinstated Donald Mackay in the larger portion of his estates; but ere long the death of James brought on all the troubles of the regencies, during the minority of Queen Mary, only to be followed by the still more aggravated troubles of her own brief reign. At this time the head of the Gordon house was the most powerful Catholic peer of Scotland, and, as such, had well nigh effected a marriage betwixt the young queen and his eldest son. But whatever she herself purposed, her natural brother, the famous Regent Murray, and all the Protestant barons, opposed the scheme vehemently; and, at length, being forced to take arms against Huntly, they met, defeated, and slew him at Corrichy A.D. 1562. Y-Mackay III., then chief of his clan, had naturally joined the adverse party, and bestirred himself actively against the Gordons. For a brief time the Mackays now seemed to stand uppermost in the world, the whole of the Gordon leaders (of both houses) being attainted or banished after the battle of Corrichy. Queen Mary, however, reversed all these forfeitures in 1565, and the Gordons were not only recalled to place and favour, but the brother-in-law of Huntly (son of the recently slain earl) became the first man in the kingdom. Of course, these words can only apply to one person, the infamous Bothwell. The villainous unscrupulosity of almost all the parties guiding affairs in that age cannot be better evinced than by the fact, that Huntly himself was the man who constrained his own sister, the wedded wife of Bothwell, to sue for a divorce, that he might be free to wed the queen, and yet escape the odium of casting off a blameless consort. At this time, the queen, Bothwell, and Huntly, obviously imagined, that, by their united power and authority, they would be able to quell all opposition at once to the throne and to popery. They erred, as the final issue proved. However,

one of the first favours received by Huntly, on his recall by Mary, consisted in a grant of the Mackay lands, of date 1566. The concession plainly must have been intended for the benefit of the (Gordon) Sutherlands, being an acquisition literally useless to the nominal receivers; and, though the Catholic party lost much of their influence at the fall of Mary, Y-Mackay soon afterwards found himself obliged to pay a sum of three thousand pounds Scots to Huntly, and acknowledge his superiority (accorded soon to the Earl of Sutherland) over all the Mackay lands. The Mackays from this date found their clan-inferiority completely consummated, and became secondary to the Sutherland and Caithness families in all respects. The actual possessions of the chiefs, however, remained yet extensive; and they intermarried repeatedly with the Sutherland-Gordons and the Sinclairs. The management of this seemingly pure tribe of the Catti (we mean the Mackays) formed indeed a fertile subject of contest with the two ruling houses in question, although both concurred in the grand aim of wresting from them the dominion of their native country. So has it been ever, where comparative civilisation has contended with comparative barbarism. The Huntly and Sutherland chiefs were men backed by and familiar with courts, and possessed many military advantages unknown to the ruder Catti of the far north. So Strathnaver, once a part of Caithness, was changed in due time (by a misnomer) into a portion of S(o)utherland, and gave a title to the eldest sons of its earls.

The early story of the Clan Mackay has been thus long dwelt on, not from its general interest, but rather on account of its special interest to members of the tribe. But, though it has been shown that the sept, with its chiefs, lost by degrees their high place before the strength of encroaching neighbours, it must not be supposed that the Mackays became an insignificant body in their old territories. Their Sutherland superiors were still glad to form marriages with the chiefs, and these acquired in time dignities of a new kind. The head of the family, Hugh Mackay, who flourished betwixt 1571 and 1614, and had wedded Lady Jane, daughter of the Earl of Sutherland, left by her Donald, his heir, raised to a Baronetcy in the year 1627. The early part of the life of Donald was passed in the midst of commotions in the north, mainly excited by the rivalry of the Caithness and Sutherland families. On most occasions the Mackay chief sided with the latter, his near relationship rendering such conduct only natural. Nevertheless the annalist of the line bitterly accuses Sir Robert Gordon, historian of the Sutherlands, and tutor at the very period to the young earl, of doing all that lay in his power to crush and spoliage the Mackays. This assertion must be taken with some grains of allowance, though Sir R. Gordon seems really to have pursued the aggrandisement of his own house too unscrupulously. His nephew, as Donald Mackay was by the sister's side, found a nobler employment for his mature than for his youthful years, though still that employment was war. The Imperialists in Germany, headed by the Austrians, had then commenced those desolating campaigns against their Protestant countrymen, which brought out so much military talent on both sides in the course of their thirty years' duration. In evidence thereof, it is but necessary to name Gustavus Adolphus, Tilly, and Wallenstein. In part of these contests the British crown had a deep interest, the wife of the Elector-Palatine and King of Bohemia, one of the principal Protestant princes of Germany, being sister to Charles I. When Mackay applied for a warrant to raise troops, therefore, for the German service, it was at once granted to him, and in a few months he levied not less than 3000 men, nearly all of his own following, and mostly of his own name. While giving the Mackay chief credit for lending his aid to a high and worthy cause, we can scarcely doubt that his main intent was to occupy usefully abroad the many wild and rude spirits whom we find him still in command of at home, and whom his sires had long reared and fostered, as wiser men in quiet times cultivate crops, to be a source of power and predominance in the ceaseless domestic struggles of their own land. The officers of the corps raised were nearly all younger sons of northern houses of rank, Mackays, Monroes, Sinclairs, and the like;

and one of the officers of the name of Monroe or Munro wrote the annals of the regiment at length, in the curious book entitled "Monroe's Expedition."

The corps sailed for Germany in 1626, but Sir Donald Mackay (whom Charles I. raised on the occasion from a knighthood to a baronetcy) was prevented by illness from following them till the early part of 1627. He then entered into active service with them under the King of Denmark in Holstein, where they so conducted themselves as to gain the name of the "Invincible Scots." Their service must have been bloody, indeed, since their numbers were so thinned in one year that Sir Donald had to return home to recruit anew. His renown had flown before him, and King Charles raised him to the peerage by the title of LORD REAY, in February, 1628. Though the corps received its discharge from Denmark at the peace of 1629, Lord Reay gave not up the Protestant cause, but led his new levies to join its most glorious pillar, Gustavus-Adolphus of Sweden, who commenced his career of Liberator of Germany at Rugen, in the following year. It is not our purpose here minutely to describe the further services of Lord Reay's regiment of Scots. Suffice it to say, that they became a favourite corps of Gustavus, and well deserved to be so by their conduct, being voluntary sharers in all actions of peril and consequence. In eight months' space, Gustavus took eighty cities and castles in Germany, and in all of these affairs the Reay regiment were actively engaged. Again, after about a year's service, did Lord Reay find it needful to return home to recruit; but, though he sent out fresh levies, who served the King of Sweden up to his death at Lutzen in 1632, the Mackay chief found himself embroiled at home with matters which hurt his fortune, and endangered his very life. Charles I. had promised aid to Gustavus, but it was to be given covertly, and as if raised by the Marquis of Hamilton. A babbling agent of the Marquis, named Ramsay, hinted to Lord Reay, that the proposed levies were only to be trained abroad for home employ, and that they were really destined to advance the ambitious views of the Hamiltons on the Scottish crown itself. The loyalty of Lord Reay formed a leading feature in his character, and he consulted a friend on what had been thus told to him. That friend rashly told all to some one of the ministers of state, and, after much delay, Ramsay was brought from the continent, and confronted with Lord Reay before the king and council.

"'Lord Reay,' says an eye-witness, 'was clothed in black velvet, embroidered with silver, carried his sword in a silver embroidered belt, and wore around his neck his badge as a baronet of Nova Scotia. He was a tall, black, swarthy man, of a portly and stout demeanour.' The defender was next ushered in, a fair man, and having a head of ruddy hair so bushy and long, that he was usually termed Ramsay Redhead. He was dressed in scarlet so richly embroidered with gold, that the cloth could scarcely be discerned, but he was totally unarmed. While they fixed their eyes on each other sternly, the charge was read, stating that Ramsay, the defendant, had urged him, Lord Reay, to engage in a conspiracy for dethroning the king, and placing the Marquis of Hamilton upon the throne. He added, that if Ramsay should deny this, he would prove him a villain and a traitor by dint of sword. Ramsay, for answer, called Reay 'a liar and a barbarous villain, and protested he should die for it.' They exchanged gloves."

The king confined both, but the whole ended in his merely rebuking Ramsay for "intemperate speeches." As to the Marquis of Hamilton, he had not been implicated in any way save through the communications of Ramsay, and went after all to Germany with 6000 troops. In fact, no one of the many persons named in this business lost royal favour excepting the too-honest Lord Reay. The secret of the whole matter seems to be, that Hamilton was actually chosen to head a strong band of soldiers through a course of Swedish training, and to have them ready at call for home service. But they were to serve, not to oppose Charles I., who then meditated that course of arbitrary proceedings so fatal to himself when carried into actual effect. Lord Reay fell a victim in all ways to his simple loyalty. He incurred heavy expenses at home, and lost much of his outlay in raising men for Sweden by being unable to accompany the last levy, and by the premature death of Gustavus. He went home to Strathnaver an impoverished man comparatively.

Nevertheless, when war commenced betwixt Charles I. and his subjects,

Lord Reay gave him all the aid in his power. He even went to Denmark in 1643, and, by his personal means and influence, brought thence ships, arms, and money for the royal use. But at Newcastle, in 1644, he was seized with all his effects, and carried to Edinburgh Castle, whence he was only released after the favourable battle of Kilsyth. Though he immediately joined the royalists again, he was one of those nobles whom King Charles, at the desire of the Covenanters, meanly excepted from future pardon. Like Strafford, Lord Reay was sacrificed. He left Scotland in July, 1648, and settled in Denmark. There he found appreciation as the true founder of that brave body of Scots, who almost hallowed the title of mercenaries by their services in the cause of Protestantism. However, Lord Reay survived only up to February, 1649. His remains were brought home, and buried at Strathnaver. Overlooking the long eulogies passed on him by the family annalist, we may quote a more brief description: "He was a man of quick wit, speedy resolution, and divers able qualities." Undoubtedly, he had a large share in making Scottish valour a matter of truly European celebrity. The Leslie, Monroes, and Keiths were therein his main colleagues and successors.

Donald Lord Reay married five times, and left among other children John his heir, by his first wife, a sister of the Earl of Seaforth. Like his sire, John joined the royalists, and, in the very year of that sire's decease, was taken prisoner and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh. The continued importance of a Mackay chief in the north appears from the fact that Cromwell, when he came to the Scottish capital, released every captive but John, Lord Reay. In the mean time the parliamentary forces lived at "free" quarters at the family seat of Tongue, by no means to the improvement of the family fortunes. After being liberated in December, 1650, Lord Reay chiefly lived at home in such quiet as the times allowed. He wedded, firstly, a daughter of the Earl of Caithness, and, secondly, a daughter of Colonel Mackay of Scowry. By the latter he had several children, of whom Donald was the eldest son. Donald predeceased his father, but, having married a daughter of Monroe of Culcain, he left a son, George, who became third Lord Reay at the decease of his grandsire about 1684, and took his place in the Scottish Parliament in the year 1700. He entered the wedded life three times, and was succeeded in 1748 by Donald, his eldest son through the first marriage, and who became the fourth Lord Reay.

In the meantime—that is to say, towards the close of the seventeenth century—a subsidiary member of the Mackay house had gained considerable distinction in the national annals. Hugh Mackay, cousin of the first Lord Reay, had served abroad as a volunteer (or mercenary) in both the French and Dutch armies, and was ultimately appointed Colonel of the Scots Brigade of Holland, by the Prince of Orange. It is said by the family historian that he obtained this appointment in preference to John Graham of Claverhouse, and that Claverhouse, afterwards so famous (or infamous) in Scotland, left the Dutch service in disgust on the occasion. Be this as it may, Colonel (afterwards General) Hugh Mackay was destined to sustain a memorable defeat from Graham of Claverhouse, although the latter paid for the victory with his life. When the Prince of Orange (William III.) landed at Torbay with his forces on the 5th of November, 1688, he was accompanied by six regiments composed wholly of Britons. Sir John Dalrymple tells us that "the fleet was divided into three squadrons," and that all the English and Scots of the party sailed "under the red flag, commanded by General Mackay, a Scotsman of noble family." William of Orange deemed so highly of Mackay as to nominate him to the command of the whole forces in Scotland at a period most critical for the success of the revolution. In reality, the north of Britain must have caused the deepest anxiety to William, since one hundred and five of the greatest landholders there did not scruple openly to avow their wish and purpose to support James VII. However, the great body of the Scottish people felt wearied alike of the imbecilities and persecutions of the last Stewarts; and, when General Mackay arrived at Leith in 1689, he was received with joy by the inhabitants of the capital at large. Claverhouse, previously created Viscount Dundee, found

himself obliged to seek refuge and aid in the Highlands, although he did not leave Edinburgh until he had held a most romantic interview with the Duke of Gordon, military Governor of the Castle, under the very walls of that fortress. Gordon looked over the parapets at the summons of his friend. The latter urged him to declare at once for James VII; but the cautious "Cock of the North" had resolved to defer his decision in the case, and the other saw it necessary to mount his war-horse, and speed away to the north with the few who were ready to follow the "bonnet of Bonny Dundee." The Duke of Gordon, after a short time spent in trifling negotiations, yielded up the stronghold under his charge to Mackay. The general, however, did not find his course yet smooth in Scotland. He seems to have been a man accustomed to conduct wars on the old formal scale, and to have been even excellently skilled therein; but, in dealing with Dundee and the Highlanders, he had to do with men who set at nought all the common modes of campaigning. He might have said, as the poor old Austrian marshal did when beaten by the soldiers of young Bonaparte—"These fellows do not fight by square and compass—no one knows where to have them—they break through all the established rules of war." To do Mackay justice, he could not feel sincerely assured of the good faith of one single chief or baron in the Highlands, the whole of them, almost without an exception, being disposed, if not to favour James VII., at least to hang off until they saw which side should gain the ascendancy. Another feeling operated in guiding their movements; and it was a most favourable one for Viscount Dundee. Mackay saw the true state of the case so clearly, that he wrote to government, saying, "I am of opinion that *an act of indemnity* would do much to quiet the spirit of those that *fear after reckonings*." The General spoke here most truly. Much of the comparatively lengthened success of the last Stewart movements in the Highlands rested on the dread of reprisals for past offences. Of course, we speak of these things generally. The brilliant individual instances of disinterested devotion, courage, and fidelity, which signalled the rising in question, can neither be doubted nor disputed.

General Mackay sent continuous accounts of his movements in Scotland to the Scottish ministers of King William; and from these we derive really the fairest report of his final encounter with the Viscount Dundee at Killiecrankie. He admits the total rout of his own men most candidly, ascribing it partly to their being newly levied, and partly to their total ignorance of the singular mode of attack practised by their Highland opponents. So sensible was he, indeed, of the completeness of his own defeat, that, when he found the pursuit not followed up, he exclaimed, "Dundee must be slain!" Such proved to be the case; John Graham, the "bloody Claver'se" of one party, and the "gallant Dundee" of another, had fallen in the hour of victory. His death glossed over many of his misdeeds, even in the eyes of his enemies. So has it often been—so has it been always. The glories of many commanders have hinged largely on their deaths on the battle-field. Nelson died, and won immortal remembrance at Trafalgar; while Collingwood, in most respects the superior man, survived the same great combat, and was soon comparatively forgotten. Moore and Abercromby might also be named here, though contrasting with Claverhouse in all but their deaths.

It is a curious circumstance, that General Mackay was blamed by the victorious Highlanders themselves for following the ordinary custom of placing his baggage behind his lines at Killiecrankie. "The Hielandmen," said an old Gael to Marshal Wade, "will rin through fire and water to win at the baggage. Had General Mackay put it first, our men would fall upon it, and then he might come wi' his men and cut us a' down. Och! the baggage should aye be put first." It may be supposed that the Highlanders would not long cohere after the battle of Killiecrankie, especially as their leader, the very soul of their union, had then been taken from them. Mackay, however, had still great difficulty in keeping the Highlands quiet, being embarrassed, to use his own words, by "an unpaid and mutinous army, a discontented nobility, a divided parliament, unpopular judges, and a church separated into irreconcilable fac-

tions." He had also to contend with the decided hostility of the Scottish ministers of state, Melville, Stair, Cromarty, and others, men too unscrupulous for his taste. But by a steady perseverance, learned abroad, he overcame most of his difficulties, being aided therein by a few old soldiers of the same school. Major James Ferguson, of the family of Kilmundy, formed one of these veteran assistants. Of him it was told, that, while serving in Flanders, he once undertook to conduct a great body of prisoners to a distance with a very small guard—a service declined by many other officers as perilous in the extreme. Major Ferguson adopted a simple but effective expedient to keep his captives harmlessly employed on the march. He cut the braces of their small-clothes at starting, and so forced them to keep at least one hand behind to hold them up. Leaving decency out of the question, they would really have found it difficult to assail their escort under the circumstances. At all events, the expedient of Ferguson turned out perfectly successful. With the aid of such officers, General Mackay proved most useful to King William in Scotland after the affair of Killiecrankie. He afterwards served the same monarch ably in Ireland, where the consummation of the memorable Revolution of 1688 was finally effected. He then crossed over to the Continent, to assist King William in his wars with France. Bishop Burnet, who knew Mackay well, thus speaks of the close of his career, which occurred at Steenkirk in 1692, during an ill-concerted attack on the French camp. "We (the English) lost in this action about 5000 men, and many brave officers. Here Mackay was killed, being ordered to a post which he saw could not be maintained. He sent his opinion about it, but the former orders were confirmed; so he went on, saying only, *The will of the Lord be done!*" He was a man of such strict principles, that he would not serve in a war which he did not think lawful. He took great care of his soldiers' morals, and spent all the time that he was master of in secret prayer, and in reading the Scriptures." Bishop Burnet adds, that General Mackay was remarkable for free-speaking in councils of war, and equally so for acting firmly on the decisions there given, however discordant with his own sentiments. Such were the soldiers of the school of Gustavus Adolphus. Such were the men who threw a halo even on the calling of mercenaries, and made the name of the Scots honourable over Europe in their day and generation. Their bravery had indeed been proven long before by the services of the Scottish Guard in France, and other auxiliaries sent there and elsewhere at different periods. But, under Gustavus, they shed their blood from motives of a higher kind. King William is said to have attended the funeral of Mackay in person, and to have remarked as he was laid in the grave, "There he lies; and an honest man the world cannot produce." General Hugh Mackay received among his clan and kinsmen the name of the *Shenlar Mhor*, or "Great General;" and the title is not forgotten even at this day. If he opposed his Gaelic brethren in the open field, and in his own country, he had at least no share in those inexcusable cruelties of which the Glencoe massacre constituted the crowning scene. It was not to him, while commanding in Scotland, that a secretary of state could venture to write in such terms as the following: "I think the Clan Donell (Glengarry) must be rooted out, and Lochiel. Leave the Macleans to Argyle." "I think we should root them out before they get that help they depend upon." "I expect to hear either that these people are come to your hand, or else (of) your scheme for mauling them, for it will not delay." The fearful words follow—"*Delenda est Carthago!*" meaning, "The Gael must be extirpated." The writer here was Secretary Dalrymple, and the recipient of the epistles Lord Breadalbane.

The main line of the Mackays was carried on by Donald, fourth Lord Reay, already mentioned. His father George, who died in the year 1748, had throughout his life supported the established government firmly, with all his people, against the numerous Jacobite clans of the north of Scotland. They performed one most important piece of service among others during the rebellion of 1745, being chiefly instrumental in stopping a large supply of French money, on which Prince Charles had reckoned confidently for the satisfaction of the wants and demands of his followers. Mr Mackay of Thurso relates

various remarkable anecdotes of his clan, having reference to this period. One of them, known by the truly Gaelic name of "William-Mack-Angus-Macdonald-More," once came upon a poor man (we are told) who had sat two whole days on a tree, being kept there by a ferocious wild bull ram-paging at its foot. William of the many names walked up to the "leaping and bellowing" animal, "stood firm till the bull's forehead came in contact with the muzzle of his gun, and, having let off his shot, pushed the muzzle with such force that it sunk two inches into his skull!" Front-de-Bœuf could not have done more. The same personage, after many trials, destroyed "a serpent of a monstrous size," that had "killed several cattle," and would let nobody pass a certain mountain with safety. The serpent had become annoyed at the hostility of the said William, and was lying "on the watch for him" on the fated day. But William mounted the hill, and hurled down large stones on "the hideous beast," until he dashed out its brains. It was said of this hero that he was "plank-ribbed;" that is, that "his ribs were all of one piece." The grandfather of the reporter (Mr Mackay of Thurso) ventured to hint at this rumour on one occasion to the serpent-slayer, but was told, mysteriously and ominously, "to beware of such curiosity!" Though one may smile at tales like these being told of men living in the eighteenth century, there certainly are many similar anecdotes given by the Mackay annalist, that are at least very amusing. Of this nature is the story which he had from a special witness, respecting an old witch who lost one of her legs by a sword-stroke, while indulging in the contents of an honest man's ale-cellar in the shape of a *cat*. The man had been on the watch, and struck hard. The poor creature, on being hunted down, was of course found in her bed *minus* a limb, and thereupon suffered death, also as a matter of course. The same story was fresh in circulation when Pennant visited the north; and he sarcastically repeats an unlucky inquiry made by some one, as to the part in which the old woman would have suffered, had the man "cut off the cat's tail!" Not defeated, however, by this insinuation, Mr Mackay says, that, before Pennant ventured to be witty on the subject, he should have ascertained whether or not "*such cats had tails!*" The famous Welsh tourist could scarcely have answered this point satisfactorily.

Donald, fourth Lord Reay, lived up to the year 1761, and enjoyed a fair estate through the prudent management of his sire. In the days of this lord, there flourished a somewhat eminent member of the Mackay clan, namely, Robert Mackay, commonly called Rob Don or Donne, a wholly unlettered and untutored Gaelic poet whose strains received high commendation from Sir Walter Scott. His love-verses are indeed extremely sweet and delicate; and, viewed generally, his poetry bears a certain resemblance in style of thought and expression to the Ossianic strains, though not so much as to lend any fresh weight to the disputed cause and claims of the son of Fingal. Rob Donne Mackay died so lately as in 1779. He had been patronised by both George and Donald, Lords Reay, the latter of whom left his honours and estates, in 1761, to his eldest son George, fifth baron. The succession afterwards fell to Hugh, his half-brother, on whose decease again, in 1797, Eric, son of the Honourable George Mackay of Skibo, became the seventh Lord Reay, being descended from the third peer of the name. In his day, and that of his predecessor, the Mackays showed their loyalty by forming, in 1794, the Reay Regiment of Fencibles. The rapidity with which the men assembled—to the number of 800, of whom at least 700 were all Macs, if not all Mackays—was the more remarkable, as the then head of the house (Hugh) had not the mental faculties requisite for managing his clan, affairs, or estates. His tutor and relative, however, George Mackay of Bighouse, became Lieutenant-Colonel of the corps, and filled the place admirably. The services of the Reay regiment lay almost wholly in Ireland, where, during the rising of 1798, they won the highest approbation of General Lake, and particularly by their conduct at the battle of Tara Hill. Three or four hundred men there routed three or four thousand of the Irish insurgents, on the very theatre of the old regal glory of Ireland. When General Lake sustained a check at Castlebar, he exclaimed,

"Had I had my brave Reays here, this would not have happened!" The fame earned by their kinsmen and forefathers in Germany seems indeed to have made these men especially careful of their honour and conduct as soldiers. They were reduced in 1802.

Eric, seventh Lord Reay, died in 1847, and was succeeded by ALEXANDER, eighth baron of the line. He married in 1809 the widow of D. Ross, Esq., and has a son ERIC, born 1813, with several other children. The title and family may be continued, but the Mackays are no longer lords of what they so proudly and emphatically called "Reay's country." What the arms of encroaching enemies failed to effect in bygone days—at least decisively—has been completely accomplished in modern times. The Sutherlands (or rather the Sutherland-Seton-Gordon-Gowers) are now, by purchase, proprietors of the Mackay territories. It is not our province to inquire into the recent and special causes for this change of lordship; but we can offend no one by remarking, that the case of the Reay estates merely bears out the same general doctrine which has been already laid down here. While hosts of retainers formed the strength of a Highland landholder, the Mackay chieftains stood well up against even the most formidable of their neighbours, or, at all events, could not be wholly overpowered; but, since these retainers became a burden, heavy in the proportion of their very numbers, to those whom they once served, the world has gone ill with the Lords Reay, as it has done with the Glengarrys, the Clanronalds, and many others similarly situated. It may be said that this doctrine is a cruel one, implying the native Gaelic community to be incapable of living in a state of civilisation. No such opinion is here advanced. But the Gael, assuredly, are not as yet able to keep their place against the strangers pressing in upon them on all hands, through recent and inevitable changes in society. They are neither savages, nor unfitted for improvement; but, in respect to all the common arts of modern life, they are far behind those with whom they are forced (as it were) to compete for place and precedence. The result is the same, in such cases, almost invariably.

ARMS OF CLAN MACKAY.

Azure, on a chevron, or, between three bears' heads couped, argent, and muzzled, gules. A roebuck's head erased, of the last, between two hands holding daggers, all proper.

CREST. A right hand, grasping a dagger, paleways.

SUPPORTERS. Two soldiers, with shouldered muskets.

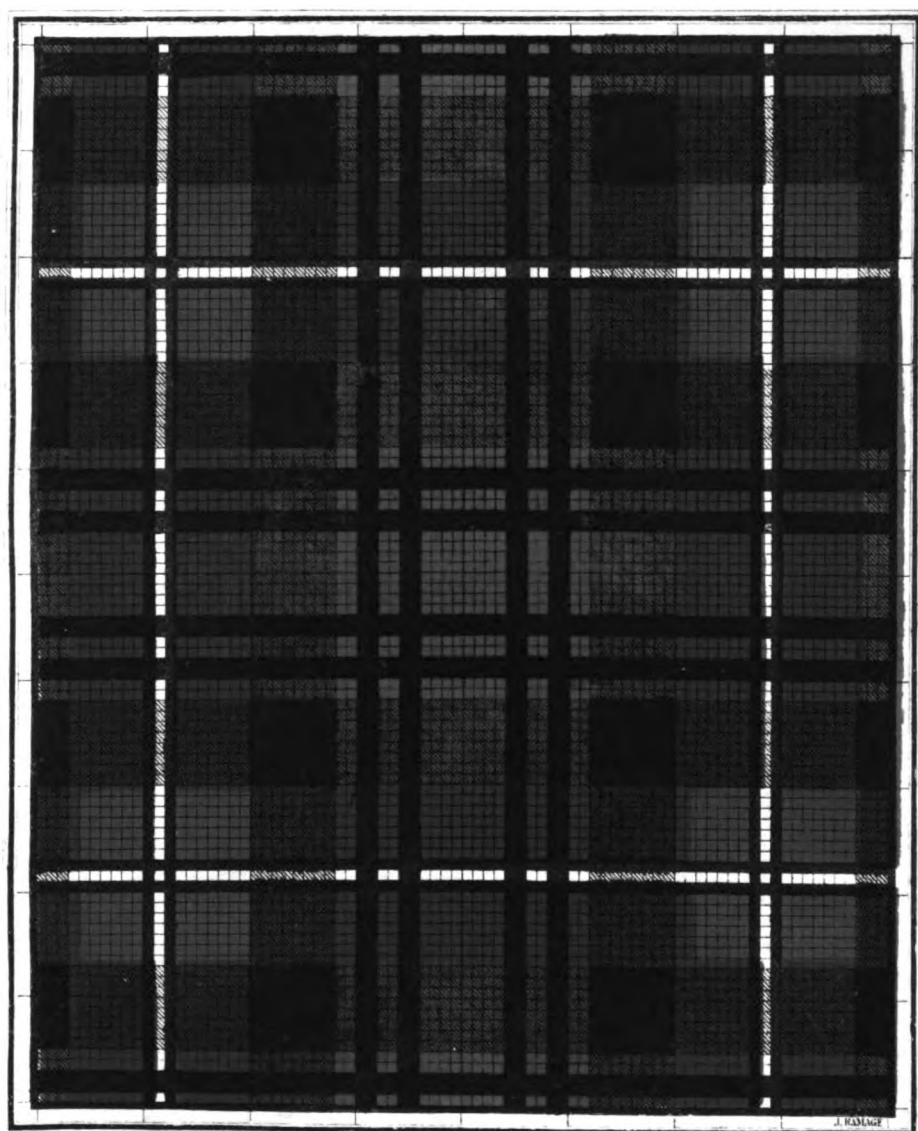
MOTTO. *Manu Forti* (with valiant hand).

BADGE. Bulrush.



CLAN FORBES.

The original intention professed in this work—namely, to adhere closely to the annals of the true and undoubted Celtic clans in the first instance, exclusively of the doubtful and mixed ones—has been hitherto adhered to as far as circumstances would allow. More recently, however, the rule has been in part broken through, and, as the work progresses, more and more necessary does it become to notice the various northern families which have risen into the position of important clan-houses, let their origin have been what it may. Such great families as the Forbeses and Gordons, in short, must have their due share of notice timeously; and justly so, since their founders, and the successors of these founders, for a long time headed septs strong enough to play most influential parts in Scottish history generally. These septs, like the true Gaelic ones, received usually a collective name (as "the Forbeses" and "the Gordons"); but it was one properly and privately borne only by the higher orders of such



septs. Indeed, the majority of those who bear the name, or at any time bore the actual patronymic of Forbes, for example, might with reason claim direct kindred with the chiefs. Not so stood matters among the true Gael.

The Forbes family and following ranked early among the strongest on the north-eastern coast of Scotland; and no one can reasonably doubt but that the ancient Pictish Gael of the region in question constituted a large proportion (if not of the Forbeses, at least) of the followers of the house. Notwithstanding what has been said, besides, even its generic designation must have spread so far beyond the blood. Regarding that designation Douglas observes, in his work on the Scottish peerage, that "the surname of Forbes is probably local, and derived from the lands of Forbes in Aberdeenshire." Sir Thomas Urquhart, as before mentioned, says that one "Phorbas" Urquhart founded the name and house. Boethius tells us, again, that one "Bois," castellane of Urquhart, originated the name. The Highlanders, when they claim connection with the line, assert on their side that Forbes comes from "Ferbash" or "Ferbasach" (a term either vulgar or local), meaning a "bold" man; while a Saxon invention grounds the appellation on "For-Bear," because the founder had the boldness to kill a bear, and was highly rewarded, as well as thus strangely named, in consequence of the deed. This last etymological explanation is certainly the weakest of all. A bear very probably was killed by the first Forbes, since bears occur in the Arms of his line; but, had he spared the wild beast, the name of For-bear might have been far more properly applied to him, as a reward for his forbearance. "Forbois," declared by some to be the proper and original term for the Forbes lands and locality, and which, from its Latin-French reference to a bear-breeding, wild-wood country, seems really the most rational etymon of all suggested, if the doubtful Gaelic "Ferbasach" be unadmitted or discarded. As to the origin of the family, again, it need scarcely be repeated here that the assumed founder, the bear-slayer Ochonechar, has been ascribed to Ireland. His name, at least, is plainly Irish, being a very slight alteration, merely, of the genuine Erse name of O'Connochar, or Son of Connochar. On the whole, the traditions of the family, as well as other authorities, countenance with unusual strength the belief, that the heads of the Forbeses belonged really to the Irish branch of the Celts, and were, like the (Fitzgerald) Mackenzies and others, among those strangers of that race whom the Lowland kings planted in the north and north-east of Scotland to overawe the remaining primary population of Gaelic Picts. Normans and Saxons might be introduced more frequently in the end, but where could the Dalriad-Scots, undeniably of Irish origin themselves, look with more propriety for aid in their early struggles with the Pictish Celts, than to the "Green Isle?" Accordingly we believe, that even the eastern line of the Scottish coasts received its share, though a comparatively small one, of Irish immigrants; and the founders of the Forbes house appear really to have so originated, as far as we can now determine.

A singular discriminative mark, connected with the hues of the adopted tartans, and so bearing on the probable descent of the various clans, deserves a word of notice here. The true septs of the Albionic or Clan Alpine family adopted the *red* colour, in almost all cases, as the prevailing one in their attire. The Scoto-Irish tribes preferred *green* almost as decidedly—a hue, from time immemorial, associated with the "Emerald Isle." The Tartans of the Mackenzies form a good example on the Irish side, while those of the Macnabs (as well as the Macgregors themselves) serve well to illustrate the tastes of Clan Alpine. The Forbes tartan is of the deepest green dyes.

John de Forbes held the lands of Forbois, or Forbes, in Aberdeenshire, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. An authentic charter is on record, wherein Fergus, son of John de Forbes, receives from Alexander Earl of Buchan a renovatory charter of the same lands. Thus, so early as about 1236, we find the lands styled those of Forbes, confirming the preceding conclusion as to the local origin of the surname, as it is barely possible that a Forbes owner could previously have given to them his own family designation. Alexander

Forbes, successor of John, defended the castle of Urquhart, in 1304, against Edward I., and suffered death, on its capture, with every person in the fortress. Another Alexander Forbes served Robert Bruce faithfully, and died on the field of battle at Dupplin in 1332. The direct line of this eminent house had nearly come to a close on the occasion of both these catastrophes. It was only continued by the birth of two posthumous children in succession—a casualty the more noticeable on account of the very different state of matters afterwards. Few family-trees of Scotland accumulated so large a cluster of cadet-branches around them, to prop and maintain their line and honours, as did that of Forbes. In the very time of John, indeed, the second of these posthumous infants, the face of things changed in this respect wonderfully. From him, exclusively of his direct heir, descended the Lords Pitsligo, the Tolquhoun, Foveran, Watertown, and Culloden Forbeses, some of them families eminent in history, and yet represented by living descendants. John, or Sir John Forbes, held under Robert III. the justiciaryship of Aberdeen city, and the coronership of the county. He died in 1405.

Sir Alexander Forbes, his son, succeeded and became, in due time, the first LORD FORBES, being so created by James II. in or about the year 1442. The title stands first on the union-roll among the barons of the Scottish Parliament. Sir Alexander figured, before his elevation to the peerage, among the most eminent Scotsmen of his day. He was one of the Scottish knights sent over to assist Charles, the dauphin of France, against the English invaders, and took part in the great battle of Bauge, where the Duke of Clarence was slain, and the army commanded by him put to the rout. To the auxiliary Scots, and the Earl of Buchan, their leader, the chief honour of giving that check to the English has ever been assigned. Sir Alexander Forbes was ere long compelled to quit the French service, being so ordered by his sovereign, James I., then a prisoner in England. On his way home, in 1421, he visited the captive prince at Windsor, as appears by a safe-conduct granted to himself and twenty men to repair to London for that purpose. When King James was released, in 1423, Sir Alexander went to Durham to receive him honourably. Throughout the whole of his life, in short, the chief of the Forbes house moved among princes, as he latterly ranked among peers. He formed an illustrious union, wedding a daughter of the Earl of Angus, and grand-daughter of Robert II.

Of James, second Lord Forbes, who succeeded to his sire in 1448, little requires to be said, saving that from him descended the baronets of the family of Craigievar, the Forbeses of Monimusk, and the Irish earls of Granard. William, the eldest son, became third Lord Forbes, and, at his decease, left three sons, all of whom held the patrimonial title in succession. Alexander, fourth lord, distinguished himself strikingly by his loyal devotion to James III., or rather to the memory of that prince. After the latter had been slain at Bannockburn in 1488, the Forbes chieftain, who had warmly adhered to him in life, made a strong effort to arouse the people to revenge his death. Obtaining the shirt of the slain monarch, he placed it on a spear, rent as it was by daggers, and bloody with the wounds they had made. Through Aberdeen, and all the chief towns of the adjacent counties, he then rode in person, carrying with his own hand the piteous ensign, and endeavouring to aid its effect by such appeals as Antony made over the mantle of Cæsar, as well as by proclamations inciting all true subjects to vengeance. The popularity of the young king, James IV., rendered these attempts nugatory; but James either did not dislike the bold enthusiasm of Forbes for the memory of his sire, or deemed it politic to conciliate so powerful a noble. At all events, the king gave his eldest cousin, Gracina Boyd, to Lord Forbes in marriage, a step by which the family would have been brought near even to the regal succession, had not the lady failed to produce issue. Her husband, at his premature decease in 1491, was followed in the title by Arthur, fifth Lord Forbes, who, dying also a few years afterwards without offspring, was succeeded by John, sixth lord. Accusations of treason, accompanied by captivity, rendered a great part of the life of this nobleman most unhappy; and, though himself finally freed, and exculpated from every charge, he had the

misery of beholding his eldest son John, Master of Forbes, fall a victim to similar accusations. This young man appears to have been what Buchanan calls him, "a forward spirit;" and he first attracted an unfortunate notoriety from his being indicted for the murder of Seton of Meldrum. A remission under the great seal was obtained by the Master in 1530; but, only a few years afterwards, he was charged anew by the Earl of Huntly, before the king and council, with the crime of high treason. The bold youth protested his innocence, and offered to maintain it with his sword, in single combat, against the chief of the Gordons. However, the issue was, that both he and his father were ordered to remain in Edinburgh Castle until they found bail, severally, to the amount of ten thousand merks, to appear when called upon for trial. The Master of Forbes in due time stood his trial, was convicted, and underwent sentence of death. He denied all that had been preferred against him; and, in truth, the evidence seems to have been most defective. Buchanan plainly says that he fell a victim to the jealousy of Huntly, the Forbeses being then as ever the most potent rivals of the Gordons in Aberdeenshire. We are further told that the main accuser was a wretch fit for any atrocity; that the witnesses were all exceptionable; that not one charge was established satisfactorily; and lastly, though not leastly, that Huntly had bribed the convicting judges. The Master of Forbes still affirmed his guiltlessness of high treason on the scaffold; but he owned, with deep marks of penitence, that he deserved his fate for slaying the Laird of Meldrum.

John, sixth Lord Forbes, died in 1547, and the title fell to his eldest surviving son, William, who had been taken into favour by James V., and had been wedded by him to a wealthy Keith heiress, as if to compensate for the late severities to the family. Besides John, his heir, William, seventh Lord Forbes, left younger sons, who founded the branches of Lethinty, Foderhouse, Logie, and Blacktoun, some of them of long continuance. John, eighth peer, gave place duly to Arthur, ninth of the line, of whom it need only be said that he yielded some noble soldiers from his family to the German wars. His eldest son and successor, Alexander, served the renowned Gustavus of Sweden, and won for himself a high military reputation. His son and grandson, eleventh and twelfth peers, stood also high in the military service of their own country, during the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne. These peers, as well as the Forbes clan generally, ever upheld the established constitutional government. From 1716 up to 1804, four succeeding peers, William, Francis, James, and James, filled worthily the baronial seat of the Forbeses. The heir of the last of them was a third James, seventeenth baron, to whom his sponsors gave the second pre-name of Ochonchar, in memory of the traditional Irish descent. He obtained an ensigny in his sixteenth year, and continued on the army roll for the almost unprecedentedly long term of sixty-two years, having latterly reached the rank of general. Besides serving as a soldier both at home and abroad, Lord Forbes had the honour, for various successive years, of representing the British sovereign in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. His lordship was much respected for his conduct in the office of Lord High Commissioner; and, as regarded externals, certainly a more majestic representative majesty could not well desire; or, rather, he gave to the eye a noble picture of what the fancy usually conceives a stalwart baron of old to have been in point of the *physique*. His height was almost gigantic; his mould of body colossal; and his limbs like shapely and stately monumental pillars. On looking at this recent chief of the Clan Forbes, one could not but feel inclined to say, "There is indeed a man who explains such marvels as are involved in the immense swords of Wallace and Bruce. The weapons which common puny mortals of to-day can scarcely raise, much less wield, this noble baron, in his hour of strength, obviously could have swayed as a beau does his cane." If the former Forbes chiefs resembled him, they must have been fearful personal adversaries on a battle-field.

James Ochonchar, seventeenth Lord Forbes, wedded Elizabeth, eldest daughter and heiress of Walter Hunter of Polmood in Peebles-shire. No

ignoble blood was mingled with that of Forbes by this marriage. The first Hunter of Polmood appears to have been a Norman immigrant from England, to whom Malcolm Canmore, possibly for his aid in quelling Macbeth, gave the Peebles-shire lands held by the family for seven centuries. A curious charter, said to have been long preserved by the Hunters, indicates the very simple origin of their patronymic. It ran thus:—

“I, Malcolm Kenmure, King, the first of my reign, gives to thee Normand Hunter of Powmood, the Hope up and down, above the earth to heaven, and below the earth to hell, as free to thee and thine, as ever God gave it to me and mine, and that for a bow, and a broad arrow, when I come to hunt in Yarrow.

And for the mair suith
I byte the white wax with my tooth,
Before thir witnesses three
May, Mauld, and Marjorie.”

The monarch of Scotland, in short, gave to his new follower certain lands which were then little better than royal hunting-grounds, and the new occupant would most naturally receive the name of “the Norman Hunter.” As for the biting of the wax by the king’s tooth, it is lamentable to think that Malcolm of Shaksperian memory, for all his Great Head (Canmore), could not sign his own name, and that this was his usual mode of attesting documents. It was the royal *cross*. King Malcolm could not even read, as Fordun tells us. By the way, it is equally melancholy to see respectable genealogical works assigning this very charter to the Rawdon (Moir) house, now that of Hastings, and making William the Conqueror the granter of the deed. The whole farce is blown up by their stupid retention of the condition—

“For a bow, and for an arrow,
When I come to hunt in Yarrow.”

Think of the Conqueror making Scottish grants, or hunting “in Yarrow!” or of an Anglo-Irish Rawdon being there to receive him! Yet Debrett, Weaver, and others, perpetrate and perpetuate this awful sample of blundering. If such a charter ever existed at all, it clearly was given to the Polmood Hunters, whose estate lay between Edinburgh and the royal hunting-grounds of Yarrow. But the whole story is more than doubtful.

Lady Forbes had to contest the possession of Polmood with a male claimant. The case underwent a long litigation; but at last the assumed masculine representative did succeed in proving his descent from a certain younger son of the race of the Hunters. To make out this last link in the chain had long formed the main difficulty in his way. All seemed to be going right for him when it was made out, and the other party candidly acknowledged that he had fully proved his pedigree; but, while they did so, they also astounded the poor claimant by producing clear evidence that the said younger son was beyond a doubt *illegitimate*! The labour of years here fell irrecoverably to pieces in a moment, and the Forbes family became undisputed possessors of Polmood, and representatives of its thirty generations of proprietors of the Hunter name.

James Ochonchar, seventeenth peer of his name, died in 1843, and was succeeded by WALTER, the present LORD FORBES and PREMIER BARON OF SCOTLAND. By his marriage, in 1825, with Horatia, daughter of Sir John Gregory Shaw, his lordship has Jonathan-Barrington, Master of Forbes, and several other children.

Sir John Forbes, it will be recollected, gave origin, through a younger son, in the fourteenth century, to the ennobled Pitsligo branch of the house. The Aberdeenshire barony of that name was obtained through the union of that son with an heiress of one of the Lords Salton. Several generations of respectable landholders succeeded this pair in due course, until the representative of the family received from Charles II. the title of LORD FORBES OF PITSLIGO, A.D. 1633. The second and third bearers of the title filled respectable positions in the eyes of the country, as judges and peers of parliament. Alexander, the fourth Lord Pitsligo, adhered to the Stewarts in 1715, and also joined Prince

Charles in 1745. His doing so was unfortunate for many besides himself, his character for prudence and integrity standing so high in his native county of Aberdeen, that a considerable body of gentlemen and yeomen of good estate followed him blindly to the field. He thus brought, and throughout commanded, almost the only tolerable cavalry corps in the insurgent army. From his lordship being advanced in years, and noted as a Scottish gentleman and scholar of the old breed, it may be concluded that he sat for some features in the character of the Baron of Bradwardine. Indeed, Sir Walter Scott himself says, "He occupied the situation in the army assigned to Bradwardine in 'Waverley.'" After behaving most honourably during the campaign which closed at Culloden, he fled to a place of concealment, and in concealment he remained up to the period of his death in 1762, at the great age of eighty-five. Much of the long term of his hiding was spent on his own estate; and, though all his rights thereto had been taken from him, and the government hunted for him long after 1745, no man proved base enough to betray him, well as his place of refuge must necessarily have been known to many of his ancient tenantry. Lord Pitsligo left behind him some writings, which show a calm and reflective cast of mind. Few joined the Rebellion from motives so thoroughly disinterested. With his son the direct representation of the (attainted) title expired. The Forbeses, Baronets of Pitsligo, possess the estate of the old lords by purchase. They spring clearly from the main Forbes stem, and show a family line eminent for many men of talent and virtue, as the biographer of the poet Beattie, grand-sire of the present Sir John Stuart Forbes, Bart. Sir Charles Forbes of Newe and Edinglassie is believed to be the nearest in blood to the Lords Pitsligo.

One such personage as DUNCAN FORBES OF CULLODEN, Lord President of the Scottish Court of Session from 1737 to 1748, would alone suffice to dignify the name of any family or branch of a family. It is almost impossible too highly to estimate the private virtues and public services of this scion of the Forbes house—a patriot of the high school of Greece and Rome, and a subject for the pen even of a Plutarch. At a most momentous period of the national annals, the President Forbes virtually ruled Scotland, and, by his sound judgment and unwearied diligence, stripped the Highland rising of 1745 of half its terrors, half its evils. Exerting the influence of kindly counsel over the chiefs in one case, in another he pointed out the fearful retribution which would assuredly fall on all who were mad enough to embark in the last Stewart enterprise. The chiefs of the Macdonalds and Macleods of the Isles, not to speak of others, were among the great lords of the north who gave ear to his friendly and reiterated warnings, and so saved themselves and their houses from destruction, as well as crippled fatally the power of the movers of rebellion. Duncan Forbes stood forward, in short, as the good genius of Scotland at this important crisis, just as Lord Lovat may be said to have acted the part of the evil spirit of the time. These two parties had been old friends, and well they knew the value of one another, and thence arose that singular correspondence between them, in which Lovat vainly tried to deceive Forbes. Failing here, he asked leave from Prince Charles to seize the President, *dead or alive*. Charles, to his honour, refused the request. This point, however, has been fully adverted to in the sketch of Simon of Lovat. After the 1745 insurrection had been put down, the individual to whom that happy issue was mainly referable met with the most base and ungrateful treatment at the hands of the dynasty and government which he had literally saved. Even Charles II. gave a dukedom to Monk. Duncan Forbes of Culloden could not obtain from George II. and his ministers the mere repayment of monies actually laid out by him from his scanty personal havings for the public service; nor could he persuade them so much as to discharge obligations to others, incurred on their account at a time when they shook, every man of them, in their seats regal and official. The storm had blown by; and the good deeds of him who alone had piloted them through its perils were wilfully forgotten. History records no baser, no darker instance of ingratitude towards a public servant. It well nigh broke the heart of the patriot, as it most grievously impaired his patrimonial fortunes; because the

just debts which the national treasury would not liquidate, this honourable man impoverished himself to discharge, though concerned in the contracting of them only in his official capacity. Duncan Forbes died in 1752; and a noble statue from the chisel of Roubiliac, erected in the Parliament-House at Edinburgh, still testifies to the world the high estimation in which he was held by at least the profession which he so long adorned.

ARMS OF CLAN FORBES.

Azure, three bears' heads couped, argent, muzzled, gules.

CREST. On a wreath, a stag's head, attired, proper.

SUPPORTERS. Two grey hounds, argent, collared, gules.

MOTTO. Grace me guide.

BADGE. Broom.



CLAN SIOSAL (OR THE CHISHOLMS).

The CHISHOLMS have long asserted their right to be considered as among the pure Celtic clans of Scotland. Whether the claim be just or otherwise, they have been located for so many centuries in the Highlands, and have during that period assimilated so completely with the Gael, that a place here may fairly be assigned to them. Those who advocate the Gaelic origin of the Chisholms aver them to have been native Thanes of Caithness about the time of William the Lion, and to have only lost their far-northern possessions by their unruliness. They were, on that account, forcibly driven southwards, it is said, towards Inverness and Moray, their chief ultimate places of abode. Sir Robert Gordon, we believe, was the first relater of this story, for which, however, he produces no evidence. About 1334, according to the same account, Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood, constable of Urquhart Castle, gave his daughter and heiress in marriage to the Gaelic chief of the Chisholms, and left his estates in the north to them and their successors, so settling them permanently as landholders in the regions which their posterity have ever since in part occupied. Such is the Gaelic view of the case.

Those, again, who declare the Chisholms to be of pure Lowland origin have somewhat strong facts to adduce in support of their opinion. The name itself is not only not Gaelic, they say, but is plainly and undeniably a Lowland name; in addition to which circumstance, they observe, it is the name both of a locality and a family in Roxburghshire up to this day. Moreover, it is to be found in Ragman's Roll (A.D. 1296), as borne by two border barons, under the forms of *de Chesholm* and *de Cheshome*, the original spellings used by the northern house afterwards. In the same list no Highland Chisholm appears. Admitting the Chisholms to have obtained estates by marrying a *Lauder* heiress, the circumstance is but held to form another proof of connection with the eastern Lowlands, since there lay the grand site of the race of the Lauders, and there lay, also, a Quarrelwood property, probably the true and original one, even if another spot was similarly named in the north. The selection of a border Chisholm for his son-in-law, therefore, by Sir Robert Lauder, seems not unnaturally referable to old local associations and connections. That son-in-law, or his son and heir, certainly succeeded to the Constablership of Urquhart Castle, or rather to the Governorship, since it was but a fortress usually held by successive deputed Governors. It was ruled by a Forbes in 1304, for instance, and by Robert Chisholm in 1364. The inference drawn by some from all those facts is, that a Chisholm, of the Lowland house of Chisholm, wedding the heiress of Sir R. Lauder, was the first of his name ever known in the north, and the true founder of the race of the northern Chisholms.

On the whole, we incline to think the latter view of the Chisholm descent to

XXXVIII



Clan Chisholm

be the one best supported by facts. If it be asked how a Lauder of a Border house, acting in the north merely as the governor of a fortress, could have any great possessions there to give to a son-in-law, it may be remarked that he might also have been well endowed with lands, and might not have been the first northern settler of his name. But the main Chisholm estates were not obtained, in reality, through the Lauder marriage, but by one of a later date, to which, indeed, Mr Skene ascribes the very first removal of the family from the Lowlands to the Highlands. He thus states the case:—

“The Highland possessions of the family consist of Comer, Strathglass, &c., in which is situated their castle of Erchless, and the manner in which they acquired these lands is proved by the fact, that there exists a confirmation of an indenture betwixt William de Fenton of Baky on the one part, and ‘Margaret de la Ard domina de Erchless and Thomas de Chishelme her son and heir’ on the other part, dividing between them the lands of which they were heirs portioners, and among these lands is the barony of the Ard in Inverness-shire. This deed is dated at Kinrossy, 25th of April, 1403. In all probability, therefore, the husband of Margaret must have been Alexander de Chishelme, who is mentioned in 1368 as compor-tioner of the barony of Ard along with Lord Fenton.”

Certainly, from this marriage of Alexander Chisholm the family appear to have derived at least the greater portion of their later possessions. But Alexander Chisholm cannot be looked on as the first northern settler of his line, since an existing contract, of date 1364, styles Robert Chisholm of Chisholm “Constable of Urquhart Castle,” as already here observed. The fortunate marriage, however, of Alexander (his son, probably), though it fixes not the time when the family settled in the Highlands, goes far to explain how the descendants of the Lauder marriage became possessed of their principal landed estates. In short, it corroborates the view here taken of the first northern immigration of the Chisholms. It may be added, that no one can now venture to say whether the Border Chisholms were Normans or Saxons. The *de* prefixed to the names on Ragman’s Roll bears the Norman (perhaps as often the Latin) stamp, but the territorial word *Chesholm* is glaringly Saxon, and very possibly had no higher source than in Cheese-holm, or the “holm of cheeses.” The place might be renowned of old for its kebbucks. On the whole, as Norman immigrants seldom prefixed their *de* to terms so strikingly Saxon, the probability is that the Chisholms were of the Lowland Saxon race.

The origin of this house being a debated point in Gaelic history, its lengthy treatment here may be excused. The clan name of *Siosal* (that of the chief being Siosalich) has led some parties to believe them *Cecils*, but this is a conjecture utterly unsustained by testimony. In the time of that Robert Chisholm who is found acting as Governor of Urquhart Castle in 1364, in place of his grand-sire Sir R. Lauder seemingly, the family appear to have been of note in the north. Robert had attended David II. to England, and was captured with the king at Neville’s Cross in 1346. He afterwards sustained imprisonment for some time, and, being released, died at home about 1368, the year in which Alexander Chisholm, his son probably, is first named in authentic documents. As stated, his marriage gave to the Chisholms the leading Inverness-shire lands which they hold to this day, though the Frasers in time curtailed these greatly, hemming in the smaller sept on all sides. The later annals of the Chisholms are not possessed of much general interest. They ever kept up their heads distinctly among the other Highland proprietors, and produced various cadet-branches of respectability. Gaelic or not Gaelic in blood, they proved equally Gaelic in manners with their neighbours. In 1587, Chisholm of Comar appears as a leader among the “broken men,” as the phrase went, of the Highlands, and gave security for keeping order in future. In 1689, the clan appeared in arms as adherents of the Stewarts, and Erchless Castle in Strathglass, the seat of the chiefs, was held out for James VII. It was with some difficulty reduced and garrisoned. The Chisholms fought also with Mar at Dumbane, and were likewise “out” during the later Stewart insurrections, though led for the most part by subsidiary chieftains of the name. Duncan Forbes thus states the strength of the sept about 1745:—“Chisholms. Their chief is Chisholm of

Strathglass, in Gaelic called Chisallich. His lands are held of the crown, and he can bring out 200 men." Though the family certainly once held comparatively large estates, the proper Chisholm clan never greatly exceeded, in all likelihood, the preceding numbers. Sir Walter Scott mentions a Chisholm as one of seven outlaws who sheltered Prince Charles in Strathglass. They fed him, fought for him (killing an officer's servant to obtain his luggage for the use of the Prince), and despised the great reward set upon his head. Sir Walter knew one of the men personally, and thus speaks of him to Master Hugh Littlejohn:—

"Another, by name Hugh Chisholm, resided at Edinburgh, and was well known to your Grandfather, then a young man at college, who subscribed with others to a small annuity, which was sufficient to render him comfortable. He retired to his native country, and died in Strathglass sometime subsequent to 1812. He was a noble commanding figure, of six feet and upwards, had a very stately demeanour, and always wore the Highland garb. The author often questioned him about this remarkable period of his life. He always spoke as a high-minded man, who thought he had done no more than his duty, but was happy that it had fallen to his individual lot to discharge it. Of the death of the officer's servant he spoke with great composure. 'It was too much honour for the like of him,' he said, 'to die for the relief of a prince.' Hugh had some peculiar customs and notions. He kept his right hand usually in his bosom, as if worthy of more care than the rest of his person, because Charles Edward had shaken hands with him when they separated. When he received his little ^{due} (I am ashamed of the small amount, but I had not much to give), which he always did with the dignity of one collecting tribute rather than receiving alms, he extended his left hand with great courtesy, making an excuse for not offering the other, 'that it was sick.' But the true reason was, that he would not contaminate with a meaner touch the hand that had been grasped by his rightful prince. If pressed on this topic, or offered money to employ the right hand, he would answer with passion, that if your hand were full of gold, and he might be owner of it all for touching it with his right hand, he would not comply with your request. He remained till the last day of his life a believer in the restoration of the Stewart family in the person of Charles Edward, as the Jews confide in the advent of the Messiah; nor could he ever be convinced of the death of his favourite prince. A scheme, he believed, was formed, by which every fifth man in the Highlands was to rise—if that number was insufficient, every third man was to be called—'If that be not enough,' said the old man, raising himself and waving his hand, 'we will all gather and go together.' Such delusions amused his last years; but when I knew him, he was quite sane in his intellect."

Alexander Chisholm, chief of the house, died in 1793, and was succeeded by his brother William, who wedded Miss Macdonnel of Glengarry. At his decease in 1817, he left by that lady his son and successor, Alexander-William, member for some short time for Inverness-shire. He died prematurely, and his estates fell to DUNCAN MACDONNEL, the present Chisholm of Chisholm, or That Ilk. The more common designation of the chief of the house, however, is THE CHISHOLM, and, whatever may be its antiquity, it is a title which has very generally been accorded to him of late years. The term of The Chisholm, like that of The O'Connor Don, has even been sanctioned by use in the senate.

The interesting ballad of "Cromlet's Lilt" refers to Chisholm of Cromlix, a Perthshire scion of the family. It contains a love-tale of great beauty.

ARMS OF CLAN CHISHOLM.

Shield, gules; a boar's head couped, or.

CREST. A dexter hand, with dagger, and boar's head transfixéd.

SUPPORTERS. Two savages wreathed about the loins, bearing knotted clubs.

MOTTO. *Virtute* (By virtue or valour).

BADGE. Fern.



CLAN FARQUHARSON.

The CLAN of the FARQUHARSONS has already been alluded to as one of the branches of Clan Chattan. According to the view taken by many parties of



the origin of the latter body, the Farquharsons are to be referred, with others, to the Macduffs of Fife; but that view, it will be remembered, was inquired into, and held to be untenable, when the Macintoshes came under consideration. Therefore, in place of the old traditional assertion that a Macduff founded the family, the conclusion at which we arrive simply is, that its admitted originator, Shaw, usually styled of Rothiemurchus, belonged to the great native and central Albion sept of Clan Chattan. They were at least purely Gaelic. Duncan Forbes terms the Farquharsons "the only clan-family in Aberdeenshire. In Gaelic called Clan Ianla. They can bring out about 500 men. The Laird of Invercauld is their chief. He has a very handsome estate." Shaw left a son named Ferquhard or Farquhar, which name, by Lowland mutation, gave to his posterity their common appellation of Farquharsons. It is said that Shaw and his race assisted Robert Bruce so actively in the expulsion of the Cumins of Badenoch, as to obtain large grants of land; and Farquhar Shaw, at all events, appears to have been settled in Braemar. His successors, for several generations, intermarried with the Robertsons, Chisholms, and Stewarts; and, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the house was adorned by a chieftain of remarkable qualities, named Finlay Mhor (the Great). His person was of gigantic size; and he was also a man of excellent parts and surpassing bravery. As often chanced, his clan took a new Gaelic title from Finlay Mhor. They had been called MACERACHER (or Macfearchar) previously; and the name adheres to a considerable branch of the tribe to this day. After the time of the great Finlay, they adopted a new designation, being styled MACFINLAY (or MACKINLAY), the Highland form of which is Mac'hiunla, or Machiunla, or what President Forbes spells Macianla. The Lowland counterpart is to be found in Finlayson. [The Gaelic names are really most puzzling things. Findlay, Finlay, Fhiunla, Hiunlay, and Ianla, are all one and the same appellation. But this is a trifle to other varieties and transmutations. Out of Krycul and Gregall some writers make Nicol easily.] Leaving the proper Farquharsons out of the question, Finlay Mhor must be held to have left a numerous ultimate posterity, if progenitors even of a portion of the Mackerachers, Mackinlays, Finlaysons, &c. He carried the royal standard at the battle of Pinkie, A.D. 1547, and there fell, fighting gallantly for his country. The cadet families of Finzean and Inverey sprung directly from Finlay the Great; and, on the death of James Farquharson, the tenth chief from Ferquhard Shaw, without male issue, at the close of the eighteenth century, Farquharson of Finzean became the proper male head of the house. Catherine, however, daughter of James Farquharson, married Captain Ross, and their son, taking the name of his mother, is now Farquharson of Invercauld. From the Inverey branch descended the Balmoral Farquharsons, as well as various others. The clan lands were and yet are extensive in Aberdeenshire, and partly also in Perthshire, many thousands of acres of their holding (one hundred thousand, as some say) being covered with pine or fir woods.

The clan joined in almost all the Stewart risings. They took the field with Montrose, and followed him in greater or lesser numbers throughout the majority of his campaigns. They formed part of the Scottish army which fought for Charles II. at Worcester, A.D. 1651. The Farquharsons also rose under Mar in 1715, though, how far the majority of them were impelled by genuine Jacobite loyalty, on this or even any other similar occasion, must remain a doubtful question. From the very house of Invercauld, Mar himself, the raiser and leader of the rebels in 1715, dispatched a very notorious letter to the factor on his lordship's estate of Kildrummie, in which he says to that gentleman: "Jocke, let my tenants in Kildrummie know, that, if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. They may believe this only a threat, but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution." To add to the effect of this declaration, Mar hints that the lives of the recusants would go with their goods. He could not (he says) prevent their "being treated as *enemies*" by his followers; and indeed he "would be the first to propose their being so treated." Coming from the

very head of the insurgents, this epistle forms a singular *exposé* of the true grounds on which the Jacobites were joined by many, by the majority, of their Highland supporters. The Farquharsons, at all times one of the best appointed of the clan regiments, had the honour to be among the men selected for the well-known expedition into England of Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum. They behaved with great bravery at Preston, where the enterprise came to so unfortunate a close. Captain Peter Farquharson of Rochley, "a gentleman of an invincible spirit and almost inimitable bravery," was there shot in the leg. "When brought," says Patten, "into the White Bull Inn, where all the wounded were carried, he took a glass of brandy, and said, 'Come, lads, here is our master's health! Though I can do no more, I wish you good success.' His leg was cut off by an unskilful butcher rather than a surgeon, and he presently died." Imperfect surgery, after battles, has probably cost many more lives than mere wounds. Napoleon obtained immense advantages over his Russian foes, as well as other adversaries, by his attention to the medical department of his armies. In the case of the Russians, in particular, the slightest wounds too often proved fatal, through loss of blood or gangrene, the results of ignorance and neglect. We may well suppose that, in the campaigns of the Highlanders, the same evil must have presented itself in a glaring shape, leaving the wounded too often at the mercy (at best) of "butchers rather than surgeons."

The Farquharsons took the field again for the Stewarts in 1745, and formed one of the best sections of the young chevalier's army. They joined his cause rather late, however, and lay chiefly at Perth during the campaigns of Charles in the Lowlands and in England. Joining the insurgents on their return to the north, the Farquharsons fought in the centre at Culloden, along with the Macintoshes, Frasers, and other clans. Their bravery, and that of their companions, could not avert the issue of that day, so fatal to the Stewart cause.

The Farquharsons had the good fortune to be treated, on the whole, with comparative leniency by the established government of Great Britain; and hence have we yet respectable landed representatives of the house, though their possessions may have been of late curtailed. The old Farquharson estate and mansion of Balmoral are now (by purchase) the property of her Gracious Majesty, Victoria, Queen of Great Britain.

ARMS OF CLAN FARQUHARSON.

Quarterly; first and fourth, a lion rampant, gules, armed and langued, azure; second and third, argent, a fir-tree growing from a mount in base, seeded proper. (On a chief gules, the banner of Scotland is displayed bendwise, in allusion to the fight of Pinkie.)

CREST. A lion issuing from a wreath, gules, holding a sword, or.

SUPPORTERS. Two wild cats, proper.

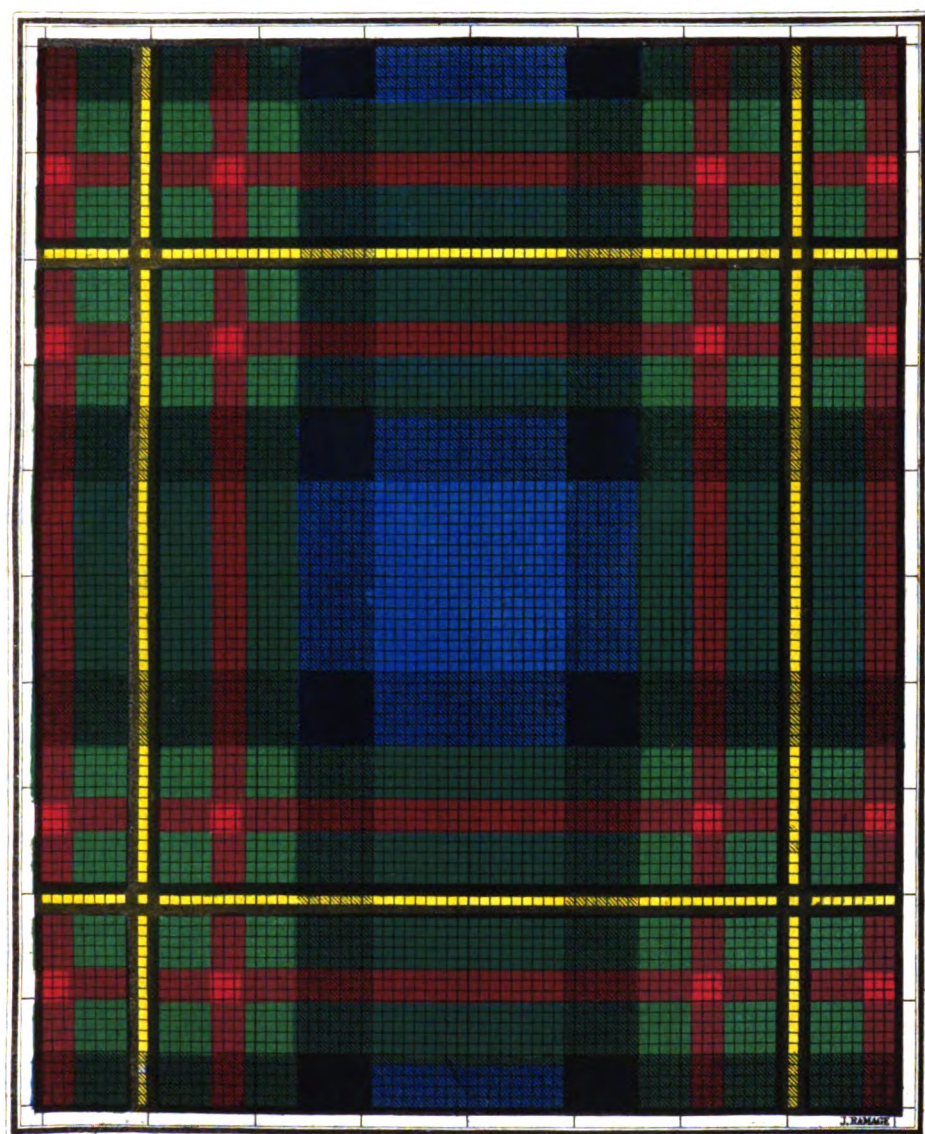
MOTTO. *Fide et fortitudine* (With faith and fortitude).

BADGE. Red whortle-berry.



CLAN MACLAURIN (OR MACLAREN).

The sept of the MACLAURINS or MACLARENS bears in Gaelic the title of CLAN LABHRAINN, pronounced nearly Laurin in speaking. From the early position of the tribe in the counties of Argyle and Perth, there can be little question that the name of Laurin is identical with Lorn, or at least derived from the same root; and that root is held by some etymologists to be Lawrence, a saint martyred under the Emperor Valentinian, in the third century after Christ. Be this as it may, Laurin and Loarn, or Lorn, seem one and the same



Clan Maclaurin

term; and the sept so called were almost certainly of pure Celtic origin. Most probably they sprung from the Scoto-Irish settlers on the western coasts, their coat of arms bearing the word "Dalriada" above the achievement, and the characteristic lymphad being also visible in their quarterings. But from Argyle they appear to have moved inwards at a very early date, and to have settled in Balquidder and Stratherne. Three brothers are mentioned as receiving the properties of Auchleskine, Stank, and Bruach; and the tradition is so far borne out by their having very lately buried in three distinct places in one churchyard. Their shifting in all likelihood took place in the ninth century, when their kindred of the Scoto-Dalriadic race conquered the southern and eastern Picts, under their great sovereign Kenneth Macalpine. The MacLaurins had risen to consequence in Perthshire in the time of David I.; and Lord Hailes supposes them, with every appearance of truth, to be the *Lavernani* or *Lauriani* whom Malise, earl of Stratherne, headed at the unlucky Battle of the Standard, A.D. 1138, when the Scots sustained so grievous a defeat on English ground. In the struggles with Edward I. in the succeeding century, three parties are mentioned as having submitted to him (in 1296), namely, Maurice of Tiree, Conan of Balquidder, and Laurin of Strathern—all believed to have been of the family of Clan Laurin. The various changes affecting the Stratherne earldom altered materially, also, the condition of the MacLaurins of Perthshire. They became "kindly tenants" under the crown in 1370, and remained so for a length of time, until their lands were set to them in feu for "the increase of the king's rental," or the rental of some of the minor Stewart branches holding Stratherne under royalty.

The Clan Laurin figured at Flodden and Pinkie, and kept their heads well above water among the neighbouring septs. In the reign of one of the Alexanders of Scotland, they fought a sharp battle with the Buchanans, no weak family at the time. An "innocent" of the MacLaurin house had been struck and abused by a surly young Buchanan, and had told the latter that he dared not do that again at another place and time. The complaint of the half-witted creature led to the conflict mentioned, from which not one of a large body of Buchanans escaped finally with life. It is told that the MacLaurins were losing the day, and even flying, when a father of their band saw his son cut down, and turned upon the foe with a desperate daring, which wholly and quickly reversed the fate of the battle. He and his friends seemed to be seized with the *miri-cath*—a fighting inspiration akin to that under which a modern Malay "runs a-muck," blind to all personal consequences.

The MacLaurins maintained a close connection with the families latterly seated in Lorn. Dougal, ancestor of the Appin Stewarts, was an illegitimate son of John Stewart, third Lord of Lorn, by a MacLaurin lady, and obtained the help of her kindred when contesting with an uncle for his possessions. Some bitter fights took place on the occasion; and not less than one hundred and thirty of the MacLaurins, it is said, fell in one single battle. Dougal of Appin paid dearly for the assistance of his Perthshire friends. They had ravaged the Keppoch lands, and, being in consequence attacked by the Macdonalds, called in the aid of the Appin Stewarts. Dougal joined them in person, and lost his life in their cause, but not until he had brought down the same fate on Keppoch, the chief of the adverse party. This skirmish is said to have occurred about the year 1497.

After being deprived of a proper and independent Lord of Stratherne, the MacLaurins seem generally to have joined the following of the Lorn Stewarts, and yet they possessed a chief of their own in 1587. In the noted Roll of Clans of that date, the Clan Laurin are named as having a distinct head of their own. President Forbes counts them as among the followers of the Athol Murrays, at the date of 1745, and, no doubt, that family had largely absorbed the command of all the minor septs in their district; but the majority of the MacLaurins who took the field in that year followed the banner of the Stewarts of Appin. Indeed, they had become sadly dispersed and thinned before the last rebellion took place. The savage enmity of the Macgregors had been very destructive to the

tribe. On one single occasion, the sons of Clan Alpine murdered no fewer than sixteen householders of the Maclaurin name, with (frightful to relate) the whole of their families, "wyvis and barnis." For half a century after this deed was done, it remained uninvestigated; and when it did come to light, to wit, in 1604, the assassins were not punished, or, rather, perhaps, not punishable. All the time the lands of the slain, in Balquhider, were held by Macgregors. It was in this way that the weaker tribe was pushed out or annihilated. Once on a time, in Balquhider kirk, no man dared to take a seat before the Maclaurins took theirs; and battles within the very walls of the house of worship became common in consequence, even a clergyman of the Maclaurin name being killed on one such occasion of rioting. At this present day, the clan now under notice are weak and scanty in numbers on the Braes of Balquhider, though the general population has vastly increased. Down to the time of Rob Roy, however, the Macgregors and Maclaurins still kept up the contest for place and property. A story is told in which that freebooter played a prominent part. Stewart of Appin had become proprietor or superior of the hill-farm of Invernenty, in Balquhider, claimed also by the Macgregors. The farm had been one long held by a family of Maclaurins, and Appin came, with two hundred followers, to settle or replace them therein, in spite of the menaces of Rob Roy. That outlaw drew out his men, but found himself too weak to venture on a contest, and made a merit of yielding to Appin, on the ground that they were both friends "to the (exiled) king." But Macgregor, as if to remove any appearance of undue concession, challenged the best man of the Stewarts to stand forth, and try a friendly bout at broadsword, for the honour of the two clans. Alister Stewart of Invernahyle stepped forward, and a sharp fight took place, ended by Rob receiving a slight flesh-wound. The drawing of "first blood" always closed such engagements; and the freebooter, dropping his sword-point, congratulated Invernahyle on being the only man who had ever mastered him in the same way. But Stewart, in telling the story personally to Sir Walter Scott, owned the result to be solely owing to his own superior youth and agility. Rob Roy was then almost an old man.

A Maclaurin of Invernenty was the person to whom occurred the singular adventure of the Devil's Beef-Stand, narrated in "Redgauntlet" as chancing to "Pate-in-Peril." This diabolic Beef-Stand is a large, cup-shaped hollow, situated on a mountain-ridge near Tweed's Cross, and close to the springs of the river of that name. The spot forms part of the high ground which must be traversed to pass at this point from Scotland into England, and received its name because the northern freebooters often hid there the cattle taken by them from the southrons. It is also called the "Johnstones' Beef-Tub," indicating who these freebooters commonly were. Along the road, adjoining this hollow, Maclaurin of Invernenty was in the act of being led one misty morning by soldiers, in the 1745, to suffer death at Carlisle. On a sudden he darted from among them, and, coiled up like a hedgehog, rolled head over heels down the hillside with immense rapidity, and was soon lost to sight. The astounded red-coats knew nothing of the ground, and, bewildered by the mist, durst not follow their captive. A random shot or two was fired, but they saw no more of Invernenty, nor did justice ever again get him into its clutches. He had fairly tumbled his way into freedom.

The gradual dispersion of the clan, and extensive diminution of its numbers, consequent mainly on their comparatively Lowland site, as well as other causes, have made the chiefship latterly a matter of doubt. It was claimed, however, by a very distinguished family of the name not much above fifty years since. The first personage of note of that family, Colin Maclaurin, held the office of Mathematical Professor in Aberdeen and in Edinburgh, and became highly celebrated by his scientific writings. He showed great activity in 1745, being one of the few parties in the Scottish capital whose faculties the rebellion of that year did not paralyse. Professor Maclaurin planned a distinct system of defence for the city, but found few ready to second his endeavours. Unfortunately, his exertions impaired his health, and he died in 1746. His son, John Maclaurin, be-

XLII



Clan Sinclair

came a distinguished lawyer at the Scottish bar, and a Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Dreghorn. He claimed the chiefship of the Maclaurins, and appears to have established his pedigree before the Lyon Court.

Various other eminent parties of the name of Maclaurin have flourished of late years. Still more of the sept have been known as MACLARENS, which is indeed the most common of the two forms. Though now holding a clan-locality no longer, the members of this sept are yet pretty numerous, and chiefly in the Scottish Lowlands. One gentleman of the Maclaren name might be pointedly noticed, were it proper to do so, as a party long distinguished in the newspaper literature of his native country, and as among the most able of our living British geologists; while, among financiers, the name has been rendered not less noted of late days by Scottish bearers.

ARMS OF THE MACLAURINS (OR MACLARENS).

Or, two chevrons gules; in base, a Lymphad, sail furled, oars in action, sable, all within a bordure engrailed, gules.

CREST. On a casque and wreath a lion's head erased, between two laurel-branches orlewise, proper, meeting in an eastern crown of three points, or.

MOTTO. ("Dalriada" above.) *Ab origine fidus* (Faithful from the beginning).

BADGE. Laurel.

[The Slogan of the Clan was "Craig Tuire," or the Rock of the Boar.]



CLAN SINCLAIR.

Beyond question the term or title of CLAN is so far a misnomer, as applied to the SINCLAIRS. The early heads of the house of SAINT-CLAIR were undoubtedly and admittedly Normans; and on settling in the north, they only changed the first part of their name from *Saint* to *Sin*—a curious mutation on the whole, as some wit has remarked. The Saint-Clairs, or St Clairs, had been a family of eminence in France even before the Norman conquest of England; and, when they did come to Britain with William the Bastard, they seem to have stood high in the favour of royalty. In the time of Alexander I., or his brother David I., they visited Scotland, and received grants, in the first instance, of the lands of Roslin, near to Edinburgh, and lying within the county of Midlothian. Many traces remain of the possession by them of the Roslin (or Roslyn) property. The castle and chapel, now ruinous, abound in memorials of the house; and the records, also, of the adjoining and ancient Abbey of Newbattle, or Newbottle, mention the name repeatedly. The fifth proprietor of Roslin of the line, styled in rude Norman-French "Guillaume de Seincler," and in common Latin "Willielmus de Sancto Claro," ranked as a baron of importance during the Bruce and Baliol contests, at the close of the thirteenth century. Like too many other Scottish barons, Sir William of Roslin swore fealty to Edward I., and adhered generally to the Baliol cause. His eldest son and heir, Sir Henry Sinclair, followed the paternal footsteps originally, but became in the end a firm friend of Robert the Bruce. A brother of Sir Henry held the bishopric of Dunkeld at the period, and (says Boece) "was a great Fautor of King Robert I., upon account of which, and of his other very noble and heroick dispositions, that king was pleased to call him 'his own Bishop.'" The prelate fully deserved the title. On the landing of the English in Fife, A.D. 1317, Bishop Sinclair threw aside his clerical vestments, armed himself, and, with sixty vassals, marched against the invaders. He met the Earl of Fife retiring before the foe, though at the head of five hundred men. "Who loves Scotland, follow me!" cried Sinclair indignantly; and, with those who did follow, he drove the English back to their ships. Sir Henry "de Sancto Claro" was one of the patriots who signed the letter to the Pope, asserting the independency of Scotland—a letter almost as well deserving of remembrance as the English charter of Runnymede.

Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, son of Sir Henry, formed one of the gallant band of knights selected by Sir James of Douglas to accompany him to Palestine with the heart of the royal Bruce. Sir James, as is well known in song and story, turned aside from his route to join in a crusade against the Moors of Spain, and there perished in battle, fighting valiantly. On the occasion of his death, he had rushed to the rescue of his friend Sir William Sinclair, whom he saw combating desperately, surrounded by Moors, who were "hewing at him" with their scimitars. "Yonder worthy knight will be slain," cried Douglas, "unless he have instant help!" The good Sir James then took from his bosom the silver casket containing the heart of the Bruce, threw it into the press, and exclaimed, "Pass first in fight, as thou wert wont to do, thou noble heart, and Douglas will follow thee or die!" Throwing himself forthwith amidst the enemy, he sank under their swords; and with him fell Sinclair, whom he had sought to save. The casket enclosing the relic of King Robert was recovered by the Scots there present, Douglas having fallen directly above it, as if to guard it even in death. This battle with the Moors occurred A.D. 1330.

An infant son, also named Sir William Sinclair, succeeded the Scottish warrior who died with Douglas in Spain. This Sir William laid the foundation of the northern and most famous line of the house, by his marriage with one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Malise, earl of Stratherne, Caithness, and Orkney. That nobleman had himself succeeded to the northern lordships by wedding an heiress (probably) of the Celtic blood. However, the rights to the Orkney and Caithness lordships, it may be remarked, were always confused so long as the Norwegian monarchs held any sway in that quarter of the Scottish dominions. Norway and Scotland frequently supported totally different claimants. The eldest son of the marriage mentioned, Henry Sinclair of Roslin, obtained a recognition of his claim (through his mother) to the earldom of Orkney from Hacon VI. of Norway; though such terms of vassalage were imposed by Hacon as showed that a war between Norway and Scotland would have greatly embarrassed the new lord of the Orcaades. However, "Henry Seinteler comes Orchadiae et dominus de Roslyne," as we find from "Rhymer's Foedera," had his northern titles admitted also by the Scottish king, Robert III., in 1392; and his son Henry, entitled second Earl of Orkney of the line, acted as chief attendant to Prince James of Scotland, when that royal youth was dispatched by his father, for security, to France. The English seized the whole party (A.D. 1405), and Sinclair was thrown with the rest into captivity. He seems to have been soon liberated, however, and to have been engaged for several years in negotiations for the release of his young sovereign, James I. Henry, Earl of Orkney, married a daughter and heiress of Douglas, lord of Nithsdale, by Egidia, daughter of King Robert II. This lady bore to him a son, William, who, about 1417, became the third Earl of Orkney. He was one of the hostages for James I., when allowed to visit Scotland in 1421; and he met that prince at Durham in 1423, on his permanent release from captivity. The Earl of Orkney was Admiral of Scotland in 1436, and, in that capacity, conveyed to France the Princess Margaret, on her marriage with the Dauphin. He founded, in 1446, a collegiate (clerical) establishment at Roslin, for a provost, six prebendaries, and two choristers, and endowed it with suitable revenues. The beautiful chapel which he erected is still sufficiently well preserved to attract universal admiration. The design and workmanship are beautiful—indeed, for a private undertaking, almost wonderful in their beauty. The same William, third Earl of Orkney of his line, held the high office of Lord Chancellor of Scotland in the year 1454. In the following year (August 28, 1455), he received a grant of the earldom of Caithness from the crown, in compensation of other claims, including, it is said, the lordship of Nithsdale, his mother's heritage. He did not formally resign the Orkney title, nevertheless, until the year 1470, when it was ceded by him to the crown in consideration of various grants of land in the north, and other regal concessions.

The Sinclairs date their proper accession as Earls of Caithness from the

year 1455 ; and indeed they so stand on the books of Parliament at the Union. William, first EARL of CAITHNESS of the Sinclair family, married Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas ; and, secondly, Marjory, grand-daughter of the Earl of Sutherland. For some doubtful reasons—seemingly because the Douglasses stood at variance with the crown about the period, and from the superior influence of the Sutherlands in the north—the son of Lady Margaret Douglas was set aside in the order of titular succession, and, in his place, the son of Marjory Sutherland became the second Earl of Caithness. His sire resigned the earldom to him during life, and the king confirmed the cession. The proper apparent heir, William of Newburgh, was well endowed, however, and founded the existing family of the LORDS SINCLAIR ; and that Lowland branch of the house, therefore, perpetuates the line of its oldest male representatives. From Sir Oliver, another (and by some styled senior) son of the house, sprang the later Lords of Roslin, now represented by the St Clair Erskines, Earls of Rosslyn. William, second Earl of Caithness, fell at the Battle of Flodden in 1513, with his sovereign, and so many others of the Scottish nobility. He had wedded a lady of the house of Keith, who bore to him his heir John, third earl. The confusion resulting from conflicting claims to the Orca-dian Isles appears not yet to have fully terminated, since the said John endeavoured to seize Orkney by the strong hand, and was defeated strikingly (A.D. 1529) by the islanders. He fell in battle on the occasion, with not less than five hundred of his supporters. George, his son, succeeded as fourth earl. He followed a custom very common in those days with men who felt insecure in their possessions and honours. The earldom of Caithness was formally resigned by him into the hands of King James V., who granted a new charter thereof to the consigner's heirs. George, earl of Caithness, had the appointment of justiciary for the whole of the extreme north of Scotland—an almost irresponsible situation in those days. If we may judge, however, from his conduct on the mock trial of the Earl of Bothwell, for the murder of Henry Darnley, the judicial office would not on the whole be abused in his hands. On giving a verdict acquitting Bothwell, Lord Caithness protested, for himself and others, against being blamed for that decision, seeing that no accuser had appeared to sustain the indictment, and no formal proof had been brought forward of the crime. What indeed could he, and such as he, do else in the case ? Queen Mary herself had fallen completely into the hands of Bothwell ; and the fact seems to us to constitute the best apology for her acts at this eventful period of her life. Did not Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and many others of the barons who raised their voices most loudly against the Bothwell marriage, in the sequel put their names to a document advising that very union, and authorise it fully by their signatures ? Mary was then only twenty-five years of age. When powerful nobles yielded so slavishly and ignominiously to the influence and menaces of Hepburn, can we really wonder much that so young a woman was dunned and stunned into compliance by his audacity ? If privy beforehand to the murder of Darnley, indeed, her conduct would be inexcusable. But the probability is, that, if aware of anything planned to his injury, she knew only of a purpose of dethronement. Bad enough it might be to yield even to that proposition ; but many, very many circumstances must be taken into account, ere we judge severely of the conduct of Mary of Scotland.

George, fourth Earl of Caithness, died in 1582, and was succeeded by his grandson, another George, fifth peer of the name. From the fourth earl and the son who predeceased him, descended also the Sinclairs of Mey, Murchil, and Greenland, to be more specially noticed afterwards. The contests for superiority betwixt the Sinclair and Sutherland (Gordon) families, in which the Mackays, Gunns, and other northern septs shared largely, had long raged with severity, in spite of intermarriages intended to produce quietude. Probably with such a view the fifth Lord Caithness wedded Lady Jean Gordon, a daughter of the house of Huntly, and, dying in 1643, was succeeded by George, his great-grandson, who married a daughter of the Marquis of Argyll. This union was unproductive of issue, and the Caithness earldom seemed on the point of

passing out of the hands of the Sinclairs. George, sixth Earl, actually assigned the title away to Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy, in consideration of certain large sums due by him to that personage. The debts of the earl are said to have amounted to a million of merks, a sum enormous for the age. By this singular disposition (of date 1672), all the titles, possessions, and jurisdictions of George, sixth earl of Caithness, were devised to Sir John Campbell, the latter binding himself to take the name of Sinclair. On the death of the earl in 1676, accordingly, Sir John took up the Caithness title, and even got himself confirmed therein by certain patents and charters. But the heir-male of the Sinclairs, George of Keiss, did not put up quietly with this strange alienation of his family honours. Taking the opportunity, when Sir John Campbell had gone to London (A.D. 1677) to obtain the royal recognition of his claims, George of Keiss gathered together a strong band of Sinclairs, and forcibly seized on the Caithness lands. His adversary obtained an order for his ejection, but this proved to be a matter of some difficulty, and was not fully accomplished till the summer of 1680, when Campbell in person went north with a numerous military force, obtained from the Scottish Privy Council. He encountered the Sinclairs in a regular battle at Old Marlack, and defeated them. Though he thus secured possession of the estates, however, the right of George Sinclair of Keiss to at least the family title was so clear and undeniable, that the Privy Council found themselves constrained to acknowledge his claims, and he took his place among the peers of Scotland in 1681, as seventh Earl of Caithness. Each party then charged the other with a host of delicts, such as "fire-raising, murder, treason," and the like peccadilloes; but neither of the two underwent a trial, and the matter ended by Campbell being created Earl of Breadalbane, and the Earl of Caithness being reinstated in his proper patrimonial estates of Keiss, Tister, and Northfield, of which the sixth earl, it was decreed, had not had the power to dispossess him. However, George, seventh Lord Caithness, died without issue in 1698, and the pecuniary claims of Breadalbane became again valid in most respects.

By this unlucky business the Caithness earldom received a fatal blow, being shorn permanently of great part of its contingent possessions. The title, nevertheless, found a legitimate owner in John Sinclair of Murchil, descended from a grandson of George, fourth earl. John, eighth Earl of Caithness, took his seat in parliament in 1704, and died in the following year, leaving, by his lady Janet Carmichael, a son and heir, Alexander, ninth earl. This nobleman left at his decease, in 1785, but one child, Lady Dorothea, married to James, second Earl of Fife. In this instance, the remaining Caithness properties received a fresh scattering. Dorothea, countess of Fife, left no children, and, after a legal contest, Sir John Sinclair of Stevenston (and Murchil or Murkle), a baronet of Nova Scotia (1636), inherited much of the property of the ninth earl, according to the entail. But he did not become Earl of Caithness. The old comital title reverted once more to a collateral branch, descended from Sir John Sinclair of Greenland, third grandson of the fourth earl, and founder of the Ratter family. It is odd enough that this Sir John had five sons, four of whom held the Ratter estate in succession, and but one of whom left an heir of his body, he also being an only child. The fourth from him in descent, William Sinclair of Ratter, was served nearest heir-male to the ninth, and became himself the tenth Earl of Caithness. His son, John, succeeded as eleventh earl in 1779, and, after serving with distinction in the American war of independence, died suddenly in London, unmarried, in the year 1789.

Again did the Caithness title seem in peril of extinction. But again was a lawful proprietor of the honour found, in the person of Sinclair of Mey, whose ancestor had struck off from the main line so far back as about 1550, being a son of the fourth earl. The first of the Mey branch, William Sinclair, was chartered in several portions of the Caithness property, and left them to his eldest son, who acquired some note from killing an Edinburgh bailie in a riot of the High School boys, in 1595. He received a remission under the Great Seal for the deed. A second son of Mey, Sir John Sinclair of Dunbeath,

acquired considerable wealth as a merchant, and was created a baronet in 1631. That title fell to the line of Mey, it is held, but Dunbeath is still represented specially by a baronet (date of creation 1704). The eighth in descent from the first personage of that line, namely, Sir James Sinclair of Mey, added to the singularity of the successions to this peerage, by being honoured with the title seemingly against his will. Probably he declined taking it up from the inadequacy of his fortune to sustain it in its ancient grandeur; but the freeholders of Caithness, who appear to have been disputing about the county election in 1789, took an objection to his remaining on the roll of voting commoners, on the ground that he was *de jure* a peer of the realm. The Court of Session allowed the complainers to prove that "Sir James Sinclair of Mey had succeeded to the earldom of Caithness." A petition was actually preferred on his side against this decision, and answers followed answers in the case. However, Sir J. Sinclair in time succumbed, and allowed himself to be a lord, the twelfth of his line. He was elected one of the representatives of the Scottish peerage in 1807, and also nominated lord-lieutenant of the county of Caithness. By his lady, Jean Campbell, of the house of Barcaldine, his lordship left a considerable family of sons and daughters. He died in the year 1823.

ALEXANDER, his eldest surviving son, born in 1790, succeeded as thirteenth EARL OF CAITHNESS. He married Francis-Harriet, daughter of the Very Reverend William Leigh, of Rushall Hall, Staffordshire, and by her has had a son, JAMES LORD BERRIEDALE, born 1821, with other issue. Lord Berriedale wedded, in 1847, the daughter of Sir G. R. Philips, Bart. The present earl has served in the army, and several of his brothers, likewise, have followed the military profession.

Fate, if the term may be used with propriety, appears not to have been very willing to allow the Norman lords of the St Clair house to occupy permanently the lands of the Gael. But, indeed, the Lowland branch of the house underwent various similar chances; and its honours, in reality, lay dormant for many years. As before mentioned, William of Newburgh, eldest son of the first earl of Caithness by Lady Margaret Douglas, was somewhat strangely superseded in the paternal succession in the north by the son of a Sutherland marriage. William of Newburgh, however, unquestionably the true heir of the St Clairs, did not receive the ancient Roslin lands, though certainly endowed with considerable possessions in the Lothians, and filling an eminent place in society. His sister-german had the honour even of an alliance with the blood-royal, wedding the Duke of Albany, second son of King James II. His heir, Henry, again, was created LORD SINCLAIR by James IV. in 1489, and following that monarch to the field, fell with him at Flodden. By Margaret Hepburn, of the powerful house of Bothwell, he had William, second Lord Sinclair, who is shown by charters to have held lands in the shires of Aberdeen and Fife, and to have wedded into the family of Marischal. His son Henry was predeceased by James, master of Sinclair; but the latter left a family, three sons of which became barons of Sinclair in succession. The line seems here to have been threatened with a fatal pause; and still more imminent grew the danger, when John, heir of the last of these sons, and seventh baron of the house, died, leaving an only daughter, Catharine. However, this lady wedded John Sinclair of Hermandston, a near male descendant of the family, and their son Henry became the eighth lord. But the eldest son of Henry was attainted in 1715, and, as he left no issue, the second son became clearly entitled to the peerage. He never advanced his claims, probably from the same motives which actuated Sinclair of Mey in the Caithness case. At his death in 1762, the descendants of Matthew, fourth son of Sinclair of Hermandston, had a right to the baronial honours. They still remained unassumed, nevertheless, up to the date of 1782, when the House of Lords, being appealed to, adjudged the title to Charles, great grandson of Matthew Sinclair. Reckoning all the parties who might have borne the dignity, Charles has usually been considered the thirteenth Baron Sinclair. He served in the army, and sat in the House of Lords as one of the representatives of the Scottish peerage.

In regard to the main lines of the Sinclairs, we have here followed the most reasonable account, viewing the Lowland families of the name as founded by two brothers, William (ancestor of the Lords Sinclair) and Oliver, progenitor of the lairds of Roslin. Some genealogists hold the latter branch to have been the oldest; but Nisbet distinctly relates, that he had seen a remarkable family contract, of date 1481, in which Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin disposes all claims over certain Lowland estates to "his *elder brother* William" (of Newburgh), and further binds himself, that "should there happen any plea betwixt the said William and his *younger brother*, for the earldom of Caithness, he (Sir Oliver) shall stand evenly and neuter between them, as he *should* do betwixt his brothers." This deed goes far to establish the fact of the singular division of property among the Sinclairs, already mentioned, whereby the younger got the honours of an earldom, and the others lands merely—perhaps the best and richest, but not possessing the same titular rights and honours. Notwithstanding this piece of evidence, the candid Nisbet observes, which of all these families is the oldest he cannot well say. But the Sinclairs of Roslin have ended in the male line; and the Caithness and Sinclair peerages are now held by the true male representatives of the family. The marriage of Sir J. Erskine of Alva with the ultimate heiress of the Roslin family carried the property into a new line, now the St Clairs Erskine, Earls of Rosslyn.

There exist many branches of the Sinclairs, of note in society. The most eminent of late years has been the Ulbster family, raised to the honours of a baronetcy in the person of Sir John, father of the present Sir George Sinclair, Bart. Sir John was distinguished for the share he took in all Scottish improvements, and more than all, for his "Statistical Account" of his native country.

ARMS OF CLAN SINCLAIR.

Quarterly, 1st, Azure, a ship at anchor, within a double tressure, counter-flowered, her oars erect in saltire, or, for Orkney; 2d and 3d, Or, a lion rampant, gules, for Far; 4th, Azure, a ship under sail, or, for the title of Caithness; and over all a cross, engrailed, dividing the four quarters, sable, for the name of Sinclair.

CREST. On a wreath, a cock.

SUPPORTERS. Two griffins.

MOTTO. Commit thy work to God.

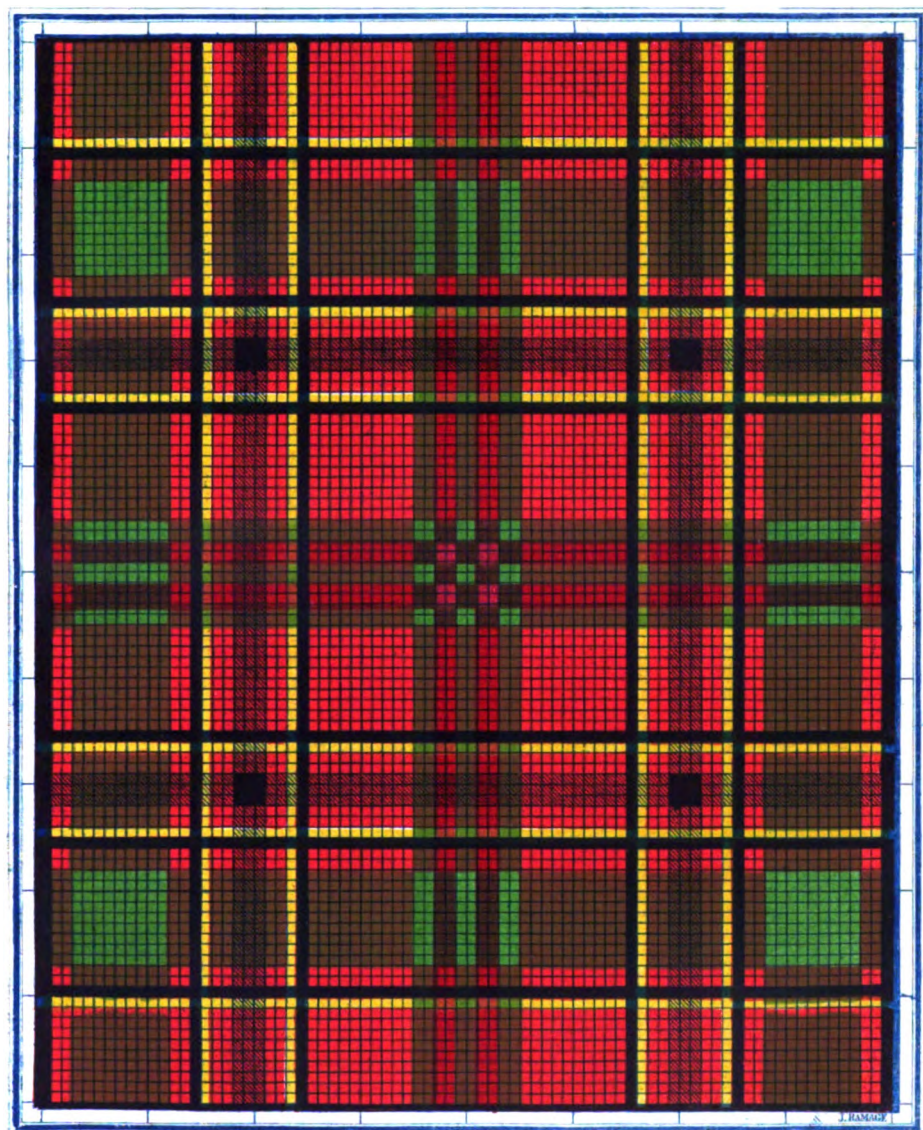
BADGE. Whins.



CLAN MONROE (OR CLAN ROICH).

The name of this clan is spelled variously, the forms of Munro and Munroe, Monro and Monroe, being used almost indiscriminately. MONROE is the form here adopted, as being on the whole nearest to the general pronunciation. The sept is of very old standing in the shires of Ross and Inverness; and its origin, almost as a necessary consequence of that antiquity, has caused no ordinary amount of discussion among the Gaelic genealogists. Sir George Mackenzie brings the Monroes from Ireland with the Macdonalds, on which leading clan, he says, "they had constantly a depending." Their name, Sir George further tells us, was derived from a "Mount on the river Roe" (*quasi* "Mount-roe" originally), in the county of Derry. When the Macdonalds held the earldom of Ross, moreover, the Monroes are said to have acted under them as bailiffs or stewards, and to have been called by the name of "Monrosses." They obtained the Ross-shire lands of Logy, and are mentioned in connection with that property in the year 1338. A charter thereof was granted to Robert Monroe; and the same personage witnesses a charter from the Earl of Ross to a relative

XLIII



Clan Monroe

in 1357. From this beginning Sir George Mackenzie tracks the house, and carries it down directly to his own day.

But native tradition does not allow the Monroes to have been primarily and properly Irish. They formed a branch, it avers, of the natives of Scotland, who had been driven out of their own country by the Romans, about the early date of 357 A.D.; and after remaining in Ireland for many centuries, they came back, it is stated, to aid in the expulsion of a fresh set of invaders, the Norsemen or Danes. When in the "Green Isle," they had been located in County Derry, on the stream of the Roe, and among the adjoining mountains. So runs the native traditional story, and here it coalesces with that of Sir G. Mackenzie, both accounts giving to the name of the Monroes the same local origin, and agreeing as to their having come from Ireland, firstly or lastly. It was in the time of Malcolm II., or in the beginning of the eleventh century, that the ancestors of the Monroes are said thus to have come over to fight the Danes, and their leader is denominated Donald, son of Ocean. For his services, it is further told to us, he received the lands of East Dingwall in Ross-shire; and it is at least indubitable, that Malcolm II. did at that time divide "the lands of his realm of Scotland amongst his men," after their conquest of the Danes; so that many new families of note must actually have been founded at that epoch in Scotland. The traditional account, from which we here as yet quote, goes on to say that the estates given to Donald, son of Ocean, were erected into a Barony, and denominated Foulis from Loch Feul or Foul in Ireland. This barony remains the property of the Monroes to the present day; and it is at least a fact that few families have so long held any lands in unbroken male succession. The conditions of their tenure of it are curious, though, we believe, only traditional. The hill of Foulis stands in the parish of Killtearn, near the forest of Uaish; and, for the holding thereof, Monroe was bound to make payment of "a snow-ball from the hill," when desired by the king. It has been creditably related, that snow was actually sent from Foulis by some of the Monroes to the Duke of Cumberland, as being the representative of Majesty, when his Grace paid his memorable visit to the north in the beginning of 1746. The snow was intended to cool the wines of the conqueror of Culloden. One would think that the family of Foulis must then have had more serious matters to occupy them, their head having fallen shortly before at the battle of Falkirk. At all events, the iced wine would probably be acceptable, since, from Alexander the Great down to Peter the Great, fighting heroes have been very commonly troubled with other thirsts than the thirst for glory—nor have their annals been improved in consequence. A few striking exceptions there have been assuredly; and it may not be quite out of place here to mention a story told on this head by a member of the house of Monroe—Colonel Robert Monroe, to-wit, in his account of his military services under the "Lion of the North." Gustavus of Sweden himself did not drink deeply; but he had a Scottish officer, named Patrick Ruthven, whose qualities at the table he made good use of habitually. "Ruthven," we are told, "was high in the monarch's favour for two different reasons. He always behaved gallantly in the field; and when the king wanted to regale ministers and officers of the adverse party, in order to extract secrets from them in their cheerful hours, he made Ruthven *Field-Marshal of the Bottles and Glasses*, as he could drink immeasurably, and always preserve his understanding to the last." This capital toper had even the honour to be created Count of Kirchberg by Gustavus, and was afterwards made Earl of Forth in Scotland in 1642, and Earl of Brentford in England in 1644, by Charles I. That prince seems to have expected much from him during the Civil Wars; and Ruthven did actually defeat the parliamentary forces with great eclat at Brentford in 1642, whence his English title. But he had then become a very old man; and Lord Clarendon speaks of him as "much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of drinking, dozed in his understanding." So the notable "understanding" had really failed at last under the toping system. He left no heirs, and his titles became extinct at his death, A.D. 1651.

To return to the first Monroes. Some parties, it has been related, bring them

directly from Ireland with the Macdonalds. Others, while admitting them to have latterly come from Ireland, uphold at the same time the native Gaelic honour by representing them as having first gone thither from Scotland, and as being merely stray sheep recovered. Mr Skene, again, ranks them as members of a great family called the *Stol o' Cain*, which is partly the Irish view of the Monroe descent; but he turns that name of O'Cain into O' Cathan, and then by easy transmutations, into Cathan and Chattan. They are thus, according to him, a branch of Clan Chattan. To ourselves the Monroes do seem to belong, in all likelihood, to the proper Scottish Gael; but that conclusion is not based on the half imaginary name of O'Cain, or its presumed connection with the term Chattan. Indeed, it is rather an unfair proceeding to take the former word from the supporters of an Irish origin, and employ it by a somewhat forced change against themselves, overlooking all the while the remaining arguments founded by them on the actual name of Monroe. Our own belief, that this clan pertains to the true Scottish Gael, rests mainly on the weakness and inconsistency of the evidence referring them to Ireland. They came from that country at the date of 375 A. C., says one party; they did not arrive until many centuries later, according to another authority. In such circumstances, having nothing but wavering tradition against us, we incline to believe the Monroes to be of the indigenous Gaelic race. As for their mere name, never could the words of the poet be better applied than by here saying, "What's in a name?" In place of connecting Monroe with a Mount-Roe in Ireland, one might much more reasonably refer it to the same origin as Montrose, a name meaning the "Mount of Roses." Two Gaelic terms *monadh* (a hill), and *ros* (a rose) would bear out this conjecture, as far as the Celtic language is concerned. A still more feasible supposition, however, is that the clan-designation was connected with the district of Ross, and that the Monroes were so entitled, as being merely the Hill-men or Mountaineers of Ross. Their first name was actually Monrosse. It is true that Sir George Mackenzie speaks of the name as having been originally *Bunroe*, but he gives not a shadow of a reason for such a supposition.

Be this as it may, twenty and odd barons of the Monroe house reigned and ruled at Foulis. The first member of the line, authentically styled "of Foulis," seems to have been Hugh, denominated commonly the grandson of Donald son of Ocan, already mentioned, and living in the twelfth century. He held his main lands under the Ross earls, of the old house of Ross. His son Robert, reckoned the second baron of the family, is recorded as an active assistant to David I. and Malcolm IV. in their various wars. Donald, heir of Robert, built the old Tower of Foulis; and the growing importance of the Monroes is fully indicated by the marriage of his successor, Robert, with a daughter of the Earl of Sutherland. All Gaelic chiefs of note had at this date become anxious for confirmations of their holdings by the Scottish kings, and George, the fifth baron of Foulis, obtained charters from Alexander II. Robert, sixth of his house, joined the cause of the Bruces, and his clan is named as one of those which fought at Bannockburn, A.D. 1314. The chief himself survived that field, but his only son George fell there, leaving an heir who succeeded to his grandsire. That heir, also, lost his life for the Lowland monarchs, being slain at Halidon Hill in the year 1333.

The next in succession, Robert, eighth baron of Foulis, formed new and strong connections with the Ross family, wedding a niece of Euphame, daughter of the Earl of Ross, and queen of Robert II. He died in an obscure skirmish, entered into in the cause of one of those Earls, in the year 1369. His son, Hugh, was rewarded with new grants of land through the crown-influence of the Rosses, but appears to have attached himself to the Macdonalds, when they claimed the Ross earldom against the royal will, at the commencement of the fifteenth century. His successor, George, with his eldest son, fell in battle in 1452, fighting on the behalf of John of the Isles, eleventh Earl of Ross. John and William, eleventh and twelfth Barons of Foulis, however, seem to have become fully reconciled to the Stewart kings; and the latter of them had the

honour to be knighted, and nominated Justiciary of Inverness by James IV. His fate proved the same with that of so many of his warlike sires. He also perished on a field of fight in 1505. The cause of so many successive deaths by violence apparently is, that the Monroes, being situated closely on the Highland borders (on the Cromarty Firth), were equally exposed at all times to peril, whether as opponents of the Lowland kings, or when acting as their supporters. They formed locally a kind of middlemen, and stood in a position ever peculiarly precarious.

Robert, the fourteenth baron, met a like fate with his grandfather, falling at the memorable battle of Pinkie, A.D. 1547. As the Lowland monarchs grew stronger by degrees, the Monroes became among the most available of all their Gaelic or northern friends. The fifteenth chief of Foulis, styled Robert-More (or Mhor) Monroe, was, like his sire, one of the warmest friends of Queen Mary of Scotland. When she went to Aberdeen in 1562, her purpose was, according to Buchanan, to wed John Gordon, son of the Earl of Huntly, to murder her own half-brother Murray, and on these events to build up the Catholic religion anew in Scotland. Buchanan asserts all these things; but his personal share, as a keen partizan, in the events of the reign of Mary, seems here to strip his account of much of the credit which he ordinarily deserves. It is indeed perfectly impossible to believe him as to the objects and events of this northern journey; since, in place of killing her brother, and marrying the son of Huntly, Queen Mary would not even visit that nobleman's castle, but turned aside when actually in sight of it, in spite of his entreaties and menaces, and went to Inverness, whither, through her confidential attendants, she summoned her Highland subjects to save her from the dangerous ambition of the Gordons. One of the first Gaelic chiefs who rushed to her assistance, at the head of his clan, was Robert-More Munroe of Foulis, accompanied by the Frasers. These septes were then ranked among "the most valiant in the north." They took for the Queen Inverness Castle, which had refused her admission; and the Earl of Murray finally defeated Huntly in battle, A.D. 1562, the latter therein losing his life. John Gordon, whom Buchanan calls the queen's proposed Catholic husband, was also executed soon afterwards. All this savours little of a plot with Huntly.

Robert-More, fifteenth baron of Foulis, did not support his sovereign in this case from peculiar religious leanings, since he became a Protestant at an early period of the Scottish Reformation-movement. Dr Doddridge, who appended to his well known "Life of Colonel Gardiner" a sketch of the Monroe family, calls Robert-More the "eighteenth" of the Foulis line; but he has seemingly taken into his count sons who predeceased their sires, and made other misreckonings. He says of this same chief—"He was a wise and good man, and left an opulent estate to the family." He seems to have been largely favoured by James VI., who granted to him a lease of certain crown-customs or dues in the shires of Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. He died in the year 1588. His son, Robert, survived him but a year, and was succeeded by a brother, Hector, seventeenth of his house. Hector left as his successor another Robert, the first of the Foulis family who engaged in the religious wars of the European continent. The general cause of Protestantism found able supporters in the Monroes, one member of the house after another going abroad to battle for its advancement. Doubtless, they served as hired soldiers; but they exposed themselves on the side which they firmly approved of in conscience, and at times when that side greatly needed supporters. Dr Doddridge says of Robert, Laird of Foulis, that, when Gustavus Adolphus took arms in defence of the civil as well as sacred liberties of Germany, "the worthy Scottish gentleman (Monroe) was so struck with a regard to the common cause, in which he himself had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, that he joined Gustavus with a great number of his friends who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war; and that of Robert their leader was so eminent that he was made colonel of two regiments at the same time, the one of horse, the other of foot, in that service." He had originally accom-

panied (in 1626) the Scottish corps of Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, with six other officers of his name and near kindred; and, in 1629, he raised a reinforcement of 700 men on his own lands of Foulis, with whom he joined Gustavus at a later period. With others, Robert Monroe, brother of Monroe of Opisdale, became eminent among the Scots abroad; and from his pen we have an account of their actions in war for many years. The title-page of his book in part runs thus—"Monroe, his Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment called Mackay's," which served "under the Magnanimous King of Denmark," and the "Invincible King of Sweden"—the whole account "being collected at spare hours for the use of all worthy cavaliers savouring the profession of Arms." This work, which Sir Walter Scott allows to have suggested to him the character of Dugald Dalgetty, presents a singular medley of fighting and praying, pedantic conceit and strong good sense. Bravery stood foremost, certainly, among the qualities of these pensionary cavaliers. Says Monroe,

"When cannons are roaring, and bullets are flying,
If one would have honour, he must not fear dying."

The Scots were deemed even the "right hand of Gustavus in battle," and received from the enemy themselves the name of "the Invincibles." It is amusing to note with what naïveté Monroe passes from a seemingly profound spirit of Christian benevolence, to the triumphant recording of wholesale slaughters—to tales of garrisons cut off to a man, and of wonderful feats performed by single Scottish heroes. Nor does Monroe exaggerate; he is at least supported by other writers. One Scot is actually stated to have slain eighteen men in succession, with his own hand, during an attack on Frankfort-on-the-Oder. This worthy, could he but have found a few like himself, might really have turned Bobadil's plan for destroying an enemy from jest into earnest, and saved the expense of a standing army. But why should we smile at Monroe's seeming inconsistency, when we know that in all respects he only copied the great Gustavus, about whose sincerity of feeling and purpose men have never disputed? Still, in the most grave parts of Monroe's book, the strange inconsistency of war and Christianity, under the best aspects of the former, will force itself upon our notice. Can we doubt, on reading the following account of the death of Robert Monroe of Foulis, that soldiers have ever been but soldiers: "My cousin Foulis, being shot in the foot, retired to Ulm, and, through the smart of his wound, fell into a languishing fever; and, as the wound was painful to the body, so the sinful body was painful to the soule, the body being endangered except the wound were cured, and the soule was not sound till the body's sinnes were healed; and both for six weeks did much smart the patient, while as his wounds were dressed. But, though his bodily wound was incurable, yet his soule was cured by the punishment of his body. For, all the time, he, like a good Christian, made himself familiar by prayers unto God, till he found reconciliation through Christ. So that his end was glorious, though his life was painful. O! happy wounds that killed the body, seeing they were the means to save the soule by bringing him to repentance!" No man can doubt, on reading these and the like words, that the general objects of such men as the Monroes (in joining in the continental wars) were good; but it is not less clear, that their adopted way of life led them into sinful lapses, deeply regretted on their death-beds.

Robert, eighteenth baron of Foulis, dying thus in Germany in 1633, was succeeded by his nearest male heir, Sir Henry Monroe, also a soldier of note in foreign service, and who, on coming over to Britain in 1633, received immediately the compliment of a Baronetcy of Nova Scotia from Charles I. He returned to Germany, where he died in 1635, being succeeded in his honours and estates by his son, Sir Hector Monroe. On the decease of the second baronet in 1651, the title and property devolved on Robert Monroe of Opisdale, grandson to George, third son of the fifteenth baron of Foulis. To this Opisdale branch belonged the author of "Monroe His Expedition," already men-

tioned, and who was indeed the uncle of the new successor to the title. The gentry of the house were so numerous, however, as to leave the Monroe chiefship in no danger of such extinction as threatened that of the Sinclairs. In the service of Gustavus and other continental princes, there flourished not less than "three generals, eight colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, and above thirty captains, all of the name of Monroe, besides a great number of subalterns." So says Dr Doddridge, speaking from family documents. Our readers may be surprised that a clan, always secondary in numbers, should have sent forth such a host of offshoots, every one of whom could probably have traced his connection with the main family-tree. But the matter is explicable without difficulty. Those of the Gaelic families who were less in intercourse with the Lowlands, cast their cadets usually upon the world with *new names*. Evan Macivor, had he left his chief, would have gone into the world as Evan Maccombich, and so in a manner have lost his old and true appellation. But the Monroe cadets remained always Monroes, not following the Gaelic system of varying nomenclature. In short, they enjoyed from position all the advantages of regular baptismal registration, and found in their Christian names a sufficient distinction, rendering it unnecessary for them to be called Rob Roys, or Evan Dhus, as their complexions might be red or black, or Gow Chroms, because their legs chanced to be bandy.

Among the Monroes engaged in the European wars of the seventeenth century, and whose great numbers have led to this digression, General Robert Monroe, the annalist of their actions, best deserves a special and further word of notice. He was one of the veteran soldiers whom Charles I. called to his aid (in 1641), but was chiefly employed in Ireland, fortunately for his own reputation. Dr Doddridge says of him—"He had the honour to be in the number of those by whom God gave blood to drink to those miscreants who had rendered themselves so eminently worthy of it by a series of outrages, which the most sanguinary and detestable faction on earth (I mean that of popery) has seldom been able to exceed. For in the year 1644, this illustrious commander, at the head of 14,000 of the Scotch and English Protestants, fought and defeated 22,000 of the Irish in Ulster, killed and took many thousands of them, and seized on all their goods (cattle and provisions)." These are the words of the worthy Christian pastor, Dr Doddridge, who, almost in one and the same breath, praises General Monroe for loyally serving the Stewarts against the papistical Irish, and commends his main hero, Colonel Gardiner, for acting against the papistical Stewarts. General Robert Monroe kept a high command in Ireland till 1645, when he was surprised and taken prisoner personally by General Monk. He died very soon afterwards. Another brave soldier and knight, Sir George Monroe, succeeded his uncle the general in the Irish command. He there held the rank of colonel; and, being made a major-general subsequently, he acted with the Royalist troops until the Parliamentary party became uppermost, when he joined Charles II. in Holland. At the Restoration he was appointed lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland.

The line of Foulis was continued by Sir John Monroe, who fell heir to Sir Robert, his father, A.D. 1668. This Sir John proved a firm supporter of the Revolution in the Scottish Convention of Estates, and a not less strenuous advocate in his time of Presbytery. On the latter account he was nicknamed, being a man of large frame, "the Presbyterian Mortar-piece." To his honour be it recorded, that he adopted and adhered to his party unswervingly long ere the change of 1688 made their cause the dominant one, and had suffered grievously, both in purse and person, in consequence. Notwithstanding the loyalty of his sires, the last Stewarts had permitted Sir John Monroe to be fined severely and imprisoned cruelly by their Scottish ministers. He died in 1696, and left an heir, Sir Robert, who had the misfortune, in the outset of life, to be secluded from its business by the loss of his sight. His eldest son, however, who succeeded in 1729, was a man who made no small figure in the world during his

career; and we take leave here to curtail the account given of him and his brothers by Dr Doddridge, that divine being his personal friend:—

“Sir Robert Monroe, twenty seventh baron of Foulis, succeeded his father, A. D. 1729. He went early from the university to the camp, where he served seven years in Flanders, being some time captain in the Royal Scots. It was here that Sir Robert contracted that acquaintance and strict friendship with good Colonel Gardiner, which ran through the remainder of their lives, and of which each was so worthy. On Sir Robert's return from Flanders, he, with his clan, in conjunction with the Earl of Sutherland, kept the Earl of Seaforth, with 3000 men under his command, from joining the rebel camp at Perth, for near two months; and thereby prevented the Earl of Mar from crossing the Forth till the Duke of Argyle had gathered strength sufficient to oppose him. He was, in the year 1716, made a commissioner of inquiry into the forfeited estates of the rebels; and such was the compassion and humanity which tempered his high courage, that by his interest with the government he did eminent service to the unfortunate widows and children of such as had, to the ruin of their families, been engaged in the rebellion. Sir Robert was thirty years a member of parliament by his family interest, during which time he always maintained the firmest attachment to the service of his majesty and his royal father, and to the religion and liberties of his country. His fidelity and zeal for these did not need to be purchased, solicited, or quickened, by personal favours: it continued through all this period unshaken and active, though, from the ending of his commission of inquiry in 1724 till the year 1740, he had no post under the government. He then found the nation was to be involved in a foreign war, the necessity of which was generally apprehended and acknowledged; and therefore, though his friends thought his merit and experience might have pretended to something more, as he had been in the rank of a lieutenant-colonel twenty-five years, his heart was too generous and too warm not to accept of the same commission, which was then given him in the Highland regiment. This regiment, when first formed out of independent Highland companies, was under the command of the Earl of Crawford as its colonel, who, all the while he stood in that relation to it, was abroad, confined by the wounds he had received as a volunteer against the Turks. During this time Sir Robert Monroe was his lordship's lieutenant-colonel.

The behaviour of Sir Robert Monroe and this regiment at the battle of Fontenoy was heard through all Britain. He had obtained leave of his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland to allow them their own way of fighting. They were early in the field, and were ordered to attack the main battery of the French at the village from which the battle derives its name, which they did, and drove the enemy from it; but finding the body of the French forces deeply entrenched behind the battery, they did not give over the charge, but bravely drew up to attack them. Sir Robert, according to the usage of his countrymen, ordered the whole regiment ‘to clap to the ground’ on receiving the French fire; and instantly, as soon as it was discharged, they sprung up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them, to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through their own lines; then retreating, they drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times that day, to the surprise of the whole army. Sir Robert was everywhere with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency; and when in the trenches, he was hauled out again by the legs and arms by his own men. And it is observable, that when he commanded the whole regiment to ‘clap to the ground,’ *he himself alone with the colours behind him stood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy;* and this, because (as he said), though he could easily lie down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly. His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment, not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action. It is added that, on the retreat of our army, the Highland regiment was in the rear; and a great body of the French horse being ordered to pursue, Sir Robert made his regiment face about, and gave them a general fire, so full and effectual, that a great number of them being brought to the ground, the rest wheeled about and rode off. But to close what relates to Sir Robert Monroe: as an acknowledgment for his brave services at Fontenoy, as well as on former occasions, his majesty was pleased to appoint him to succeed General Ponsonby, who was slain there in the command of his regiment, which was among the troops that arrived at Newcastle during the rebellion, and made a part of General Wade's army. They were afterwards ordered to Scotland; and being upon the left wing at the battle of Falkirk, on that fatal day, the 17th of January 1745-6, they shamefully left their brave colonel and lieutenant-colonel, with five or six more of their officers, to be cut in pieces. By the account which the rebels themselves give of Sir Robert, he defended himself against six of them with his half-pike, and killed two of their number: upon which, a seventh came up and (as they expressed it) poured a shot into his belly, which brought him immediately to the ground. In this dreadful moment, in the midst of all this extremity, his brother, Dr Monroe, whom the warmest remonstrances of his friends could not divert from exposing his person in defence of his country, and who was near at hand, ran to him to support him, attended by his servant and the surgeon of the regiment; but they were all murdered on the spot, in the most barbarous manner, by those cruel men. Sir Robert's body was the next day sought out, and his face was so cut and mangled by these savages after he fell, that it could scarce be known. He was found and buried honourably in the church-yard of Falkirk by the Macdonalds, who, though engaged in rebellion against their lawful sovereign, could not but pay some public regard to the memory of so valiant a man, the principal persons among the

rebels attending him all the way to the grave. And thus fell those two brave brothers. There yet remained one valiant brother of this family, whom Providence reserved for a few months, before he shared the fate of the other two. The person I mean was Captain George Monroe, of Culcairn. Captain Monroe was the second brother of the family, the doctor being the youngest son. He, like the other gentlemen, had the advantage of a very liberal education, and soon discovered marks of a good genius, which might have qualified him for making a figure under any character in the learned world. But his taste and talents particularly lay for a military life; and in the year 1715, he behaved himself with great courage and activity during the whole course of that rebellion; and after the dispersion of the rebels he was employed in reducing the inhabitants of those Highland countries, and the adjacent isles, to a submission to the government. He had the satisfaction to see these foreign invaders, and their rebel abettors, totally routed and dispersed on the Pretender's birth-day, June 10th; and though his constitution suffered much by the loss of his blood on this occasion, yet it pleased God to recover him for further service to his country. The late wicked and unnatural rebellion broke out soon after his arrival; and the danger of his country and its religious and civil constitution, gave him at once a new stock of life and spirits. His diligence and zeal had been such in the whole of this rebellion, as rendered him obnoxious to the rage and revenge of the rebels, who had vowed his destruction upon the first opportunity; and because they had not courage to face him, they had recourse to the base method of assassination, which was effected on the Lord's day, the 31st of August, 1746. He was then on a long and necessary march at the head of 500 men, on the side of Locharkey, amongst the wild rocks of Lochaber, where, as he was passing by the side of a wood, between the advanced guard and the main body of his men, he was shot dead by a villain who concealed himself behind the trees and the rocks in the wood, and who, by the advantages of that situation, got off without being discovered, and has never since been found out; an event to the captain, no doubt, most happy, and a blessed kind of instantaneous translation to the regions of endless peace and triumphant joy; but to all who loved the public not to be mentioned without the tenderest sensibility and deepest regret. One of my correspondents on this occasion concludes his account of the deaths of Sir Robert, the doctor, and the captain, in these words: 'Thus died these three worthy men, to the irreparable loss of the country in which they lived; all of them remarkable for a brave spirit, full of love to their native land, and of disinterested zeal for religion and liberty; faithful in their promises, steadfast in their friendship, abundant in their charity to the poor and distressed; moderate in their resentments, and easy to be reconciled; and especially remarkable for their great and entire love to each other, so that one soul seemed, as it were, to actuate all the three.'

Sir Robert Monroe left a son, who became seventh Baronet and twenty-fifth Baron of Foulis. Sir Harry, as he was styled, enjoyed no mean eminence in his day as a classical scholar, being a particular friend of Ruddiman, one of the first Latinists whom Scotland has produced. Sir Harry criticised Buchanan's Psalms elaborately. At his decease in 1781, he was succeeded by his son Sir Hugh, who, by Miss Law, had issue a daughter, Mary Seymour Monroe. The present Sir Charles, ninth baronet, and twenty-seventh Baron of Foulis, came into possession of the family estates in 1848, at the death of Sir Hugh. The succession to Nova-Scotian baronetcies has of late been extended to other than male heirs. Some authorities count Sir Charles as thirtieth or thirty-first baron of Foulis; but the most feasible plan of chronology has been here adopted.

The family of Monroe has thrown off many offshoots besides those mentioned, who have become eminent at home and abroad, in arts and in arms. The successive physicians of the name of Monroe (or Monro), who flourished in the Scottish capital, and adorned its university, need scarcely be recalled to the memories of Scotsmen. They were directly descended from a younger son of the house of Foulis. While the Boerhaaves and Hallers stood at the head of medical science on the continent, the two first Monroes kept even pace with these eminent men, and fully sustained the honour of their country. Among the recent soldiers of note of the Monroe race, Sir Thomas (whose name is usually spelled Munro, as indeed has also been the case with the Foulis family of late) stands pre-eminent, having been one of the greatest props of the British power in the East Indies, at the close of last and the beginning of the present century. He held the post of Governor of Fort St George, and other high offices at various times, being even more distinguished as a statesman than in a military capacity. Sir Thomas rose to the rank of a Knight of the Bath and Major-General (in connection with the Indian service); and finally, in 1825, he was honoured with a Baronetcy of Great Britain, represented since 1827 by the

present Sir Thomas Munro of Lindertis in Forfarshire. The Monroes of Milton have been held the eldest cadets of the Foulis house.

ARMS OF CLAN MONROE.

Or, an eagle's head erased, gules.

Crest. An eagle perching.

Supporters. Two eagles.

Motto. Dread God.

Badge. Eagle's feathers.

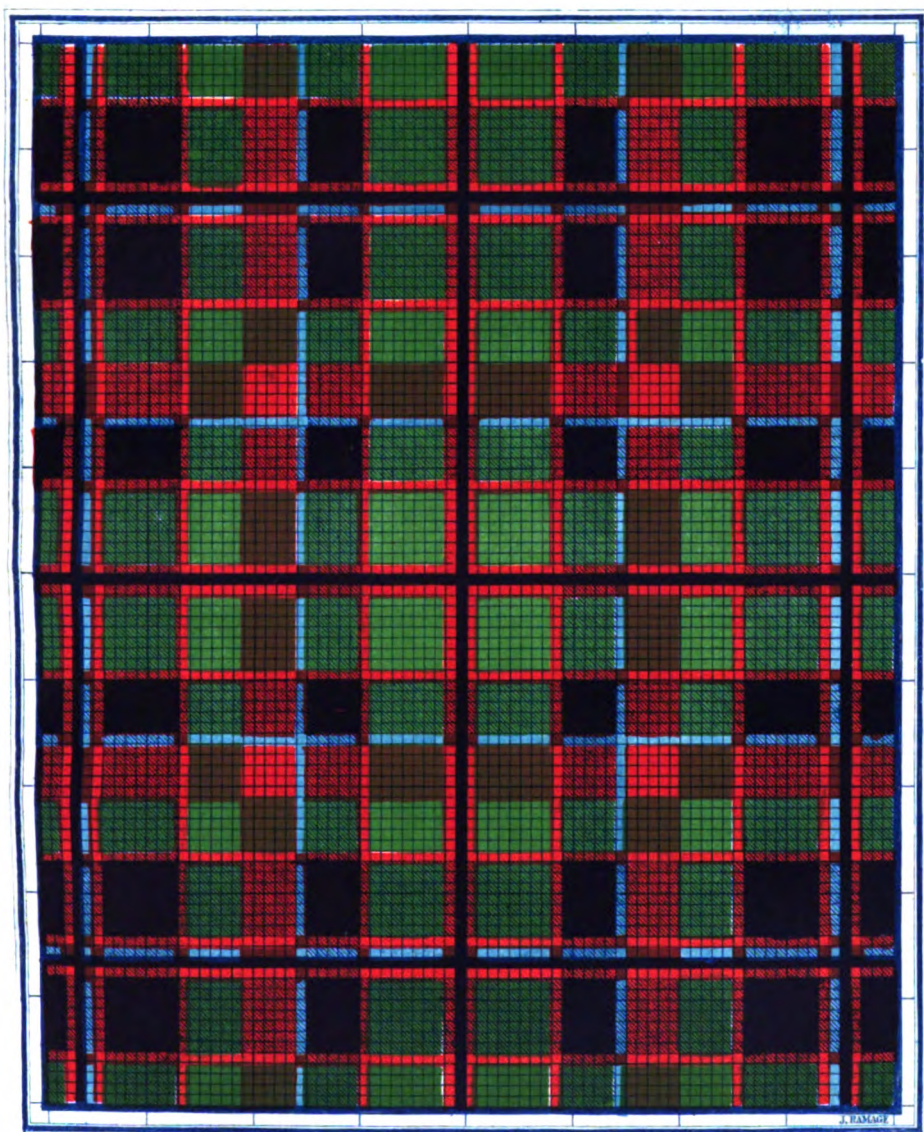
[The Arms of this family show pretty distinctly the punning or "canting" nature of nearly all heraldry. "I am of opinion that the armorial figures of this family are relative to their designation of Foulis" (Fowlis or Fowls). So writes Nisbet; and there can be little doubt of the correctness of his opinion.]



CLAN CUMYN.

The family of CUMYN, COMYN, CUMIN, CUMMIN, or CUMMING, merit notice among the septes of the north of Scotland, from the prominent figure which they made there in early times. But almost all authors agree in representing them as having come from England, and having been of either Norman or Saxon descent originally. The time when they migrated northwards is also well marked in history. The event occurred in the reign of David I. That prince still claimed a large part of the north of England, and, besides, had engaged deeply in the contests betwixt King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, which agitated South Britain in the twelfth century. He was thus brought into frequent contact with the barons of Northumberland and the adjoining districts, some of whom were properly his vassals, and many of whose younger sons followed him permanently into Scotland. In this way were founded various northern families in the time of King David, and among others, seemingly, the Cumyns. William Cumyn is the first of the name authentically mentioned in the Scottish annals. He had been trained clerically by Gaufréd, bishop of Durham, some time chancellor to Henry I.; and his abilities and experience appear to have recommended Cumyn to David of Scotland for the same high office in the north. He was nominated chancellor of Scotland in 1133; though we find him seizing on the bishopric of Durham in 1142, under countenance of a grant from the Empress Maude. But he soon after resigned it to the proper incumbent, reserving only certain of the episcopal estates for behoof of his nephew and heir, Richard.

Richard Cumyn, properly the founder of the line of the Scottish Cumyns, rose high in the service of William the Lion, and long acted as chief minister and judiciary of Scotland. During his life he held the lands of Northallerton and others, secured to him by his uncle in England; and he also obtained estates in Roxburghshire, the first property of the family in Scotland. That the Cumyns must have been of high importance in England is proved by, and in part explains, their sudden elevation in the north. Richard Cumyn even intermarried with the royal family of Scotland, wedding Hexilda, great-granddaughter of the "gracious" King Duncan of "Macbeth." Winton, the worthy Prior of Lochleven, who wrote about 1420 A.C., calls the husband of Hexilda "William," and not Richard; but the chronicler goes far to destroy the weight of his testimony by adding that the said William (to whom he gives a Norman origin) got his name from being keeper of the royal chamber, and from saying to all applicants, "Cum in" (Come in), these being the only Scottish words at his command! This tale almost exceeds the one told of the Guthries. That truly



respectable house has been traced to a fisherman, who once served his king with trouts or haddocks in a hungry emergency. The royal guest thought that two of the fishes would be enough for a meal. "Gut two," said the monarch accordingly. "Gut two!" cried the loyal host, "I'll gut three!" and his gratified majesty finally paid for the dinner both with a name (Gut-thrie) and an estate. After all, if we are gravely asked to believe that a great name and family arose from a certain man merely carrying a "buck" through a "cleugh," we must not laugh too loudly at the "Come in" and "Gut thrie" cases.

Richard Cumyn, after a life of honour and activity, died about 1190, leaving William as his heir in all his main estates. It seems probable, as has been said, that their English possessions first gave to the Cumyns consequence in Scotland. We find this son of Richard sent as envoy by William the Lion to congratulate King John, on his succeeding Cœur de Lion on the throne in the year 1200; and, in various other embassies to the same court, Cumyn was always a party employed. Like his sire, he held the high place of justiciary of Scotland; and grants of property were made to him in a number of quarters. It was through his marriage, however, with Marjory, Countess of Buchan in her own right, that one great northern branch of the Cumyn family seems to have been founded. That marriage was his second one; but, though the name of his first lady has not been put on record, her offspring, who held large estates both in the north and south, constituted the most important section of the family historically. No doubt, all of the name usually acted together; and, when they so acted, their power was never surpassed, indeed scarcely rivalled, by that of any baronial family of the kingdom in those days. This fact became evident in the times of Wallace and Bruce. The existence of two lines of the Cumyns, however, is apt to confuse their annals. Let us, as distinctly as possible, follow, in the first place, the senior branch, called usually the "Lords of Badenoch," a district of about thirty miles in extent every way, and chiefly lying in the shire of Inverness.

From the first marriage of William Cumyn, then, who died in 1233, Richard and Walter sprung, both inheritors of large properties. It would appear that Walter, who obtained the title of Earl of Menteith, was endowed at first with the main northern lands, while the elder son received the extensive estates of his sire in the north of England and south of Scotland. But Walter left no heirs of his body, and all his possessions went in time to the descendants of Richard. The half-brother of Richard; to wit, the son of Marjory, Countess of Buchan, became in due course Earl of Buchan; and thus at least three powerful lords of the name existed at one and the same date, though the Menteith earldom, as observed, soon merged in the possessions of the elder branch, which became especially known as that of Badenoch.

John Cumyn, son of Richard, and heir of that line, received popularly the name of "The Red Cumyn," from his complexion in all likelihood. He was a man of ability, but "too rash and ready of hand," as Fordun says. He acted a conspicuous part during the minority of Alexander III., and, though strongly opposed, obtained the keeping (A.D. 1257) of the person of that prince, in whose name he governed Scotland for a time, aided by his influential connections. Red John was made (or made himself) Justiciary of Galloway, or governor of all the south-east of North Britain. To his credit, he joined the other jealous barons, who demanded security from Henry III. of England before they would allow the young Queen of Scotland to go to London for her accouchement. She was Henry's own daughter. What a picture of the times! John Cumyn, however, led a body of Scots to aid Henry against his rebellious peers in 1264, and his colleagues on the occasion were John Baliol and Robert Bruce. These names, with his own, tell us very plainly into what hands the principal power had now fallen in Scotland. Cumyn died about the year 1274. He had been wedded twice; and William, his eldest son, appears to have married his own cousin, the heiress of Menteith, but to have left no issue. John, the next son, inherited ere long the paternal possessions; while a younger scion is

understood to have founded the family of the Cumyns or Cummings of Altyre, who, succeeding (in 1795) to the property of Sir William Gordon of Gordonston, Premier Baronet of Nova Scotia, are now represented by Sir William Cumming Gordon, Bart. of Altyre and Gordonston, in the Baronetcy of the United Kingdom. A male heir succeeded to the old title.

The course of our history now leads us to the second John Cumyn, designed generally Lord of Badenoch. The possessions of his kinsman of Menteith fell to him, as said, and gave him fresh weight in the north. "The Black Cumyn" formed his popular distinctive appellation. He is named among the "Magnates" of Scotland who settled the Norwegian marriage of the Princess Margaret in 1281, and was one of those who agreed to maintain her title against all opponents. In 1286, on the decease of that princess, he was one of the six great barons selected to act as guardians or regents of the kingdom during the minority of her daughter. But that daughter also died, and then began the memorable struggle for the Scottish crown, in which the Cumyns took and held an interest second only to that of the Bruces and Baliols. The Black Cumyn, indeed, stood forth originally as a candidate for the crown, being descended from King Duncan by the daughter of his son Donalbane. But his claim on this score could not stand against the preferable ones of Baliol and Bruce, and was soon withdrawn. By his union, however, with Marjory, sister of King John Baliol, he acquired new claims relatively to the crown, or at least left such to his son, who became in consequence the most formidable rival of that younger Robert Bruce, to whom the Scottish throne ultimately fell.

At what precise period John Cumyn the Black died is not clearly marked in history. He lived in 1299; but his son and heir, John, styled "The Red," like his grandsire, had before that period assumed the leading of his powerful clan and house. By his birth, this John Cumyn felt naturally attached to the Baliols, and as naturally adhered to the English king, Edward I., so long as that prince formed the great support of the Baliols. Besides, he wedded an English lady of high and almost regal rank, Joan, sister and co-heir of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, whose father was uterine brother to Henry III. However, the whole career of the Red Cumyn presents a tissue of inconsistencies, caused partly by the changing circumstances of the time, and partly by his own character—ambitious, and yet indecisive. After the crowning of Baliol in 1292, matters did not long remain quiet betwixt Scotland and England, and Cumyn joined the patriotic army which invaded the latter country in 1296, to take revenge on Edward for his imperious tyranny. John the Red fell on this occasion into the hands of the enemy, but was soon released, if not restored to favour by King Edward. At this period Sir William Wallace had already risen to foremost eminence in Scotland, as the dauntless and unwearied opponent of English domination. After the return home of Cumyn, Wallace met the English in battle at Falkirk (A.D. 1298). The army of King Edward, there present in person, far outnumbered that of the Scots; and the latter laboured under a still heavier disadvantage, if our national historians may be believed. Wallace, Stewart, and Cumyn were all there, and quarrelled as to the right of command in the engagement, the first claiming it as guardian of Scotland, the second as representing the Lord High Steward, and the last on account of his royal blood; and it is further said that each headed a separate corps of ten thousand men, rendering the dissension fatal. On Cumyn the chief blame has been laid by the narrators of this story; and, indeed, Buchanan and others declare him to have retreated without striking a single blow, leaving Wallace to defeat, and Stewart to death. Such was the real issue of the fight of Falkirk, certainly, where fell also the "*fidus Achates*" of Wallace, Sir John the Graham. Lord Hailes, the most inveterate of historical sceptics, supposes Scottish pride to have merely invented this charge against Cumyn to palliate the defeat of Wallace; but the tale has been too often and too clearly told to be wholly without foundation. That the Red Lord of Badenoch did murmur at the ascendancy of Wallace, is rendered more than probable by the fact, that the same unwise conduct is ascribed to Stewart, who nevertheless fought and died on the field;

but, though Cumyn may not have exerted himself as he ought to have done, the great superiority of the enemy may well account for his discomfiture, as for that of Wallace, without implying positive cowardice or treachery. This view of the case is made the more feasible by the nomination of Cumyn as one of the guardians of Scotland in the next year, 1299, and also by his general conduct in that high office. In 1302 he joined forces with the noted patriot, Sir Simon Fraser of Tweeddale, and defeated the English upon the Muir of Roslin. The enemy came up in three bodies, each exceeding the Scots in numbers, making the victory, over all successively, indeed signal and triumphant. It has been by some conjectured that the John Cumyn who here acted so patriotically was not the Red Cumyn of history, before and afterwards noted under circumstances less favourable to his fame. But, though the existence of three John Cumyns in succession in one family, and the fact that there lived other powerful barons of the name and kindred in the same age, have led to some confusion in the matter, the victor of the English at Roslin was certainly the noted (and second) Red Cumyn finally slain by Bruce. After that victory he is distinctly mentioned as continuing to act against Edward I. with Simon Fraser and Wallace. Langtoft thus writes, not very long after the period :—

“The Lord of Badenauh, Freselle, and Walais,
Lived at thieves’ law, ever robbing all wayes.”

They were forced into a state of outlawry, no doubt, by the fresh visit of the English king to Scotland in 1303, when he again conquered the country, and destroyed its records. Cumyn attempted to hold out Stirling Castle, but was forced to capitulate. The noble career of Wallace now approached its close. On the 5th of August, 1305, he was betrayed by Sir John (Stewart *de*) Menteith, or, at all events, was by him delivered up, when taken, to the English sovereign, to sustain a death as disgraceful to its authors as to himself glorious.

The Red Cumyn, as far as we learn, fulfilled generally the duties of a patriot while acting as one of the three regents of Scotland, appointed on the resignation of the guardianship by Wallace. The other two were Lord Soulis and Bishop Lamberton. It seems as if Cumyn had from that time no longer felt jealous of Wallace; but, unhappily, the prominent entrance of Robert the Bruce on the scene, immediately on the decease of the Ayrshire hero, appears to have awakened anew the personal ambition of the Lord of Badenoch. Indeed, he might have always had an eye to the throne, on the pacification of the country and expulsion of the English finally. With Bruce he was peculiarly placed. Undoubtedly, through his mother, Marjory Baliol, he had a claim to the crown preferable to that of Bruce, if the Baliols were the true heirs, and the males of their house were to be held as set aside by their own renunciation. It may easily be conceived, therefore, how suspiciously these two princely barons must have looked on each other, powerful and aspiring as they both were. They entered into a bond, it is authentically said, which amply shows their jealous feelings. Both of them expressed a strong desire to throw off the English domination, and agreed that they should join to effect this end, Bruce being to receive the crown when it was attained, while conceding all his private family estates to Cumyn by way of compensation. It is also stated that Bruce went to England to keep Edward unsuspecting of what was designed. Almost all our historians speak of such a bond, and almost all of them add that Cumyn broke it, by giving information thereof to Edward. This point is, on the whole, doubtful, but not so the issue. If the Lord of Badenoch did not inform the English monarch of the adverse purpose in view, some one else seems certainly to have done so, since nearly every annalist agrees that Bruce hurriedly left the English court, and fled in fear of his life, having been warned of his peril by the singular present of a pair of spurs and a piece of money, sent from his friend the Earl of Montgomery. The future King of Scotland had acuteness enough to understand the hint, and set off northwards at once, inverting or reverting the very shoes of his horses to baffle pursuit. He came to Scotland, and arranged a meeting with the Red Cumyn. They soon stood alone, face to face, before the high altar of the Church

of the Minorites in Dumfries. What words actually passed between them can never be known with certainty. Bruce himself ever stated, that he charged Cumyn with perfidy, and that the charge led to a quarrel. Be this as it may, after the pair had been together for some time, Bruce rushed forth in an agitated state, pale and bloody, and cried to the two friends in waiting for him, the chiefs of Lindsay and Kirkpatrick, "I doubt I have slain the Red Cumyn!" "Do you doubt?" exclaimed Kirkpatrick; "I mak sicker" (I make sure). He thereupon burst, along with Lindsay, into the church, where the two despatched the wounded Cumyn with their daggers. This terrible act could not have been premeditated, one would say, on the part of Bruce, otherwise he would scarcely, in those times, have chosen a church as its scene. He was more blamed for the scene, in fact, than for the deed. The assassination of Cumyn must, on the whole, be ascribed to a momentary ebullition of passion, resulting mainly from the unfortunate solitary meeting betwixt these haughty and powerful men, who found their interests irreconcilable. Bruce lamented what he had done as long as he lived. Some historians say that there must have been forethought on his part, because Cumyn's uncle and others of the party were also slain on the occasion. But the spirit shown by the companions of Bruce will readily account for all such subsidiary excesses. The motto of "I mak sicker" has even been the glory of the Kirkpatricks from that day to the present. This action rendered Bruce and his friends in reality desperate. Conscious that he had brought on his head the assured wrath at once of the King of England, the church, and the Cumyns, Robert resolved to throw off all disguise, and claim the throne of Scotland in the open face of day. He went soon after to Scone, and was there crowned. Few were there to cry "God save the king!" His after sufferings and successes are among the *memorabilia* of history.

John, only son of the Cumyn who thus perished in the Minorite Church of Dumfries, enjoyed large rights through both mother and sire. All were rendered unavailing by the successes of his hereditary enemies. He died about 1325, without issue. His two sisters, one of whom married the Lord of Athole of the time, obtained some small share of the vast Cumyn domains. But, like the Macdougals of Lorn, and others who virulently opposed Robert Bruce, the family now under consideration fell in the world as their adversaries rose—and fell once and for ever.

A minor and yet powerful branch of the Cumyns requires a word of notice. It was founded through the (second) marriage of William Cumyn with Marjory, Countess of Buchan, already mentioned. Buchan was the name formerly given to the north-eastern district of Aberdeenshire, and which constituted an important earldom, held by many families, and for many generations. Falling to a sole heiress, Marjory, it was by her carried to her children by William Cumyn, at the close of the twelfth century. The first of them was Alexander, called second Earl of his line, younger (and half) brother to the Lord of Badenoch. Alexander, Earl of Buchan, acted a conspicuous part during the reigns of Alexander II. and III. He guaranteed the English peace of 1244, and held for many years the Justiciaryship of Scotland, which, indeed, appears to have been then almost hereditary in the Cumyn house. The still more eminent post of Constable of Scotland was acquired by him through his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester. The latter formed the head of one of the many baronial families of Norman and Saxon origin, who were either invited to the north by its own kings, or were planted there during the period of English supremacy. In the time of Edward I., many such houses must have been founded; and despite all changes, some of them settled permanently. In this way only can we explain how and wherefore a southern Earl of Winchester came to hold the constableship of Scotland. The Countess of Derby, elder daughter of Roger de Quincy, enjoyed the office for a time, but resigned it to her younger sister's husband, the Earl of Buchan. He occupied the post at the death of Alexander III., and is named as taking a part in all the matters relative to the regal succession. He was one of the six guardians of Scotland chosen at that momentous

epoch. As Roger de Quincy had wedded a co-heiress of the powerful Lord of Galloway, the Cumyns, strong in that region before, thereby obtained further and important rights and lands. At the death of Alexander in 1289, his son John became third Earl of the Cumyn line.

John, Earl of Buchan, had the misfortune to live in the troublous times which proved so fatal to the elder branch of his family. In the Bruce and Baliol contests, he followed the policy of his kinsman and chief, the Lord of Badenoch, adhering, for the most part, to the Baliols and the English interest. After the slaughter of the Red Cumyn at Dumfries (A.D. 1305), the Earl of Buchan opposed Bruce vigorously, bringing against the now crowned king "the whole Clan Cumyn," says Buchanan, "the power of which has never been equalled in Scotland before or since." But, though Robert sustained many reverses, he was always successful against Buchan. The latter assembled a large force (A.D. 1307), and met his great adversary on the river Esk, where it flows into the Mearns. The king here obtained decidedly the advantage, though no regular battle took place. Cumyn again tried his fortune, a few months afterwards, at Inverury, encouraged by the rumoured advance of a strong English army, and by the personal illness of the Bruce. Buchanan thus records what ensued—"John Cumyn, ambitious of the glory of finishing the war by himself, and hoping that Robert had either sunk under his disease and other distresses, or that his sickness would prevent his being present in the battle, marched against the enemy with all the forces which he could muster. Bruce, however, in order to animate his soldiers, ordered himself to be placed on horseback; and his appearance alone, although he could scarcely maintain his seat, even when sustained by two soldiers, infused such courage into the minds of his men, that never did they enter into battle with more alacrity." They were signally victorious (A.D. 1308). Cumyn and all his army fled before them, and a great slaughter took place, only checked by the humanity of the royal conqueror. This victory closed the defeats, and began the successes, of Robert Bruce.

No further eminent acts of the Cumyns are recorded in the annals of Scotland. John, third Earl of Buchan, retired to England, where he still possessed estates, and there died. He left behind him no children by his wife, Isabel, sister of the Earl of Fife—that illustrious lady who, in spite of her husband's enmity to Bruce, had placed the crown on the head of Robert at Scone in 1306, thereby fulfilling the high duties of her own house, the Macduffs, at all Scottish coronations. John, Earl of Buchan, had at least two brothers, the elder of whom, Alexander, usually reckoned as fourth earl, left two daughters. One of these became the wife of Henry de Beaumont, who assumed the Buchan title in her right, and obtained with her divers English properties in Leicestershire and elsewhere. He claimed the Scottish lands likewise, and formed one of the band of barons, disinherited by the Bruces, who stood by Edward Baliol in 1332, when he sought to regain the crown for his family. Successful for a time, the attempt of the younger Baliol failed ultimately, as history tells us. The house of Beaumont, however, continued to find representatives, and through them the Cumyn blood was kept unextinct. Several landed gentlemen of the Beaumont name yet exist; but the barony of Beaumont, of date 1309, was revived in 1840 by the Crown, in favour of Miles Thomas Stapleton, Esq. of Leicestershire, whose connection with the old line had been clearly established before the Peers. The present (Stapleton) Lord Beaumont, therefore, is an undoubted descendant, by the female side, of the Cumyns of Scotland. Another daughter of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, wedded a son of the Earl of Ross, and King Robert Bruce even gave to this pair a considerable portion of the northern patrimony of the house. But the Cumyns may be looked on as having fallen irretrievably when the Bruces rose. It was the natural policy of the successful party to crush the great rival house. Their very name became one of evil omen in their native country. An intelligent author (Mr Carrick) says, in his "Life of Wallace:—

"That they assisted in this last object themselves is but too apparent, otherwise it would be difficult to account for that odium which afterwards became attached to them. For while the

Scots, in the Low country, cried out against the 'fause Cumyn's kyn,' their vassals in Badenoch and Lochaber re-echoed the charge, till the very name became cognominal with deceit; so much so, that the following proverb is at this day remembered in those parts of the Highlands to which their influence extended:

'Fhad's a bhios crann an coille,
B'f'dh foill an Cuimeineach.'

(While there are trees in a wood, there will be deceit in a Cumyn.)

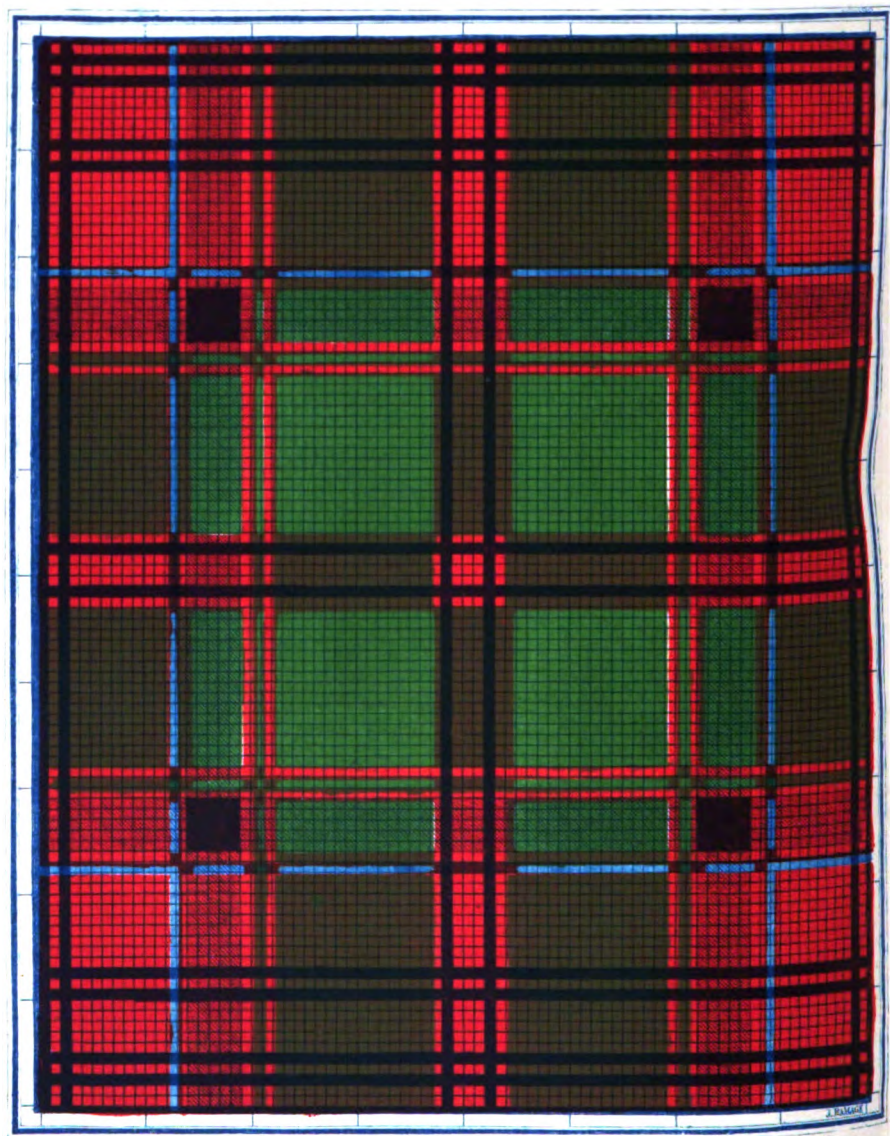
We will not, however, assert that the enmity of the Gael arose from the conduct of the Cumyns in the Low country; for if we may credit traditions still current in the West Highlands, this once powerful and oppressive family gave sufficient cause, in their own territorial bounds, for the antipathy of their neighbours and vassals. The atrocities which they committed in their castles of Inverlochy, Badenoch, and other strongholds which they polluted with their crimes, at last roused the slumbering vengeance of the people; and tradition, in her vague manner, dates the downfall of this potent clan from the time of 'Cumyn's flight from Onnich.'

The same author then tells the rest of the story. It describes a Cumyn chief as attempting to enforce the old law of the *mercheta mulierum*, which gave to a feudal lord such intolerable privileges in the case of marriages among his vassals—privileges certainly once existent, but long before compounded for by money habitually. Three marriages, it is said, had been arranged for the same day, and the brides were all very beautiful. But let Mr Carrick himself relate the issue:—

"The half-merk [of compensation money] had been tendered at the gates of Inverlochy, by the bridegrooms and their friends, and the refusal of it by the chief gave them reason to apprehend the fate that was intended for them. The case excited deep interest. The day of marriage approached, and brought along with it the Lord of Badenoch and his two sons, with their usual retinue. The half-merk was again tendered, and refused. The men drew their swords, determined to guard the purity of their fair ones. A conflict ensued; friends gathered to the assistance of the injured; the two sons of Cumyn were killed; while he, with the remains of his myrmidons, betook himself to flight. The country arose and made after him, till the affair swelled to a general insurrection. All his train were sacrificed to the fury of the pursuers, many, no doubt, having more serious grievances to revenge. The flight continued till their obnoxious chief reached a hill near the present site of Fort-Augustus; where, overcome with fatigue, he was seen to sit down apparently to rest himself. On coming up to him, however, they found that the wretched man had already paid the forfeit of his crimes. He was carried down and buried on the spot where the fort now stands, which is still known to old Highlanders by the name of 'Cill Chiumein,' or the burial-place of Cumyn; and the hill on which he died retains to this day the appellation of 'Suidh Chiumein,' or Cumyn's Seat. Very few of the clan are now to be found in these districts."

This rather interesting story may have had some foundation in truth, but it could occur in the case of no great chief of the Cumyn house, since the fates of these chiefs, one and all, Badenochs and Buchans, are sufficiently well known. It only shows more fully into what bad odour the family had fallen. We are so charitable as to believe that the preponderant power of the Bruces and their successors, the Stewarts, gave rise to the majority of these tales. Never, perhaps, did a princely family sink so rapidly and decisively as that of the Cumyns. History has actually few such cases on record; for, be it noted by English readers, we here speak of no petty race of squires, heading but petty handfuls of vassals. The Cumyns were men who could at will raise armies able to meet in the field all the power even of the Plantagenets. The Red Cumyn, who fell under the hand of Bruce, undoubtedly held sway over many Gaelic septa, afterwards better known and distinguished separately. "He was," in the words of a respectable author, "the Lord of Badenoch, Lochaber, and other extensive districts, and (in all) the head of the most potent clan that ever existed in Scotland." Upwards of "sixty belted knights, with all their vassals," were bound to follow his banner, and the chiefs of the family made treaties with princes as princes. One such compact with Llewellyn of Wales is preserved in Rhymers's "Foedera." It is for these reasons that we have thus fully told the story of the Cumyns. Some may ask how they came to leave so few of their name, if so very powerful at one time. Like the Bruces, they stood too high to permit of their family designation becoming common among their followers. Besides, they flourished and fell ere patronymics were at all fixed generally in Scotland.

XIV



Clan Drummond

And yet, in the reign of Alexander III., according to Hector Boece, four great barons and thirty landed knights bore the name of Cumyn. The extirpation, on the whole, must have been effectively carried out under the Bruces.

ARMS OF CLAN CUMYN.

Azure, three garbs, or.

CREST. A lion rampant, holding a dagger in dexter paw.

SUPPORTERS. Two wild horses.

MOTTO. Courage!

BADGE. Cumin Plant.

[The form of name used throughout, "Cumyn," has been set down as "Cumming" in connection with the plate, such being the spelling now adopted by the Altyre family, one of the few undoubted branches claiming descent from the ancient Cumyns.]



CLAN DRUMMOND.

The CLAN of the DRUMMONDS, like that of the Gordons (immediately to be noticed), occupied for centuries a foremost place among the families dwelling on the Highland borders; and if the name, and the line of the chiefs, may not be referred to a Gaelic original, certainly a very considerable proportion of the commonalty, at least, of the sept must be held as having been primarily Pictish or Celtic. They followed many of the Gaelic customs, and therefore may be fairly placed here among the clans of Scotland.

To the first Drummonds, indeed, a very peculiar descent has been ascribed by the annalists of their house. Drummond of Hawthornden, a poet and historian of the seventeenth century, of no common estimation, as all men know, tells us, that when the Saxon prince, Edgar Atheling, fled from the hostility of William the Norman, he found a refuge in Scotland, and brought with him various Hungarian gentlemen, originally attached to the train of his mother Agatha, daughter of the King of Hungary. It is further recorded, that Malcolm III. of Scotland not only entertained the expelled Edgar hospitably, but took to wife his sister, the princess Margaret. This latter statement is historically correct. Hawthornden then proceeds to say, that among these attendant Hungarians there was one party eminent above his fellows, who, for his good service in the conduct of the navy of the royal strangers, received various lands and honours from Malcolm III. He also obtained a name, that name being Drummond. As to its source, the choice is given to us to compound it out of the Gaelic *drum* (a height), and the Latin *unda* (a wave); or out of *dromon*, a swift-sailing vessel. And another old annalist of the family, himself a Drummond of no mean rank (first Viscount of Strathallan), writing about 1681, offers to us two other etymological explanations. "Pliny," he says, "tells of a fish swift in swimming called *Dromon*." From this fish, it is said, the name may have been taken; or it may be referred (the same writer observes) to *udor* and *mont*, a Graeco-Latin combination of terms, implying a "mountain of waters." All of these definitions bear allusion to the naval character of, or to the tempests undergone by, the Hungarian founder of the house. Such conjectures, really, are only calculated to excite a smile, if it were but from their incongruity. But all of them tend to establish one point; namely, that a stranger from over-seas actually originated the Drummond family. Admitting, however, that a certain Hungarian "Maurice" commanded the fleet (probably one ship) of the royal Saxon fugitives, Edgar Atheling, his mother, and his sisters—that they were

driven by a storm up the Forth, founding (by the way) "Queen's-ferry"—and that the union of the Scottish king, Malcolm Canmore, with the Saxon princess Margaret, raised the said Hungarian Maurice to high honours finally—we cannot but imagine that the adopted name of Drummond may be traced to a much more simple source than any yet suggested. The first lands with which the said Maurice was gifted lay admittedly in the Lennox; that is to say, in the extensive vale watered by the Leven. There, to this day, is to be found a village and parish called Drymen, holding about two thousand people. Now, we must take leave to think that the founders of the name were only lords of Drymen (or "de Drymen"). Viscount Strathallan admits, that the first lands, granted to this aforesaid Hungarian by Malcom III., "did lye in Dumbarton-shyre and the Lennox." But the Campbells call the Drummonds merely a branch of their western tribe, and point to a bond of 1533, where relationship is mutually acknowledged. David Lord Drummond, however, signer of that bond of 1533, had avouched his Hungarian descent in so remarkable a manner some short time previously, that he can only be held to have admitted relationship with the Campbells through marriage; and several such unions had really taken place. About the year 1418, a young cadet of the family had gone abroad to "pouss his fortunes," and had settled, and thriven, in the island of Madeira. He bore there the name of John "Escortio," it is said—a seeming mistake for *Escosia*, which is nearly the Portuguese term for a Scotsman. This gentleman left descendants, and these a-many. One of them, "Manuel Alphonso Ferriera Drummond," sent a message from Portugal in the time of the minority of James V., relating "the storie of his predecessor John Escortio, according as himselfe had revealed it at his death; and he earnestly desyred ane account of the family from which he was descended, with a testificate of their *gentilis*." To this truly Portuguese request, David Lord Drummond replied with equal pride of birth. He obtained "from the councell of Scotland a noble testimony, under the great seal of the kingdome, wherein the descent of the Drummonds from that first Hungarian Admiral to Queen Margaret is largely attested." Three prelates, and a number of peers and commoners, are the attesters. These personages but followed tradition, doubtless; but the proceeding shows what that tradition at the time was, and discountenances the idea of the descent of the Drummonds from the Campbells. Nevertheless, it is but fair to state, that the Earl of Argyle of the time is said "never to have subscribed the testificate." Seriously, is not this "ancient and noble science, of genealogy and heraldry," a difficult matter to form sound opinions anent? In the present case, the traditional evidence, ascribing the founder of the race of Drymmen or Drummond to Hungary, seems to us too potent and venerable to be justly set aside. Bishop Leslie adopts the Hungarian view of the case: and a curious MS. in the Advocates' Library, written by a Dane, supports it likewise.

Come whence he might, Maurice Drummond figured as Seneschal of the Lennox, during the reign of Malcolm (III.) Canmore, or in the early portion of the eleventh century. From this presumed Hungarian, Lord Strathallan tells us, are descended not only all the Drummonds, but, through their daughters, "the greatest and most ancient of our nobility, as also the whole royal family (of the Stewarts) since Robert III., besides many queens and princesses of foreign nations." This is a mighty vaunt, indeed; and it is borne out so far by the marriage of Annabella Drummond with the said King Robert, and by her having given birth to James I., ancestor of all the later Stewarts.

Maurice Drummond was immediately succeeded, in the Seneschalship of the Lennox by five descendants at least, namely, Malcolm, Maurice, John, and two other Malcolms. All of these were Stewards, Sheriffs, or Seneschals. Malcolm Beg Drummond, fifth from the Hungarian Maurice, united his family with that of the Lords of the Lennox, by wedding Ada, daughter of Maldwin, third Earl of the old Lennox line. Lord Strathallan tells us, that, as her sole brother Malcolm "died without heirs," the right of the posterity of Ada to succeed could not be doubted; but that the said Malcolm, "at the instigation of his father-in-law," (the too-noted) Sir John Menteith, resigned the earldom

before his death into the hands of King Robert the Bruce, who gave it to Robert Stewart. This story shows forcibly how little faith is to be placed in mere family traditions. Beyond all doubt, Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, left a son and heir, who again left heirs, so that the earldom did not become the possession of the Stewarts until the reign of James IV., when they obtained it in right of a previous marriage. [By the way, Sir John Haldane of Gleneagles, though the Stewarts proved too strong for him, established a distinctly superior claim at the time. As Admiral Duncan married the heiress of Gleneagles, their son, the present Earl of Camperdown, may be held as lineally representing the old Lords of Lennox.] Viscount Strathallan, whose story of the rights of Ada is utterly disproven by charters—"chields that winna ding"—goes on to tell us, that her son by Malcolm Beg, namely, Sir John Drummond, entered into bitter feuds with the Menteiths, in consequence of the supposed wrong done to him. But charters again show this Sir John to have been actually fifth or sixth in descent from Malcolm Beg. He did quarrel with the Menteiths, certainly, but the real reason lay in his obtaining large lands in Perthshire, by his union with Marie de Monfichet, daughter of the Lord Treasurer of Scotland. This marriage brought him into contact with the proper Menteiths of the Menteith district, through the very midst of whom his marriage threatened to carry him, and who had been, indeed, his feudal enemies before. This is proven by the fact that, after one violent contest in arms, wherein the Menteiths lost three of the leading men of their house, King David II. ordered the quarrel to be inquired into formally by the Justiciaries of Scotland, in presence of the Earls of Stratherne, Douglas, Arran, and others. The issue was an agreement, on the part of Sir John Drummond, to resign his Lennox lands, and retire wholly into Perthshire. On the other hand, the king consented to allot to him there the best share of the Monfichet lands, consisting of the baronies of Auchterarder, Stobhall, Cargill, and others, for centuries afterwards the property of the Drummonds of Perth. That Sir John was greatly favoured in this territorial partition, is proven by the fact that the two sisters of his wife fled to England in discontent, to complain to their Norman kin, and to Edward III. They only forfeited all thereby.

Sir John Drummond settled at Stobhall, from which residence (or from Cargill) his descendants were long designated. He died about 1373. Before mentioning his posterity, it may be observed that his younger brother, Maurice, became the founder of a second line of Perthshire Drummonds, having wedded the heiress of Henry, heritable Seneschal of Stratherne, to whose estate and office he succeeded. His offspring were styled of Concraig, and gave off numerous cadets, spreading the name widely.

Sir John Drummond, called by Strathallan the sixth, but almost certainly the tenth or eleventh from the Hungarian, founded the great Perth family of Drummond. His importance among the Scottish barons is shown by the elevation of his daughter Annabella to the Scottish throne, through her marriage with the Earl of Carrick, afterwards Robert III. She was mother to the unhappy Duke of Rothesay, starved to death at Falkland, as well as to James I.

Sir John left three sons, Sir Malcolm his heir, John Drummond, and William Drummond of Carnock, from the latter of whom descended the Hawthornden line, rendered illustrious by the poet of the name. Sir Malcolm took to wife Isobel daughter of the Earl of Douglas, by Margaret, Countess of Mar in her own right. On the death of her only brother, James, Earl of Douglas and Mar, she carried her heritable claims on the latter earldom to her spouse, Sir Malcolm Drummond, thenceforward designated Earl of Mar. Wintoun calls him—

"Schyre Malcolm of Drummond, Lord of Mar,
A manfull knyght, baith wise and war" (wary).

It was on the fall of Douglas at Otterbourne in 1388, that the title of Mar fell to the Drummond chieftain, who fought with his brother-in-law in that battle, and distinguished himself highly. He either captured, or aided largely in the capture of Sir Randolph Percy, brother of Hotspur, as is proven by two

several grants made to him in liquidation or lieu of the ransom paid by that knight, and which ransom seems never to have passed the royal treasury. Robert III. calls him "our beloved brother, Malcolm, Earl of Mar," in these deeds, as of kin to his queen. The end of Malcolm was unhappy. He was surprised and seized by a band of ruffians, who imprisoned him "till he died of his hard captivity." This took place before May, 1403, in which year his countess granted a charter as a widow. Certainly she remained such but a short time, and her second marriage throws a glimmer of light on the violent end of her first spouse. Alexander Stewart, a worthy son of the "Wolf of Badenoch," had fixed his eye on the Mar possessions, and, seizing on the Castle of Kildrummie, either forced or induced the widowed countess to become his bride. She soon afterwards installed him in all the titles and rights of a consort; but, as he found men to look most suspiciously on the mode of his elevation, he in person appeared at the castle-gates of Kildrummie, gave up its keys, and resigned every claim as its lord. The countess then reinstated him openly in possession of herself and all she owned in the world. It is impossible to fix any certain stigma upon her; but, when these events are fully considered, it is equally impossible to avoid setting down Stewart, a lawless bandit at best, as the probable author of the death of Malcolm Drummond.

As Malcolm died without issue, Sir John, his brother, became the next chief of the house. His lady was Elizabeth Sinclair, daughter of Henry, Earl of Orkney, and Lord of Roslin. By her, Sir John of Cargill and Stobhall, as he was styled, had several sons, of whom the youngest was the John Escortio (or Escossio) who went to Madeira, and of whom mention has already been made. Various letters, exchanged afterwards betwixt his descendants and the Drummond chiefs in Scotland, are given by Viscount Strathallan from the family chest. They are curious, and place the main facts of the story beyond dispute. The race of the emigrant had reached the number of two hundred, it is stated, in one hundred years.

Sir Walter, eldest son of Sir John, succeeded his sire in 1448. He died in 1455, leaving his heir Sir Malcolm, John, and Walter, the latter the founder of the Blair-Drummond line. This house is yet represented by flourishing landholders, but it nearly sustained extinction at a very early date. George Drummond of Blair, with his son William, were foully set upon by above twenty persons, and slain in cold blood as they were leaving the kirk of Blair, on the Sabbath-day, 3d June, 1554. The deed was ascribed to old feuds; but, as George Drummond bought the lands of Blair, and as not less than eight Blairs, including the Laird of Ard-Blair, were among the assassins, that purchase probably caused the cruel action. It brought on the doers heavy fines and long pilgrimages. One son, George, survived to continue the family of Blair-Drummond.

Sir Malcolm, heir of Sir Walter, left at his decease in 1470, by Marie Murray of Tullibardine, Sir John, with other children. In 1488, Sir John Drummond was created LORD DRUMMOND by James IV. This nobleman exhibited many sterling qualities, and was employed by two sovereigns in many public affairs. He managed his private concerns with great discretion, increasing greatly his estate, and strengthening his family alliances. But a sad event befell the family in his time, though he had no personal share therein. The marriage of his sire with a daughter of Tulliebardine had not reconciled the Murrays and the Drummonds; and, in 1490, William (or, as some say, David), master of Drummond, attended with a strong party, came upon the Murrays while assembled near the Kirk of Monivaird, and while engaged in "rydeing the teinds" (counting the tenths of the standing harvest) for the Abbot of Inchaffray, George Murray. The Murrays fled to the kirk as the best place of refuge; but in consequence of a shot (as alleged) from within, the assailants fired the sacred edifice. It was roofed with heather; and, in the conflagration, nearly all within the walls perished. Pitcottie states their numbers to have been "six score men, with their wives and children." This statement is exaggerated. It appears by the complaint of the Abbot of Inchaffray, that only nineteen men

fell victims ; and this number was more than enough. James IV. punished the ringleaders with death, and, among them, the Master of Drummond. His mother vainly begged his life on her knees ; and another petitioner also knelt fruitlessly, his sister Margaret. What renders this latter circumstance striking and romantic, is the position of Margaret in relation to the king. She was his "leman." Her beauty was remarkable, and, when they were both very young, James became so deeply enamoured of her, that he would have wedded her, if not withheld. The issue was the birth of a natural child. For ten or twelve years consecutively, the Royal Treasurer's books abound in gifts of jewellery, dresses, and money to "Mistress Margret Drummond," who indeed seems to have lived openly with the king. Her end was lamentable. James felt so much affection for her, that he would not marry while she lived. It is said by some, indeed, that he had wedded her privately, though illegally, their near relationship requiring a papal dispensation ; and there seemed to be some danger of his seeking such a dispensation even at the last. Those around him, at least, who were urgent for the English match, appear to have thought so, since the poor lady was removed by a dish of poison. There can be little doubt of the fact ; since her two sisters, who unexpectedly joined her at her final and fatal meal, fell sacrifices along with her. A last entry in the royal books notices a payment to the priests, for "a Soule-Mass for Mistress Margret !" Whether postponed on her account or not, the marriage of James IV. with Margaret Tudor, so long talked of, was soon afterwards celebrated. He gave to his natural daughter by Margaret Drummond a noble marriage, however, uniting her to the young chief of the Gordons.

The Master of Drummond was not saved by her intercessions, though she would have been successful, it is stated, but for the irritating language of her mother to the king. One can conceive it to have been on her account. "You have robbed me of a daughter," Lady Drummond might say, "repay me with the life of my son." But the Master died on the scaffold. He left a son who predeceased his grandsire, so that John Lord Drummond was succeeded by his great-grandson. The branches of Innerpeffrie, Belliclon, and others sprung from John and his sons, and the four sisters of poor "Margret" wedded severally the chiefs of the Douglas, Hamilton, Graham, and Fleming names. To his heir and to his successors generally, the first Lord Drummond left a paper of "Counsel and Advice," remarkable as being clearly and merely an expansion of the family Motto, "*Gang warrily*" (Walk warily). One phrase will give a perfect idea of the whole paper in question. "In all our doings *discretion* is to be observed, otherwise nothing can be done aright." As Wintoun calls the Drummond who fought at Otterbourne, "A manful knight, both wise and *wary*," it would seem as if "*warriness*" had been a frequent characteristic of the old Drummonds. The settlement of the family motto we should ascribe to the first Lord, he keeping in view, perhaps, the words of Wintoun. But it must be owned that his lordship, though he might frame an armorial motto, did not much respect the office or persons of Kings-at-Arms. When nearly eighty years of age, he actually stood up before the whole Privy Council of Scotland, and bestowed a sound buffet on the ear on Sir William Cummin, the Lyon-King, merely because that gentleman had dared to read officially a charge against the Earl of Angus, near kinsman to the Drummond. The latter was confined in the Castle of Blackness, and even sentenced to forfeiture, for the said offence. But the doom was ere long reversed.

David, second Lord Drummond, thanks to the "*warriness*" of his great grandsire, entered life (in 1519) as one of the most powerful and well-connected of the nobles of Scotland. On coming of age, he married his cousin Lady Margaret Stewart, the offspring (through a second marriage) of the natural daughter of James IV. by Margaret Drummond. That second marriage of the widowed Lady Gordon was contracted with a member of the royal line of Albany, and ensured further to the young Lord Drummond the favour of the crown. His union with his cousin was followed by the birth of an only daughter, married to an Ogilvie. By a second marriage with Liliass, daughter of Lord Ruthven,

David, Lord Drummond, had five daughters, the eldest four of whom respectively wedded the chiefs or heirs of the Montrose, Mar, Crawford, and Tullibardine houses, while the fifth became Lady Haldane of Gleneagles. Of Lord David's two sons, Patrick became his heir, and James, being created Lord MADERTY, founded the noble family of the VISCOUNTS STRATHALLAN.

Patrick succeeded as third Lord Drummond in 1571. By Elizabeth, daughter of David Lindsay of Edzell, finally eighth Earl of Crawford, he had (*exemplo patris*) five daughters, and two sons. The ladies formed high marriages, becoming severally, in due time, Countesses of Rothes, Dunfermline, and Roxburgh, Lady of Towie, and Baroness Elphinstone. Thus the daughters of the Lords Drummond, in the course of two generations, bound the family in close union with at least eight of the greatest houses of the Scottish nobility. Patrick, third lord, requires not much more notice. A writer of the age thus describes him: "Of an ancient house; hath an I(s)land of friendes in Stratherne; himself unhable in his hearing: and is presently in France." His third daughter Jane, Lady Roxburgh, a lady of great beauty, had the honour to be celebrated by the poet Daniel, and her virtue and parts were such as to lead her to be selected by the scrupulous Charles I. as the governess of his children.

James, eldest son of the third lord, succeeded about 1600, and, having been trained abroad, was chosen by James VI. to conduct a negotiation with the Spanish court, which he did so successfully, that the king created him EARL of PERTH, A.D. 1605. He married Lady Isabel Seton, but, dying prematurely without issue, was succeeded (in 1611) by his brother John.

John, second Earl of Perth, wedded Lady Jane Ker, eldest daughter of the Earl of Roxburgh by his first marriage. This lady brought to him two daughters (one of whom became Countess of Wigton), and five sons. Of these, a younger son, John, founded the Logie-Almond branch, and William became second Earl of Roxburgh, having married his maternal grandfather's heiress, Jane, eldest child of his only son. Being grand-daughter of his aunt, Jane Drummond, this lady stood bound to him by curious degrees of consanguinity. From them sprang two Earls and three Dukes of Roxburgh, all Drummonds in the male line; but the honours of that house finally passed to others.

The second Earl of Perth is described by Lord Strathallan as a man of great virtue, learning, and prudence. "Gang warriely" was his maxim, and the one which he inculcated on his children. But they did not follow it with the necessary strictness, and suffered thereby. James, his eldest son, inherited as third Earl of Perth in 1662. By the Lady Anne Gordon he became father of James, fourth Earl (A.D. 1675), and of John, created by Charles II. EARL of MELFORT. Almost unfortunately for themselves, these two brothers were men of marked ability, and well calculated to fill prominent places on the public stage, during the troubled times in which they lived. Strongly attached to the Stewarts, the Drummonds had endured much latterly for their loyalty. After the Restoration, however, the sun seemed to be on their side of the hedge, and James, Earl of Perth, was appointed Lord Justice-General of Scotland in 1682, and, in 1684, became Lord High Chancellor. During the brief reign of James VII., Lord Perth had the chief administration of Scottish affairs. He fell with his master, was seized and imprisoned while attempting flight, and finally received permission to leave the country on giving a bond not to return. He adhered in exile to James, and obtained the appointment of Governor to his son, the titular Prince of Wales. The title of Duke of PERTH was also bestowed on him. He died at St Germain's in his fifty-eighth year, A.D. 1776.

The fourth Earl of Perth had been thrice married, his first wife, Lady Jane, daughter of the Marquis of Douglas, bringing to him his heir, James, and Lady Mary, wedded to Earl Marischal. Lillias Drummond, and Lady Mary Gordon, by each of whom he had several children, were his second and third consorts. James, fifth earl, first distinguished himself (while bearing the style of Lord Drummond) in 1715, when he made a daring attempt to seize Edinburgh Castle for the Jacobites, then rising in arms. He contrived, by his agents, to seduce three soldiers of the garrison, and to engage them, on a certain night,

to be ready to pull up and fix rope-ladders, by which the walls might be scaled by himself with fifty stout clansmen at his heels, and a strong body of other assistants. Before the time, however, a person in the secret was observed by his wife to grow so uneasy, that she wormed the truth from him, and on the very appointed evening gave information of the design anonymously. The Castle Governor treated the matter lightly, and merely directed the night rounds to be made with care, without changing the order of the sentries. Thus, when the plotters arrived, they certainly found one of their friends on the walls prepared for his task; but where was their engineer? Their rope-ladder they knew to be incomplete; and he ought to have brought the addition wanted. However, they tried what they had; it was short by one fathom. While praying for the arrival of their engineer, the cry was raised suddenly by the sentinel—"Here are the rounds!" He then threw down the ladder and grapnel, and (to save himself) shouted "Enemy!" and fired his piece. The patrol rushed forward, and the conspirators fled. They met their engineer coming with materials, which, if on the required spot ten minutes previously, might have given to the rising of 1715 a different character. Lord Drummond had arranged to communicate with Mar by artillery and beacons in the event of success, and Mar was to have hurried to the occupation of the capital. All this goodly scheming ended in the execution of one of the soldiers, and the deposition of the Governor, who fell under the suspicion of complicity.

The author of this bold exploit joined Mar afterwards. On the failure of the insurrection of 1715, he was one of those whom the Chevalier, James Stewart, when he fled ultimately and secretly from his army, took with him to France, being probably a party necessary to his personal comforts. Lord Perth resided abroad for some years, remaining firm to his sentiments of loyalty. Nevertheless, he was afterwards allowed to return to Scotland, and occupy his estate peaceably. When the great rising of 1745 occurred, the Earl of Perth again appeared as a most important agent in the enterprise. Before coming to Scotland, Charles-Edward had sent to the Highland chiefs his definite resolve to strike a blow in person for the British throne. While others expressed doubts and fears, John, Earl (titular Duke) of Perth, alone countenanced the movement, declaring his resolve to "*stand alone by the Prince, even if he came alone.*" Accordingly, when the Chevalier landed, the Earl rapidly gathered two hundred men of his clan, and joined the standard of Prince Charles. Being, as Sir Walter Scott says, "a man of the most undoubted courage, but of no peculiar military talent," he acted mainly under the guidance of others throughout the 1745 campaign, only performing well every duty laid upon him. Not one person, however, attached to the standard of Prince Charles felt more truly interested in his cause; and, when the fatal battle of Culloden took place, the event seems literally to have broken his heart. He behaved on Culloden field with the most striking bravery. When the Macdonalds refused to fight on the left of the army, he called to them to "go on, and they would make the left the right," and swore that if they did so, "he would call himself thenceforth Macdonald." Lord Perth escaped after the action; but, as his father had died in the year following the previous unsuccessful rising, so the son departed this life in 1746. Mental anxiety, combined with bodily hurts and fatigue, carried him off at the early age of thirty-three, before he reached the Continent. He was a man of varied talents and accomplishments, a good draughtsman, and excellent mathematician.

John, his brother, and his uncle John, both confusedly called "Lords John Drummond," had also engaged in the cause of Charles-Edward. Being an officer in the French service, the brother of Perth had been chosen to bring over the few troops supplied by France in 1745. He held various commands throughout the insurrectionary campaign, and led the left of the first line at Culloden. Escaping with his brother, he succeeded, at the decease of the latter, to the chieftainship of the family; but its estates and titles were all forfeited. Various law proceedings, indeed, took place for their recovery, but the forfeiture continued in force up to 1784, when John, titular Duke of Perth, had gone to the grave without issue. An act of that date, however, induced James Drummond, descendant

and representative of John, first Earl of Melfort, to come forward, as the rightful heir of the Perth house; and, after proving his lineage, he obtained a crown grant of the estates, subject to certain claims and conditions. He entered into possession in 1785, and, during the same year, wedded Clementina Elphinstone, daughter of Lord Elphinstone. He was created **LORD PERTH** in the British Peerage, in 1797, and died at Drummond Castle, in July, 1800, leaving only one surviving child, the Hon. Clementina-Sarah Drummond, on whom he had settled his estates. This lady (born in 1786), the undoubted heiress of all the Drummonds, gave her hand, in 1807, to the Hon. Peter Robert Burrell, eldest son of Lord Gwydyr and the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, and ultimate successor to both these titles. By his lady, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, twentieth holder of that ancient English peerage, has had issue, the Hon. **ALBERIC DRUMMOND BURRELL**, born 1821; with Clementina-Elizabeth (married to Gilbert John Heathcote, Esq.), Elizabeth Susan, and Charlotte-Augusta-Isabella (wedded to Lord Carrington).

The origin of the Viscounts Strathallan has been mentioned. The first of their line, youngest son of the second Lord Drummond, and commendator of Inchaffray, was created **LORD MADERTY** in 1607, by King James VI. His lady was a Chisholm, and belonged to that branch of the family which gave rise to the song of "Cromlet's Lilt," so called from the estate of Cromlix in Perthshire, their special possession. It has been observed in this work, that the Chisholms were almost certainly a Border family; and Viscount Strathallan, grandson of the first Lord Maderty, confirms that supposition by styling his maternal ancestor "a sone of the Laird of Cheescholme's house in Teviotdale." In his day, the Chisholms, seemingly, had put forth no claims to a Gaelic origin. William Drummond, the founder of the Strathallan line, was a younger son of the second Lord Maderty, and obtained the dignity of **VISCOUNT STRATHALLAN** in 1686. Before his ennoblement, he had served "long in the wars at home and abroad," as he himself says in his account of the Drummond house, already alluded to here. He had fought for Charles I., and, on the downfall of that monarch, entered the employment of Peter, "the great Zaar of Moscovia." In a funeral sermon preached at his decease by Principal Monro of Edinburgh, it is said—"Now we have this generous soul in Moscovia, a stranger; and you may be sure the cavalier's coffers were not then of great weight; but he carried with him that which never forsook him till his last breath—resolution above the disasters of fortune, composure of spirit in the midst of adversity, and accomplishments proper for any station in court or camp that became a gentleman." After serving with honour "against the Polonians and Tartars," the subject of our notice was called home by Charles II., made Commander of the Forces in Scotland, and raised to the peerage, in 1686, as **VISCOUNT OF STRATHALLAN**. His grandson having no children, the title fell to the Maderty house, whereby both honours were finally conjoined. The Strathallans held the title up to 1745, when their adherence to Prince Charles led to the forfeiture of all their honours and estates. The fourth Viscount, indeed, lost his life at Culloden. Through the well-judged leniency of the house of Hanover, the viscountcy was restored, in 1824, to the family, which appears also to have recovered in part its possessions. James-Andrew-John-Lawrence-Charles Drummond is the present Viscount Strathallan and Lord Maderty, and, by Lady Amelia-Sophia, daughter of the Duke of Athol, has a son, the Hon. William-Henry, **MASTER OF STRATHALLAN**, and several other children. The Master of Strathallan wedded Christina, daughter of Robert Baird, Esq., and has issue.

Mention has been made of John, second son of the third Earl of Perth, as having attained to the title of **EARL OF MELFORT**. He won the favour of the Duke and also the Duchess of York during their stay in Scotland, and had the honour to be made a Viscount in 1685, and in 1686 an Earl, by James VII. He was, it is said, "very handsome; a fine dancer; well-bred; very ambitious; with abundance of lively sense; understood the belles-lettres; was very proud, and not able to bear a rival in business." Driven into exile with James VII., he had for some years the chief charge of affairs at St Germain, and was

created Duke of Melfort. He died in 1714. He had been twice married, and, by the heiress of Lundin in Fife, left that son who claimed and obtained the Perth succession, the titles excepted. By his second lady, he had many children, some of whose descendants appear yet to survive; since Captain George Drummond (late of the 93d regiment), claims all the titles of the Drummond house, as representing the Melforts in the male line. Supposing his descent proven, he would certainly be *de jure* the male head of the Drummonds; but the Scottish titles are all under attainder, and it is but right to add, that other parties have disputed the claim of Captain Drummond. In the meantime, Lady Willoughby de Eresby, undoubted heiress of the undoubted heir of the family, enjoys the estates, and is universally viewed by the Clan Drummond as their CHIEFTAINNESS.

The eminent men of the Drummond name have been numerous. William Drummond of Hawthornden is especially memorable, as one of the most elegant poets of his age (1585–1649). In calling him an “elegant” poet, however, we nearly sum up the due measure of his praise. His verse was characterised by singular purity of thought and language, but deficient in depth and force. Drummond imitated rather the Arcadianisms of Sidney, than the manly vein of Shakspeare and Jonson. And yet the latter rated him highly, and came on foot from London to visit him at Hawthornden. Drummond took notes of Rare Ben’s converse on that occasion, and has been bitterly blamed for so doing; but he himself never published these notes, and probably never dreamed of their publication. They seem to have sprung merely from the habits of a literary man, musing with the pen in his hand. At all events, they give an admittedly just picture of Ben Jonson. Would that they had been extensive as Boswell’s similar sketches of Sam Johnson!

Sir William Drummond of Logiealmond distinguished the name by his writings at the close of the eighteenth century. He was a man of ability, but had adopted many of the free-thinking notions set abroad at that epoch by the *philosophes* of France. Many other eminent men of the Drummond name might be pointed to, did space permit.

ARMS OF CLAN DRUMMOND.

Or, three bars, wavy, gules.

CREST. A sleuth-hound (on a ducal coronet laterally), collared and leashed.

SUPPORTERS. Two savages, wreathed about the head and loins with oak-leaves, bearing each a shouldered club, and standing on ground strewn with caltrops.

MOTTO. Gang warriily.

BADGE. Thyme (or mother of thyme).

[It is right to say, that the form of the Arms here given is not that set down by Lord Strathallan. He represents the field as “Or, three bars, ondes, gules;” and the wreaths are stated by him to be of “ivy.” The “ondes,” or waves, are held to indicate the calling of the Hungarian founder of the house. The “caltrops” represent the iron hooks, it is said, which the Bruce used at Bannockburn to lame the English cavalry; and it is understood that they were added to the Drummond Arms from the chief having either proposed the stratagem, or having been entrusted with turning it to account.]



CLAN GORDON.

The CLAN of the GORDONS stood second to none in the North, in point of power and numbers, during the later centuries of Scottish independence. The founders of the family were certainly not of Gaelic birth; although, on obtain-

ing properties in Aberdeenshire, they must have as usual brought under their sway, and given their name to, a section of the proper natives of that region. The Gordons, as old records clearly prove, had their settlement primarily in the county of Berwick. Whence they came, before occupying that locality, has not been rightly ascertained. Reasoning much in Fluellen's fashion, some parties have traced them to Macedon, because there was a town in that country, it is said, called Gordonia; while others have concluded them to be descendants of that "Bertrand Gourdon" who killed Richard I., at the siege of Chalos in Aquitaine, by an arrow-shot. Being taken captive before the death of the English king, the latter questioned him as to his motives, the act being done, not in the heat of fight, but with peculiar deliberation. "Wretch!" said Cœur de Lion, "what have I ever done to you, that you should seek my life?" "What have you done?" answered the undaunted prisoner; "you killed my father and my two brothers with your own hands, and you would have hanged myself. I am in your power; you may torture me as you will; but I shall bear all with pleasure, if assured that I have rid the world of such a nuisance." Death stared the Lion-Heart in the face. The chivalric deeds of which he had been once so proud did not now strike him in the same agreeable light; and he ordered Gourdon to be set free, and even presented him with a sum of money. But without the knowledge of the dying monarch, his angry followers flayed the poor archer alive, and then strung him up to the gallows-tree!

From this Bertrand Gourdon, then, say some writers, the Gordons sprung. The story has been most frequently applied to the special line of the Earls of Aberdeen. But the mere resemblance of names constitutes the only evidence producible in the case. We must therefore turn to the Parish of Gordon in Berwickshire, and content ourselves with the much more rational supposition, that the Gordons took their family appellation from that locality, which formed, most certainly, their first place of residence in Scotland. It is true that the parish of Gordon might have borrowed its name from them; and there unquestionably is, or once was, a manor called Gordon in Normandy. But it seems much more likely, on the whole, that the Gordons, probably Anglo-Normans by blood, were named "*de Gordon*" from their first acquired lands. They carried not only that designation to the north on moving thither, but also the subsidiary term of "*Huntly*," long their principal title in the peerage. Huntly, or Hunt-Lee, is still the name of a farm or farm-stead in the parish of Gordon, and occurs also as a local name in other parts of the Borders. An old and rude popular rhyme comprehends both names:

"*Huntly*. Wood—the wa's are doun,
Bassandean and Barrastoun,
Heckspeth wi' the yellow hair,
'*Gordon* gowks' for evermair."

If the Gordons were proverbially *gowks* (fools) in the Merse, they found a better title in their after location, being generally honoured with the proud title of the "*Cocks of the North*."

According to Chalmers, the founder of this ultimately great family came from the south in the time of David I., and from him obtained the lands in Berwickshire. His son, Richard, is distinctly mentioned in writs, as granting certain grounds to the monks of Kelso. A son, Thomas, confirmed these grants; and another Thomas, his successor, gave to the same monks additional lands, with part of his peatery of Brunmoss, and the right of felling timber, and pulling heath, on portions of his estates. Dying about 1258, he left an only daughter, who married her cousin Adam de Gordon. He, with other Scottish barons, joined Louis XI. (St Louis of France) in his famous crusade for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and died during the expedition. His son Adam succeeded at home, and seems to have fallen in fight, opposing the English in the days of Edward I.; but his wife retained the estates by swearing fealty to that prince, A.D. 1296. The heir of this pair, another Adam de Gordon, fought by the side of Sir William Wallace in the cause of Scotland. He acted as a warden of the marches in 1300, and was one of the ten commissioners ap-

pointed to settle Scottish affairs under King Edward in 1305. At the same date, that monarch fined him in three years' rents for former opposition and contumacy. For some time afterwards, Gordon appears to have adhered to England; but the growing power of Bruce gave full leave ere long to him and all others to indulge their national predilections. Gordon not only joined Bruce, but rose high in his good graces, and was one of the trusty barons sent to Rome to solicit the repeal of the sentence of excommunication, under which King Robert had been placed for the slaughter of the Red Cumyn. Sir Adam de Gordon received for his services a grant of the forfeited lands of *STRATHBOGIE*, the *nucleus* of the immense northern estates of his posterity. He fell at Halidon Hill in 1333, leaving his heir Alexander, and William, ancestor of the *Viscounts Kenmure*.

Sir Alexander de Gordon is believed to have fallen at the battle of Durham, in 1346. His son, Sir John, was also present on that field, and suffered captivity for some years. On his release, he obtained a charter from David II., confirming him in the northern or Strathbogie lands, re-confirmed to his son, another Sir John, by Robert II. The latter, however, was still a powerful Southern or Border baron in his day, and, as such, defeated a strong body of English invaders under Sir John Lilburn, in the year 1377. He was also one of the Scottish leaders who, in the following year, worsted and captured Sir Thomas Musgrave, governor of Berwick. Sir John fell at Otterbourne, combating with the Douglas against the Percy, A.D. 1388.

Sir Adam Gordon, his successor, fell likewise in battle. Attended by a mere handful of men, he had rushed down the hill at Homildon, A.D. 1402, and there perished, with all his followers, in a gallant but vain effort to retrieve the fortunes of the Scots on that unfortunate day. The increasing influence of the Gordons in the north is shown by the marriage of Sir Adam with Elisabeth Keith, a daughter of the Great-Marischal of Scotland. The sole offspring of their union was a daughter, Elisabeth, who bestowed her hand and possessions on Alexander Seton, a second son of the house of Winton. That personage spent an active life, battling at Harlaw against Donald of the Isles, and in France, for the Dauphin, against the English. Recalled by James I., he became one of the hostages for that prince, at the period of his release from his Windsor captivity. At his decease, Alexander Seton, "*Dominus de Gordon*," left two sons, the younger of whom became ancestor of the Setons of Meldrum, while Alexander, the elder, continued to represent the Gordons. He was created *EARL of HUNTLY* by James II., A.D. 1449-50. This is one of the few cases in which a Scottish noble reached the rank of Earl, without passing through the preliminary grade of Baron, or of Viscount. Though before called lords of Gordon, they seem not to have been peers of Parliament. The first lord of Huntly defeated the Earl of Crawford, then in rebellion against the crown, at Brechin, in the year 1452; and forced the Earls of Moray and Ormond, under similar circumstances, to fly from the mainland to the western isles. The already large estate of the earl was increased by his marriage with Jane Keith, the great-grand-daughter and heiress of the lord marischal; but, having no issue by that lady, he retained part only of her inheritance. By his second marriage, with Egidia Hay of Tullibody, he had one son, Sir Alexander; and, by a third marriage, with the daughter of Lord Crichton, chancellor of Scotland, he had issue George, another Alexander, and several other children. The eldest son, offspring of the second marriage, obtained the Lowland Seton property, founding the Touch and other branches of that house; but George, descendant of the third marriage, became the head of the Gordons. A similar disposition occurred, it will be remembered, in the case of the Sinclair family; and such divisions of property are mainly intelligible on the principle that southern estates were then held of more value, proportionately, than northern ones. Besides, the Seton succession was the proper *male* one in reality. George, then, eldest son of the third marriage, became second Earl of Huntly, in terms of the family settlement of 1449-50. He succeeded to his sire in 1470. The marriage made by him with a daughter of James I.,

may have helped to raise his standing in the world. Various charters, passed betwixt 1460 and 1490, prove his high rank through life among the nobles of Scotland. At the death of James III., he received the appointment of lieutenant of all the northern counties, and was also nominated Lord High Chancellor in 1498, which office he retained up to 1501 or 1502. Dying about the same date, his eldest son, Alexander, succeeded as third Earl of Huntly. A second son, ADAM, wedded the heiress of the family of SUTHERLAND, and by their children was the line of that noble house continued. A third son, Sir William, fell on the field of Flodden. From him sprung the Gordons of Gight, to which family George Gordon Byron, Lord Byron, owed his descent maternally. It would be affectation to tell the reader to which of the Byrons allusion is here made. The Byron of poetry stands aloof from all who ever bore the name, though the brave Admiral Byron still deservedly lives in men's memories. The noble bard, the wonder of his own day, and likely to be a riddle to the days to come, was proud of his descent from the Gordons, or Gordon-Setons, and through them from royalty. His progenitor, the second Earl of Huntly, had several daughters, three of whom severally wedded the heirs of the Crawford, Keith, and Hay families.

The eldest daughter, however, Lady Catharine, contracted a more singular marriage than any of her sisters. In the time of James IV., Perkin Warbeck came to Scotland, assuming the name and character of Richard, Duke of York, son of Edward IV. He averred that he had escaped from the Tower, and had not fallen a victim, as his brother did, to the murderous ambition of Richard III. King James appears actually to have at first believed this story, since he gave to Warbeck in marriage his own near kinswoman, Lady Catharine Gordon, one of the most beautiful women of her time. In short, James treated him in all respects as a prince, and even made an inroad on his account into England, with a view to try if York and the northern counties would acknowledge the alleged Duke of York. That attempt, as well as several others having the like purpose, failed utterly. Finally, Perkin Warbeck fell into the hands of Henry VII., who forced him to read a confession of his imposture, sitting in the public stocks. Being afterwards thrown into the Tower, he there rashly renewed his intrigues, and King Henry, who had been content to spare his life, sent him at length to the scaffold. His dying words placed the counterfeited nature of his claims beyond all doubt. With him died an alleged co-conspirator, the Earl of Warwick, last male of the royal line of Plantagenet. Hume justly calls this latter execution the "great blemish" of Henry VII.'s reign. To his credit, however, he treated Lady Catharine Gordon, wife and widow of Perkin Warbeck, with great clemency, even assigning her a pension for life. She ultimately wedded Sir Matthew Craddon, a Welsh gentleman of distinction. The fortunes of this scion of the Gordon line formed indeed a complete romance.

One of her brothers, not yet mentioned, was ancestor of the Gordons of Letterfourie. The holders of that property became ultimately Premier Barons of Nova Scotia.

Alexander, third Earl of Huntly, seems to have profited largely by royal favour and relationship, obtaining new possessions in Banffshire, in Lothian, in Strathern, as well as elsewhere. The forfeitures of the Cumyns, the Lords of Ross, and other nobles, enabled the crown to make these grants. The rapid growth of some families, and the equally swift downfall of others, are, in short, mainly explicable by the powers assumed by the crown, in old days, of punishing insurgents and offenders by arbitrarily stripping them of their estates, and of rewarding therewith those most active in their suppression. But, though the latter might receive charters from royalty, they had to look to their own heads on taking possession; and hence arose endless scenes of bloodshed. The stronger such grantees became, the greater chance had they, of course, of keeping the properties disposed to them at the cost of others, and often most unjustly. The Huntly family, at the period now under consideration, had waxed so powerful as at once to force favours from the throne, and to secure

them when conceded. It is not quite clear when the Huntly lords gave up their last Border possessions. Probably, the holding of them proved inconvenient, and led to the exchange of them for northern properties. Alexander, third earl, the most influential noble of the north in his day, at least augmented largely his patrimony in that quarter. He attended James IV. to the battle of Flodden in 1513, and had the rare fortune to leave that field with life. In the minority of King James V., he held the post of a leader in the council of regency, and acted as lieutenant of all Scotland, the West Highlands excepted. By his marriage with a daughter of the Earl of Athole, he had John Lord Gordon, and Alexander, ancestor of the old line of the Cluny Gordons. One daughter, by the same lady, became Countess of Argyle, and another Lady Menzies of Weem. A second marriage produced no issue.

John, Lord Gordon, predeceased his sire, leaving, by the natural daughter of James IV. and Margaret Drummond, George, who became fourth Earl of Huntly, and Alexander, who entered the church, and was raised by the Pope to the titular Archbishopric of Athens. The abbacy of Inchaffray at home, the see of the Isles, and finally the see of Galloway, would remunerate him more satisfactorily. Rather hurriedly for his reputation, he embraced the Reformation, married, and left issue. George, earl of Huntly, succeeding in 1524, played a most important part in all the national affairs of his time. His family power exceeded that, perhaps, of any contemporary Scottish noble, and his high state-offices added to it largely. He was lieutenant-general of the north, and for a time High Chancellor of Scotland. He could individually raise armies worthy of the leading of a prince. Nor were abilities and ambition wanting for the due use of such advantages. The Earl of Huntly commanded the forces which routed Sir Robert Bowes at Haddenrig in 1542; and, with but ten thousand men, he kept in check the Duke of Norfolk at the head of thirty thousand English, when sent to avenge that defeat. At the battle of Pinkie, however, fought in 1547, Huntly fell into the hands of the enemy, but had the dexterity to effect his escape, after a confinement of some months in Morpeth Castle.

Previously to the death of James V., Lord Huntly had acted always like a true and loyal subject. Afterwards, his ambition seems to have mastered his virtue. He had indeed strong inducements to err, being the courted and admitted head of the Scottish Catholics at the era of the Reformation. When Queen Mary ascended the throne, and gave to that religious party her personal countenance, Huntly, or his friends, even projected a match betwixt his younger son John and the Queen of Scotland. The natural brother of Mary, James, earl of Murray, constituted the great adversary of the chief of the Gordons, and the main obstacle to any such arrangement. The Earl of Huntly is said to have aimed covertly at the life of that said rival, who did actually hold lands in Moray devised to Gordon by former regal grants. The sons of Huntly shared in his ambitious and acquisitorial propensities. John, or Sir John Gordon, fell into difficulties with the Ogilvies, claiming as he did, part of that family's estates. He met the Ogilvies, and had a brawl with them, on the streets of Edinburgh, in June 1542, wherein Lord Ogilvy was seriously hurt. The aggressor was imprisoned, but made his escape. Buchanan represents Queen Mary as willing to wed this same John Gordon, in order to maintain the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland. The issue justifies no such view of the case; Mary demanded the full submission of the said youth; and the Earl of Huntly, irritated by this conduct of the Queen, and by her refusal to follow his course of policy, took arms to overthrow her half-brother, the Earl of Murray. But the latter vanquished the Gordons in fight, A.D. 1562. Huntly fell a victim to fatigue and corpulency on the occasion, being, as some say, literally trampled to death on the field. This defeat of the Gordon chief in battle was followed by the public execution of his younger son, John Gordon, whose qualities of mind and body seem to have been not unbecoming his high projected destiny.

George, eldest surviving son, became fifth Earl of Huntly. He had several

brothers, of whom the Auchindoun Gordons alone left continued issue; and he had three sisters, married to the Lords of Athole, Bothwell, and Forbes. The fifth Earl was an active statesman, like his sire. On the death of the latter, the eldest son fled to his father-in-law, the chief of the Hamiltons, for protection; but the Queen forced him to be given up, and he was sentenced to death. However, he only underwent forfeiture and confinement for a period, and afterwards rose in the favour of the court, being even appointed High Chancellor. He was beyond question the chief confidant of Bothwell in the murder of Darnley in 1567, though one of its results was his own sister's divorce. Huntly lost office and influence with the fall of the Catholic party at the battle of Langside, A.D. 1568, which carried Queen Mary to an English prison. The wise rule and strong arm of the Regent Murray kept Huntly and his party quiet for the two succeeding years, but, on the murder of Murray in 1570, negotiations were secretly renewed with the captive Mary. Huntly, and his brother Adam, raised forces in the north for her service, and fought various battles; but still the King's-men proved too strong for the Queen's-men, and the Gordons found it necessary to make a truce with the Regents acting for James VI. The earl died suddenly at Strathbogie in 1576, under circumstances which remind us that bold bad lives seldom end happily.

George, sixth earl, born to his sire by Lady Anne Hamilton, along with one daughter wedded to Lord Caithness, continued to follow the old family policy, which rested on the Catholic interests. Though he obtained various conciliatory favours from the young king, James VI., Huntly was found intriguing with the Spanish court in 1588, and, in 1589, took arms openly in the north against his sovereign. But he and his followers finally submitted to James. The chief of the Gordons was thrown into confinement, tried and convicted of treason, but did not meet the death to which he had been doomed. After some short time, the king used the occasion of his own marriage with Anne of Denmark to grant amnesties, and set the Earl at liberty. In 1591, the latter extracted from James a commission to bring the Earl of Murray to the royal presence, on a charge of resetting the turbulent Stewart, earl of Bothwell. Murray was a man so singularly handsome, as commonly to be called the "bonnie Earl of Murray." Himself a legitimate Stewart of the royal Albany line, he had obtained his earldom by wedding the eldest daughter and heiress of the famous Regent Murray. Huntly and he were near neighbours and rivals in the north, the former having even claims on the lordship of Moray. Hence, the Gordon chief cruelly took advantage of the commission mentioned to destroy his feudal foe. He and his men beset the house of Dunnibirst in Fife after nightfall, and called on the Earl of Murray to surrender. The earl heard in this summons a death-sentence, and only fired a gun in reply. The assailants then set fire to the house, when the Sherriff of Moray, a guest, at the time, of the earl, generously rushed out among the besiegers to cover the escape of his friend. As he had expected, the Sheriff lost his life, and Murray did actually pass his enemies in the confusion. But the flames had caught the silken tassels of his bonnet as he broke through, and formed a sort of guiding star, on his lofty head, to the pursuing Gordons. They followed him closely, and slew him among the cliffs by the sea-shore. Gordon of Buckie, it is said, struck the first blow, and forced his chief, even by threats, to follow his example, saying, "By heaven, my lord, you shall be as deep in as I." Huntly thereupon struck the dying earl on the face. Mindful even then of his beauty, he murmured, "You have spoiled a better face than your own," and expired. Others besides Huntly must have joined in the act of death, since in the body of the earl of Murray were found three bullets, one of which his mother gave to the king, another being given to a dear friend, and the third kept by herself to bestow (not as a love-gift) on "him who should dare to hinder justice!" The many accomplishments of the victim, and his sterling Protestant principles, had rendered him the most popular noble of his time, and King James himself found it difficult to escape the suspicion of having been an abettor of this cruel tragedy.

A fine old ballad exists on the subject, in which the monarch is represented as jealous of Murray, matrimonially.

"He was a braw gallant,
And he rade at the ring;
O! the bonnie Earl of Murray,
He might have been a king.

He was a braw gallant,
And he rade at the glove;
And the bonnie Earl of Murray,
O! he was the Queen's love."

This story is wholly unsupported by proper evidence. Huntly, from whose vindictive hatred the deed certainly sprung, suffered only a short imprisonment, and no trial. On his discharge, he resumed his treasonable correspondence with Spain, instigated chiefly by the still strong sect of the Catholics, whom he headed, and at whose hands he may even have looked for a crown. With Lords Errol and Angus, however, the earl was compelled to succumb to the king in 1593, when it was formally decreed that they should either renounce Popery or quit the country. They did none of these things, but took arms again in opposition to the king's lieutenant, Argyle, and defeated him A.D. 1594, with seven thousand men at his back, in the vale of Glenlivet. The danger of the time called James himself to the field, and once more the Catholic lords gave in their submission, now asking leave to go abroad. Fear or policy led to their lenient treatment ultimately; since, in 1596 and 1597, Huntly is found reinstated in his honours and offices, and even receiving in 1599 the title of MARQUIS of HUNTLY. Undoubtedly, the sovereign here made an effort to conciliate this great noble, on whose word and will hung literally the peace of the north. The conferred honour, however, did not render Huntly less troublesome to the public, in regard to religious matters. Accused still of supporting Papacy in 1606, he was summoned before the General Assembly of the Church, and, not appearing, was excommunicated. Committed to Stirling Castle in 1609, he recovered his liberty next year on signing the Confession of Faith. In 1616, the Marquis again suffered imprisonment on clerical pleas. An absolution obtained by him from the Archbishop of Canterbury was scouted by the Scottish kirk, to which he thereupon gave in his adhesion anew, binding himself, also, to bring up his children as Protestants. All these things indicate the serious difficulties attending the settlement at this epoch of religious concerns in Scotland. The pure presbyterians had first to do battle with the ancient influence of popery; and, a victory being once gained there, they had soon to resume the fight again with episcopacy. The progress-party seem to have compelled the Marquis of Huntly so far to yield to the spirit of the time. In secular matters, he also felt the weight of the same influences, being obliged to give up (for £5000) the heritable sheriffships of Moray and Inverness, at command of Charles I., to the Earl of Murray. That peer, son of the bonnie Earl, was son-in-law to Huntly, having wedded Lady Anne Gordon, in order to reconcile the families. The first Marquis of Huntly died in 1636, aged 74. The character of him drawn by Spalding and others scarcely accords with facts. "He was (they say) a good and loyal subject;" but he opposed, through half his life, the king and the established authorities, and was half-a-dozen times imprisoned in consequence. "He was never inclined to war;" but he fought continually. "He was a good neighbour, disposed rather to give than take;" but he murdered his neighbour Murray on account of local disputes. In short, the eulogies passed on Huntly by high-church organs, and family annalists, will not bear the test of historical inquiry. In the very year before his death, the Marquis was thrown into Edinburgh Castle for injuries done to Crichton of Frendraught. It is true that he had before lost a son under circumstances throwing suspicion on Frendraught. Gordon of Rothiemay had fallen in a scuffle with Crichton and his friends, and Huntly, as kinsman of the former, had made up the matter by imposing a large fine on Crichton, who assented to its justice, and personally visited the Marquis in a friendly way. When returning to

Frendraught, the lord of that castle was attended, for his security, by Huntly's second son, John, Viscount Melgum (created 1627), and the son of the deceased Rothiemay. The main object of their attendance was, to save Crichton from Leslie of Pitcaple, who held him at feud, and had sworn to waylay him to his destruction. All the party reached Frendraught in safety, and, being urged by the host and his lady to stay all night in the castle, the strangers did so, though reluctantly. Being lodged in a particular tower, with rooms storeyed one above another, they slept till the midnight, when the tower burst out into flames, and Lord Melgum, with Rothiemay, and five out of six attendants, perished miserably. As none fell victims but the visitors, and as Frendraught and his lady at least gave no efficient help, this calamity was looked on with the deepest suspicion by all Scotland. Huntly claimed redress from Crichton, but the latter threw the blame on a nephew of his foe, Pitcaple, and the man was tried and executed. Minstrels have sung of this sad event; and grave annalists have ever viewed it as a mystery. Some have sought a solution, by giving a Lady-Macbeth-like character to Lady Frendraught. The likelihood on the whole is, that the deed was really the work of Pitcaple's agents, who certainly were on the watch that night for mischievous ends; and that the destruction of the Crichtons alone was intended by those who fired the castle. The commissioners who examined into the matter thought so, else would they scarcely have condemned Pitcaple's nephew. It was for permitting retaliations on account of this deed, that Huntly was last imprisoned.

The first Marquis of Huntly married Lady Henrietta Stewart of the Lennox house, and had by her his successor George, with the Viscount Melgum mentioned, and two other sons, as also the Countesses of Murray and Linlithgow, the Marchioness of Douglas, and Lady Strabane. The second Marquis of Huntly had the credit of acting at least consistently, on the side of the loyalists, during the early civil wars of the seventeenth century. He opposed Montrose, when Montrose was a covenanter, and contended with his own brother-in-law, Argyle, on the same score. He finally fell into the hands of the parliamentary or anti-regal party, was tried, and condemned to death. On the 22d March, 1649, the sentence was carried into effect at the market-cross of Edinburgh—a place which has witnessed the shedding of much noble blood. Huntly behaved at the last hour with as much gallantry as either Montrose or Argyle, on both of whom fell the same doom, on the same spot, within the next few years. The Marquis professed his loyalty to the last, and would not admit that he had in aught transgressed the laws. By Lady Anne Campbell, daughter of the seventh Earl of Argyle, he left several daughters, the three elder of whom became by marriage Ladies Perth, Seton, and Haddington, while the two younger wedded respectively Irvine of Drum and (the Polish) Count Morstain. Of the sons of the Marquis, George, the eldest, predeceased his sire. The second, James, succeeded to the Viscounty of Aboyne, conferred on his father while Lord Gordon. He died about the same time with the Marquis. Lewis, the third son, became thus the inheritor of the family honours, restored by Charles II., in 1651. A fourth son was created, in 1660, EARL OF ABOYNE, and received a charter of the lordship so named.

Lewis, third Marquis of Huntly, died in 1638. He left by Isabel, a daughter of Grant of Grant, one son, and three daughters, one wedded to the Comte de Crolly, another to the Laird of Meldrum, a third to the Earl of Dunfermline. The son, George, became fourth Marquis, and was fully and formally relieved in 1661 of all the consequences of his grandsire's forfeiture. Being but three years old at his father's decease, he had been educated by his friends in the old family faith, namely as a Catholic, and had spent much of his youth abroad. He served indeed in the French armies under Turenne; and he also made one campaign under William of Orange, by whom he was politically courted and distinguished. When he returned home, the importance of the young chief of the Gordons was fully acknowledged by Charles II., who, in 1684, raised him to the dignity of DUKE OF GORDON. James VII., on his accession, sought to bind the Duke to his cause by granting to

him the forfeited lands of Baillie of Mellerstain, and by creating him a member of the Scottish government, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle. But, though a Catholic, his Grace did not espouse warmly the cause of King James. When Claverhouse (Viscount Dundee) appealed to him to join the Scottish rising in favour of that monarch, he declined doing so actively, and, though he for a time held out the Castle of Edinburgh, he finally gave it up to the party of the Prince of Orange. Like most prudent men of the day, the Duke submitted to King William III., but showed his loyalist predilections, at the same time, by sending a printed excuse for his conduct to the exiled James. The latter had the folly to receive Gordon ungraciously on his visiting St Germain's, though, in reality, the Duke suffered much at the hands of the new government for his understood Jacobite tendencies. Even on the accession of George I., he was confined (in 1714) to Edinburgh on parole, as a disaffected person, and died at Leith in 1716, aged about 67. "He is certainly," says Mackay, an observer of the period, "a very fine gentleman; well-bred; very handsome; but somewhat finical, as resembling the French." His early training is here made apparent. He wedded Lady Mary Howard, of the ducal house of Norfolk, the first in rank in the peerage of England, and had by her his heir Alexander, and a daughter, married to James, Earl of Perth. The Duchess of Gordon, who severed herself for a time from her lord, and entered a foreign convent, adopted keenly the cause of the exiled Stewarts, and displayed her predilections somewhat remarkably, by sending (in 1711) to the Edinburgh Faculty of Advocates a silver medal, bearing a head of the Chevalier on one side, and on the other a view of the British Isles with the accompanying word "Reddie" (Ready). The Dean, Dundas of Arniston, personally presented the medal to the Faculty, whereupon a warm debate ensued, as to the propriety or impropriety of its acceptance. By sixty-three to twelve votes, it was resolved to receive the gift, and to thank the donor, which two delegated members of the body accordingly did, adding even a wish that her Grace would soon be able to offer "a second medal on the Restoration." So far the high rank of the Duchess prevailed; but the needless publicity given to this petty affair, together with the foolish wish expressed by the representatives of the Faculty, called the notice of the ministers of Queen Anne to the proceeding, and the Scottish Bar found it necessary to reverse its first decision, and restore to the Duchess her Jacobite donation. The state of the times alone gave importance to this business. Men felt that the Stewart pretensions were yet likely to trouble the nation; and two rebellions ere long justified such forebodings. Besides, the Faculty of Advocates of that day really formed a very important class in Scotland, representing as they did, by birth and sentiments, a large proportion of at least its lesser landholders and gentry. They were a proud body—the *noblesse de la robe* of the north of that period; and it is told that, even at a much later date, great opposition was made to the admission among them of a man of ability, merely because he was son to the bellman (beadle) of Biggar! Oddly enough, the exclusionists on this occasion were the Whigs or political Liberals of the Faculty; and equally oddly, when admitted to the bar, the lowly-born advocate became one of the most staunch High Tories of his day and generation. Elizabeth Howard, Duchess of Gordon, survived her husband sixteen years, and died in 1732.

Her son Alexander, second Duke of Gordon, exhibited in earlier life all the Jacobite tendencies of his house. He attended the Earl of Mar, on the Braes of Mar, in 1715; fought at Sheriffmuir with his vassals; and, on the failure of the enterprise, capitulated with Lord Sutherland. He was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for his share in the insurrection, but escaped without severe punishment, personally or pecuniarily. In 1706, he had married Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of the Earl of Peterborough, the statesman and soldier so renowned in the time of Queen Anne for his services in Spain and elsewhere, and alike famous for his eccentricities, and his friendship with Pope and Swift. Both of these great poets recorded his peculiarities, the principal of which was an inveterate restlessness of temperament, which sent him roving

from place to place, like a leaf acted on by a whirlwind. His daughter, the Duchess of Gordon, left indubitable claims on the very ancient "barony of Mordaunt" to her descendants. She bred up her children in the Protestant faith, and actually received a pension of £1000 per annum for so doing. This grant was made in 1735, and shows singularly how anxious George II. was to secure friends and quiet foes in the north of Scotland. Her sons were Cosmo George, third Duke of Gordon, Lords Charles, Lewis, and Adam. She bore also to her husband seven daughters, of whom one wedded the Earl of Aberdeen, and another the (ultimate) Earl of Wemyss. Lords Lewis and Adam had very different fates. Lewis—

"O send Lewie Gordon hame,
And the lad we daurna name"—

became noted, in 1745, as an adherent of Charles Edward, followed him in his hour of triumph, and shared in his overthrow. Escaping abroad after Culloden, Lord Lewis died in France in 1754. Lord Adam Gordon, on the other hand, served long under the Hanoverian government, and made himself noted as a useful, though not a brilliant soldier, both at home and abroad. In 1789, he was named commander of the forces in Scotland, and held the post for some years. He died without issue in 1801.

Cosmo George, third Duke of Gordon, succeeded in 1728, and died in 1752, at the early age of thirty-two. Fortunately, he was too young at the time of the last Stewart rising to participate deeply in its troubles on either side, and left his estates unimpaired to his eldest son, Alexander, fourth Duke. The third peer had other children (two sons and three daughters) by his wife, Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen. One of these younger sons passed through life respectably, as a soldier and senator; but the other, Lord George Gordon, made some noise in his day, and in an unhappy fashion. He held a seat in the House of Commons; and, though his family had been so long distinguished in history as earnest adherents of the Catholic faith, Lord George made himself famed as one of its most violent opponents. The London populace, among whom the cry of "No popery!" had then become an almost furious watchword, adopted his lordship as their leader; and, on a given day (in 1780) vast multitudes followed him to the Houses of Parliament, to overawe the members friendly to the Catholics, a measure for whose relief from their peculiar penal burdens was then under consideration. The issue was, that the senators incurred great danger, and were grossly abused by the mob, who might have done them more mischief had not Colonel Gordon, a near relative of Lord George, seized him by the collar, and vowed to make him the first victim, if "his friends" persisted in forcing the hall of the Commons. The rabble, after much uproar, showed the total hollowness of their religious cry by commencing a general riot in the city of London. At first, indeed, they affected to assail Catholics only, and the friends of Catholics, burning, among other seats, the house of Lord Mansfield, with his invaluable legal library. But they soon addressed themselves to general plundering and devastation. For three days and three nights, fires raged, and the mob shouted and destroyed at will, over the whole metropolis of Great Britain. The jails were burst open, and felons and murderers let loose to join in the work of havoc. Strong liquor flowed in the very gutters, and men and women lay down side by side, and drank till they perished. Terrors unspeakable affected the general community. The ruling powers, both of city and state, seemed paralysed; and it was not, in fact, till the rioters themselves paused from absolute exhaustion, that the military and magistracy found courage or ability to check and terminate this almost unparalleled outbreak. Inactivity was charged upon all the authorities, and not without seeming cause. As for the original prompter of the mob-assemblage, Lord George Gordon, he proved utterly impotent, when appealed to, to stop the progress of the evil. Many persons lost their lives during this commotion, and several of the ringleaders therein died finally on

the scaffold. Lord George himself was imprisoned and tried, but no proof of his complicity in the rioting could be adduced, and he obtained an acquittal. This unlucky nobleman, however, fell under the power of the law on other grounds. Sharing in the ultra-liberal opinions of the French during the last years of the reign of Louis XVI., he published what the British courts declared to be a libel on Marie Antoinette, and, being thrown into Newgate in consequence, died there in 1793. He became a Jew by religion in his latter days, thus confirming what men before suspected, that his intellect was unsound. Being not devoid of means, he did much good among his fellow-prisoners. We cannot help also recording, that a young woman of the Hebrew race, at her own special entreaty, was allowed to tend him towards the close of his life. Their connection, it is said, was unblameable.

Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon, born 1743, succeeded his father in 1752. After raising one body of men from his estates in 1759 (finally the 89th regiment), chiefly that his stepfather, General Morris, might have an honourable command, he raised a small body (of Fencibles) in 1778, and a third (of Fencibles) in 1793. Yet a fourth time, the necessities of the country led the Gordon family to exert their great influence in the north, and, in 1794, they raised a corps, not merely for Fencible or Home service, but for all national uses. The Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of Duke Alexander by Jane, daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith, Bart., had at this time reached the age of twenty-four, and became Colonel of the said corps, famous in many an after-contest as the "Gallant Ninety-Second." It is told that his mother, the Duchess Jane (Maxwell), exerted herself in no common way to raise her son's following, deigning even, for their encouragement, to appear at their first review in the Gordon tartans, their destined dress. She certainly was a woman of unusual talent and spirit. Her union with the Duke arose, as the story is told, almost from an accident. His Grace, when a young man—handsome, and, from his rank, "the observed of all observers"—was present at one of the old Assembly balls of Edinburgh, and chanced to overhear the light whisper of a lady, "How I should like to be Duchess of Gordon!" He turned, and beheld a youthful demoiselle of very fine figure, if not perfectly beautiful. An introduction followed, a dance, and a marriage ultimately. The Duchess became a leader of fashion in her day, and indeed a personage of no slight political importance. Her mansion in London long formed the grand rendezvous of the leaders of the Tory party, as that of the Duchess of Devonshire did to the Whigs. And as the beautiful Duchess Georgiana did not disdain to bestow a kiss on a London butcher, to win a vote for Charles James Fox, so did Jane, Duchess of Gordon, enlist recruits for her son, by planting the momentous shilling betwixt her lips, and permitting it to be taken thence by those of the military neophyte. So runs the tale, at all events; though it is more than probable that the tempting bait was only held out to overcome the obstinacy of some single individual—if, indeed, such an incident ever occurred.

It would be out of place to recount here the lengthened services of the 92d regiment in Holland, Egypt, Spain, and Belgium. They were the great rivals in fame of the 42d, or Royal Highlanders, of which leading Gaelic corps the Marquis of Huntly was appointed Colonel in 1806, as a reward for his services with the 92d. His father, Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon, having been predeceased by his first lady in 1812, was married a second time, in 1820, to Mrs Christie of Fochabers. His Grace proved himself to be a man of talent by his excellent humorous song, or poetical *equivoque*, "Cauld kail in Aberdeen," or the "Reel o' Bogie." The social turn of the Duke led him to encourage Mr Marshall, who was in his employ, in the cultivation of Scottish music, whence have we "Tullochgorum," and many of our best modern melodies. Besides his only son and successor, George, Duke Alexander had by his lady (Jane Maxwell) five daughters, three of whom became, by marriage, Duchesses (of Richmond, Manchester, and Bedford), another Marchioness Cornwallis, and the fifth Lady Sinclair of Murkle (afterwards re-married to

Charles F. Palmer, Esq.) These lofty connections prove the weight of the family among the aristocracy in the days of Duchess Jane.

Of George, who became fifth Duke in 1827, the military career has been mentioned. After serving gallantly, and sustaining various severe wounds, he spent his later days, as Marquis of Huntly and Duke of Gordon, in the exercise of a princely hospitality, residing mainly at his noble seat of Gordon Castle, and fulfilling all the duties of a good landlord. He was noted for his frank and social manner, being the delight of the agricultural and other bodies over whom he was wont to preside, whether in an official or private capacity. His Grace had wedded, in 1813, Miss Brodie, only child of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, by whom he left no issue. At his decease in 1836, therefore, the ducal honours of Gordon became extinct, as well as the title of Earl of Norwich in the English peerage, conferred on the fourth Duke in 1784, and the title of Baron Gordon, by which the fifth Duke had been called to the House of Lords in 1807. The son of his eldest sister, Lady Charlotte, the present Duke of Richmond (Lennox and D'Aubigny), succeeded to the great Gordon possessions in the north of Scotland. In his large family by Lady Caroline Paget, daughter of the Marquis of Anglesey, and in their posterity, the Gordon estates are likely to find inheritors permanently. Being already Dukes in England, Scotland, and France, it is not probable that the ducal Gordon title will be revived in the line of the Richmonds.

The MARQUISATE of HUNTLY, however, did not become extinct on the decease of the last Duke of Gordon. The title fell to the lineal descendant of Lord Charles Gordon, younger son of the second Marquis, created by Charles II., in 1660, EARL of ABOYNE. He received the honour for his loyalty during the civil wars, and was chartered in the lands of Aboyne in 1661. By Lady Elizabeth Lyon, he left his successor, Charles, and several other children. Charles, second Earl of Aboyne, wedded a second Lady Elizabeth Lyon, who bore to him his heir, John, and three daughters. John, the third Earl, had by his lady, Grace Lockhart of the Carnwath house, a number of children, the eldest son being Charles, who succeeded as the fourth peer in 1732. He inherited but a small estate, and earned an honourable repute by his judicious efforts for its improvement, so benefiting greatly, besides, the general agriculture of the north. By Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Galloway, his lordship had his heir, George, and two daughters, one of whom, Lady Margaret, became the wife of the celebrated William Beckford of Fonthill, author of the truly classical romance of "Vathek," and builder of two palaces, each rivalling in stone all that his fancy had conceived of oriental magnificence. Charles, fourth Earl of Aboyne, espoused, in second nuptials, Lady Mary Douglas, daughter of Lord Morton by the heiress of the Halyburtons of Pitcur, and had by her one son, Douglas Gordon, who succeeded to the Pitcur estate, and took the name of its ancient possessors (originally *de Holy-burgh-town*).

George, fifth Earl of Aboyne, born in 1761, succeeded his father in 1794. His early years were spent in the army, and, after his accession to the earldom, he served as a representative of the Scottish peerage during several Parliaments. His lordship took to wife Catherine, daughter of Sir Charles Cope, Bart., and by her has had a large family. He succeeded in 1836 to the Marquisate of Huntly, and other Gordon titles contingent thereupon. His heir-apparent, Charles, Earl of Aboyne and Enzie, has been twice married, and has issue. A younger son of the Marquis, Lord John-Frederick Gordon, has taken the Halyburton name, having succeeded to the property of his uncle.

The branch of the Gordons raised to the peerage by the title of EARLS of ABERDEEN, as before remarked, has sometimes been specially referred to Bertrand Gourdon, as if of a different house from the Huntly Gordons. This conjecture is a most improbable one, though positive evidence may not be adducible of the descent of the Aberdeens from the main line of Gordon. They appear to have struck off from it at a very early period, when Berwickshire was the seat of the whole family; but they are first traceable with certainty in the

north, where they obtained the estate of Methlic by marriage. Patrick Gordon of Methlic, as Crawford relates in the "Lives of the Officers of State," served under "his cousin the Earl of Huntly," at the battle of Arbroath, and fell there, A.D. 1445. Three of his successors are recorded as successive Lairds of Methlic in public documents, and they seem to have acquired new lands of considerable extent, those of Kelly among others. The fifth Gordon of Methlic is the first named of "Haddo," a property held to this day by his descendants. He flourished in the reign of Queen Mary, adhering generally to the side espoused by Huntly. The line can now be followed with accuracy down to Sir John Gordon of Haddo, eighth from the first Methlic, a gentleman of high distinction in the troubled times of the first Charles, and by him created a Baronet, A.D. 1642. Acting usually with Huntly, Sir John opposed the acts of the Assembly and Estates of Scotland, and appeared several times in arms in the royalist cause. On the march of the Marquis of Argyle northwards, Gordon attempted to hold out his house of Kelly, but was forced to surrender at discretion. He was sent to Edinburgh, tried, and ultimately condemned to death, by a law certainly made *post factum* (after the fact). Indeed, Sir John Gordon appears to have been hardly treated throughout, and particularly by the clergymen who, on the 19th of July, 1644, attended him to the scaffold from his place of confinement, said to have been a part of St Giles' Cathedral adjoining the old prison, and which from him took its yet popular name of Haddo's Hold or Hole. He might be lodged there from want of room in the jail. Forbidden to speak publicly on the scaffold, Gordon was yet harassed by his zealous clerical attendants with exhortations to confess his guilt. On his admitting humbly that he was "a sinner before God," one of the ministers cried out aloud to the people that he owned his treason "against the country;" but Sir John immediately contradicted the assertion, and defended all that he had ever done as a subject and citizen. The angry clergyman "railed" at his contumacy, we are told, and he was forced to witness the head of a fellow-victim, Captain Logie, struck off directly before his face. One herald then pronounced Sir John "a villain and traitor," while another tore his coat-of-arms to shreds, and strewed it on the scaffold. After a brief prayer, he laid his head under the axe of the maiden, and was soon no more. Spalding gives him a high character, as a man of "a good life and conversation; temperate, moderate, and religious, a good neighbour, and a loyal subject." And yet he had his share of the sterner mettle of his times. He was "hardy, stout, and bold in all hazards, a friend to his friends, and terrible to his enemies." He had been charged on trial with some severities, but nothing was proven save what naturally resulted from his bearing arms as a loyalist. By his lady, Mary, daughter of Forbes of Tolquhoun, he left his successor John, to whom the honours and estates were restored in 1661. Leaving only a daughter, Sir John was succeeded, in 1665, by his brother, Sir George, third Baronet, who had devoted himself to the study of the law before the family possessions fell to him. He afterwards continued the pursuit of his calling, entering at the Scottish bar in 1668, and pleading there habitually, but—marvellous to relate—without taking fees. Sir George won a high name, however, and rose to the bench in 1680. In the following year he was made Lord President of the Court of Session, and, in 1682, attained to the dignity of Chancellor of Scotland, being also created EARL of ABERDEEN, 30th of November, 1682. In previously coming down from London during that year with the Duke of York, their vessel had been wrecked, and his Royal Highness, having got into a boat, called out, "Take care of my Chancellor!" which gave the first open intimation of that appointment. The Earl of Aberdeen exercised his exalted office with almost universal approbation up to 1684, when the Duke of Queensberry, to gratify the need and greed of the court and its creatures, proposed to lay fines on husbands for the non-attendance of their wives upon the licensed state-worship. Lord Aberdeen strongly opposed this tyrannical device to raise money, declaring it to be contrary to the purport of the statutes against nonconformity. A man might be fined by these for not keeping his wife from

illegal conventicles, but he deemed it a very different thing to call on a man to force the attendance of his consort on any particular ministry. "Restraint" might be so far practicable; "constraint" seemed to him to be alike odious and impracticable. The Queensberry proposal, however, proved extremely palatable to the court, and, finding such to be the case, Lord Aberdeen manfully resigned all his high offices. At the change of 1688, though he had opposed them in their day of power, he showed a lingering feeling for the lineal heirs of the Stewarts by retiring into private life; and it was only on the accession of Queen Anne that he resumed his place as a Peer of Parliament. He voted against the first movements towards the Union, but took no active share in the later proceedings on that question. Dying in 1720, he left behind him an excellent character and a good estate. His contemporary, Mackay, calls him "a fine orator, slow but strong," and "the solidest statesman of his time in Scotland."

William, his eldest (surviving) son, by Anne Lockhart of the Carnwath family, became second Earl of Aberdeen. In 1721, he was elected a representative of the Scottish peerage, and, in that capacity, opposed the court generally. But he joined not the insurrection for the Stewarts, and died in 1746, at the age of seventy. He was thrice married, and had many children. His son George, by the second marriage with Lady Susan Murray, daughter of the Duke of Athole, succeeded to the family honours. George, third Earl, passed through life quietly, serving with industry, however, as a representative member of the House of Lords during several Parliaments. He died in 1801. His son, Lord Haddo, had predeceased him, leaving, by Miss Baird of Newbyth, a son, George, who inherited as fourth and present Earl of Aberdeen. Writing this work in 1849, we feel it unnecessary to dwell on the eminent place which has long been filled by this nobleman in the recent annals of Great Britain. Born in 1784, he first distinguished himself by his attention to antiquarian literature, receiving even censure from Lord Byron and others for his attempts to rescue the monuments of old from neglect and misuse. But every succeeding day now proves that such parties as the Earls of Aberdeen and Elgin conferred a benefit on the world of art by advocating the preservation of the wondrous efforts of Greek genius, in places where they might be enjoyed enduringly. Lord Aberdeen, as a politician, has been repeatedly chosen to overlook the most difficult department, perhaps, of the national affairs—namely, its foreign relations. By Lady Catherine Hamilton, daughter of the Marquis of Abercorn, his lordship had several daughters; and by his second lady, widow of Viscount Hamilton, he has had his heir-apparent, LORD HADDO, and other children. Lord Haddo espoused, in 1840, Mary, second daughter of George Baillie of Jerriswood, and has issue.

Looking on the founders of the Aberdeen line as having been early cadets of the main Gordon house, it seems clear that their descendants have fair claims to be its male representatives, as the dukedom and the marquissate both fell into the name of Seton. However, it must be admitted that the Gordons, VISCOUNTS of KENMURE, can make out the most clear genealogic story. They, too, sprung from the chief stem at a very early date, their founder being the second son of Sir Adam Gordon, who flourished on the Borders at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In that district the said son, William Gordon, obtained from his sire the barony of Stichel, confirmed by King Robert I. in 1315. Sir Adam likewise bought for William the lands of Glenkens, in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright, comprehending the Lochinvar and Kenmure properties, the permanent seat of this branch of the Gordons. Thus amply endowed in the south, they did not move northwards with their chiefs. The Kenmure Gordons continued to wax in strength and consequence for several generations, three successive heads of the line fighting and falling at the battles of Homildon, Flodden, and Pinkie. The tenth baron, Sir Robert Gordon, who flourished in the reign of James VI., was noted for his great personal strength and courage, which he exercised chiefly against the English borderers. He obtained a Baronetcy from

Charles I. in 1626, and died two years afterwards, leaving, by Lady Isabel Ruthven, daughter of the first Earl of Gowrie, his heir, Sir John. On the strange downfall of the Gowrie house, the Kenmure family conceived hopes of acquiring that succession, and Sir John, it is creditably told, endeavoured to win to his side the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham, by sending to him a purse of gold, containing the entire price of the estate of Stichel, sold for that very end. But on the very day after he received that bribe—to give it its right name—George Villiers fell by the knife of Felton, and the gold was given in vain. However, Sir John Gordon received the title of **VISCOUNT OF KENMURE**, and **LORD LOCHINVAR**, in 1633. He died prematurely in 1634, greatly regretted. He had married Lady Jean Campbell, of the Argyile house, who brought to him one son, John, the second Viscount. Dying in 1639, he was succeeded by his cousin, John, who was also cut off in youth. A brother, Robert, held the title as fourth Viscount, from 1643 to 1663, when a collateral descendant, Alexander Gordon of Pennygame, became fifth Viscount. In his time, and to his sorrow, the abdication of James VII. occurred; but Viscount William, who succeeded in 1698, was the true sufferer from the attachment of the family to the Stewarts. He had a great share in raising the gentry in his own district, being a middle-aged man of grave habits and solid parts, though not a soldier. Still he raised the standard of the Stewarts at Lochmaben in 1715, and obtained the chief command in the south of Scotland. Either he or his father (the latter most probably) was made the hero, by some Jacobite bard of the Lowlands, of the stirring song of “Kenmure’s on and awa, Willie.” His lordship marched with the insurgents into England, was taken at Preston, and, after being tried by the peers, was condemned capitally. He underwent the last pains of the law on Towerhill, 24th February, 1716. At his trial he pled guilty. The plea availed him not; and a letter written on the day before his execution proves, that he regretted having been induced to admit any culpability, and that his last consolations rested on the justice of the cause for which he suffered. He spoke not on the scaffold, but died calmly and resignedly.

The sixth Viscount Kenmure had wedded Mary Dalzell of the Carnwath family. At her lord’s decease, she posted down to Kenmure Castle, secured the papers lodged there, and, when the forfeited estates were put to sale, found friends enough to enable her to make an easy purchase. By her admirable management, this spirited lady delivered over to her children an unencumbered property. Her eldest son died young, and his brother John succeeded. By Lady Mary Mackenzie, daughter of the Earl of Seaforth, he left several children, of whom John, the eldest surviving son, became inheritor of the Kenmure estates. He served in the army and in parliament; and, in 1824, the titles of his house were restored to him by George IV. Leaving no issue, at his decease in 1840, his nephew Adam became Viscount Kenmure. At his death in 1847, the titles fell dormant, but the property was entered upon by a descendant of the house on the female side, the present Mr Gordon of Kenmure. Various parties have professed to represent the house in the male line, but by none has a clear right been established.

It is impossible even to attempt an enumeration of the collateral descendants of the great titled houses of Gordon, Aberdeen, Aboyne, and Kenmure. Two separate peerages became extinct at an early date, the Viscounties of Aboyne and Meldrum. Nine or ten branches of the Gordons obtained Nova Scotia titles, some of which have now merged in peerages, while the others have become extinct or dormant, save in the Letterfourie, Embo, and Earlston cases. Two baronetcies of the United Kingdom occur in the instances of the Altyre and Hankin Gordons. The gentry, landholders, and others of the name are very numerous, fully an hundred several families being set down in the Scottish directory-lists. They abound especially in Aberdeenshire. Few appellations, moreover, are more widely spread among the commonalty, not merely of Scotland, but of Britain. It is curious enough, that the gipsies should be

among the parties who keep the Gordon name alive in its first site of Berwickshire.

ARMS OF CLAN GORDON.

ARMS. Azure, three boars' heads coupé, or. [The family quarter with Badenoch, Seton, and Fraser.]

CREST. A stag's head.

SUPPORTERS. Two deer-hounds.

MOTTO. *Bydand* (abiding or lasting), and *Animo non astutia* (By courage, not craft).

BADGE. Rock ivy.

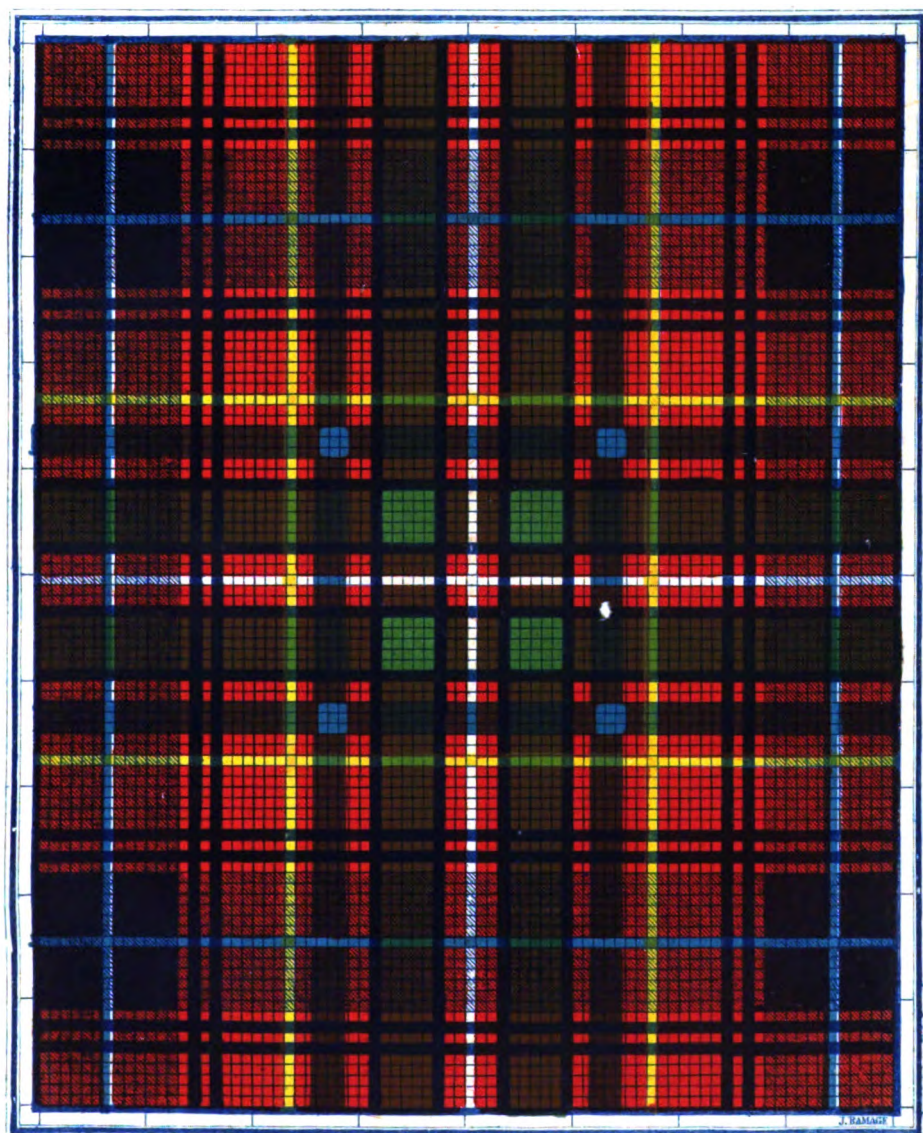


CLAN INNES (MACINNES?)

A place is here given to the INNES family, as having been long of considerable importance on the borders of the Scottish Highlands. Their origin is in part doubtful; but, really, few clansmen boast of a well assured one. The epithet of *Flandrensis*, applied in old charters to the founder or earliest noted member of the house, would indicate its descent from a *Fleming*; and the family annals call this immigrant from Flanders by the name of Berewald or Berewaldus. As for the designation of Innes, several explanations have been given, and all sufficiently feasible. Mr Logan sets down the word as MacAonghas (Mac-Angus pronounced MacAon'ais or MacInnes); and he seems to regard the majority of the Inneses as sprung from the Gael of Lorn, where they (the sept of MacAon'ais) had a castle, he further tell us, the erection of which was paid for, according to tradition, by its own weight of *butter*! It is also suggested otherwise, that the MacInneses might belong to the tribe of Mackinnon—a supposition justified mainly by similarity of names. A third conjecture seems the preferable one, namely, that the appellation of De Innes, first borne by the race, was local, and derived either from some "isle" or "headland" (in Gaelic *Innis* or *Inch*), or from *Innis*, an "enclosure or choice place of pasturage." Dropping the idea of the real Elgin Inneses being sons of Aonghas or Aon'ais, we conceive it most probable that the first of them were actually of the Flemish race, from the name of *Flandrensis* being unquestionably applied to Berewald, their presumed ancestor. That Flemings settled at various times in Scotland is not to be doubted. The Wigton house kept the name of Fleming as their family one permanently.

This conclusion is supported, according to Nisbet and Douglas' Baronage, by family papers, wherein Berewald, the Fleming, is mentioned as originator of the Innes sept, and also, as having been named from the lands of Innes in the north. Walter de Innes, supposed to be his grandson, occurs in charters in the time of Alexander II., or at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The fifth and sixth of the line, from Berewald, are distinctly mentioned in the chartulary of Moray, and in the records of the Burgh of Elgin, as "Barones de Innes," and "Domini de Innes." From this time forth, we have a pretty authentic account of the Inneses. Sir Robert, called The Good, the ninth of his house, left a son Walter, who heired the lands of Aberkerder through his mother, and was chartered and re-chartered in that estate, in 1426 and 1433, by the apparently successive superiors, Lord Lindsay of the Byres and the Earl of Ross. By a daughter of Lord Lovat, Sir Walter Innes had his heir, Sir Robert, and several other sons, one of whom received the name of Berewald, recording thus early the family traditions about the Flemish descent.

Sir Robert Innes was a man of consequence in his time, as is shown by his marriage with a daughter of the Drumlanrig or Queensberry house. His sons



were numerous. By the younger of them the branches of Balveny, Coxton, Innerbrakie, Orton, and Auchintoul, are said to have been founded, though one may doubt whether the estates could have been so largely divided in one generation. Dying shortly after 1452, Sir Robert was succeeded by Sir James, commonly called "James with the Beard." Several charters, of undeniable authenticity, prove him to have had a considerable estate in the north, and to have been Squire or Armour-bearer to James III.; and the family papers aver him to have married a daughter of the third Earl of Huntly, though such a marriage is not recorded in the annals of the Gordon house. He certainly served his sovereign well, as the sovereign's own words prove. From the Earl of Huntly, Alexander, eldest son of Sir James with the Beard, is said to have obtained a grant of the forestry of Boyne, though styled, in other documents, merely a witness to such a grant. This Alexander was followed by sons and grandsons, successively Lairds of Innes, who married into the Sutherland and Forbes houses. John, styled fifteenth from Berewald in a direct line, left no issue, when Alexander Innes of Cromy, descended from a second son of the twelfth Laird, became heir, and was even admitted as head of the house by Laird John during his lifetime. But Cromy did not succeed in person to the Innes honours, after all. Robert Innes of Innermarkie claimed the succession, and this claim led to the following tragedy:—

"Robert Innes of Innermarkie was one of the cadets of the same family, and felt immeasurably chagrined at the conduct of Laird John, in thus voluntarily depriving himself of the honours and influence to which in virtue of his birth he was legitimately entitled. Either through threats or otherwise, Innermarkie so effectually wrought on the fears of Laird John, who by this time was considerably advanced in life, as to make him so far repent of his consigning over his honours and estate to his cousin Alexander, that he entered into a conspiracy with Innermarkie to assassinate the former.

The only thing wanting was an opportunity of carrying their murderous purpose into execution, and such an opportunity was not wanted long. Alexander about this period (April 1580) had gone to Aberdeen for the purpose of seeing his only son, a youth of sixteen, at this time a student in one of the colleges of that city, and indisposed. The two conspirators, mustering a goodly number of their attendants, proceeded to Aberdeen, where they arrived at midnight, and immediately proceeded to execute their purpose.

They found the gate of the close in which their intended victim resided at the time, lying quite open; but the doors of the house were closely shut. It occurred to them, that the most likely method of succeeding in their murderous project would be to create a pretended dispute among their attendants, by which means the inmates of the house would probably open the doors, with the view of ascertaining its cause, and witnessing its consequences. One of them accordingly set up a loud cry of "Help a Gordon! Help a Gordon!"—the gathering word of those of that name, which, as Alexander Innes was warmly attached to the interests of the Gordon family, they knew would be the most likely means of inducing him to come out from his bed. The stratagem was completely successful; Alexander instantly jumped out of bed—laid hold of his sword—came to the outside—and inquired into the cause of the dispute. Although the night was dark, Innermarkie knew him perfectly by his voice, and, presenting his gun, shot him through the body in a moment. A crowd of the conspirators' attendants then rushed on their victim, and plunged their daggers into every part of his person. Every other person present who had not already done so, was also compelled by threats, Laird John with others, to follow the example they had seen; and Innermarkie actually compelled John Innes, afterwards of Coxton, then a youth at school, to rise from his bed and also plunge a dagger up to the hilt, into the body of his dead relation.

The next object to which the conspirators turned their attention, was to seize the person of their victim's son, Robert Innes, who was then sick, with a view to his sharing the same fate as his father. On hearing, however, the cries of murder which his expiring parent uttered while the conspirators were stabbing him, the young man, seriously indisposed as he was, scrambled out of his bed, and by the help of a friend, escaped by a back door into a garden, whence he was taken into the house of an acquaintance, unknown to those who were meditating his life.

Innermarkie then took off the signet-ring from the finger of his murdered relation, and having bribed the servant of the deceased to assist in the execution of his purposes, he dispatched him with it to Innes House, instructing him to present it to the wife of his deceased master as from her husband; and at the same time to request, as if by his orders, the box containing the papers relative to his title and estates. The lady of the deceased delivered them to the servant, and allowed him to depart from the mansion.

At this time there resided at Innes House a young man, an intimate acquaintance of Lady Innes's son, then lying indisposed in Aberdeen; and hearing of the servant's being about to return to that city, and feeling at the same time a strong anxiety to see his sick acquaintance, he jumped up behind the messenger on the horse's back. The servant insisted that the youth

should dismount, while the latter was equally determined that he should not. A scuffle ensued between the contending parties, and the servant fell by his own dagger, drawn against the obstinate youth. The latter re-entered Innes House, telling his story, and restoring the family deeds. At this very time, a fugitive menial from Aberdeen came with news of the tragic event there. Lady Innes secured all papers, and fled for protection to her friends, who immediately conducted her to the king, before whom she detailed all the circumstances connected with the painful affair.

The Earl of Huntly, who was related by blood to the family of Innes, on hearing of the murder of Alexander Innes, hastened to Aberdeen for the protection of his sick son, whom he carried to Edinburgh, and for greater safety placed him under the guardianship of Lord Elphinstone, then Lord High Treasurer of the kingdom. Lord John Innes and Innermarky after the commission of the murder proceeded to Innes House, and re-invested Lord John in the titles and estate. For two years afterwards, both these men kept possession between them of the estate of Innes, but at the end of that time they were declared outlaws; and the son of him they had so barbarously murdered came north from Edinburgh, with a commission against them, and all others who had been accessory to his father's death. Laird John endeavoured to conceal himself there, but was discovered, apprehended, and sent back to Innes House, by the friends of the Lord Treasurer. The young laird, however did not make his head the price of his conduct, as might under all the circumstances of the case have been expected, but contented himself with making him exhibit his name to various written papers, which incapacitated him from any future mischief in regard to his property.

Innermarky fled to the hills, but in September 1584, he was surprised by the young laird Innes and a party of adherents, who instantly killed him, and afterwards cut off his head and gave it to Lady Innes, the widow of him whom he had murdered in Aberdeen a few years before. Lady Innes was so overjoyed at the possession of the head of the murderer of her husband, that she made a journey to Edinburgh, carrying it all the way herself for the express purpose of laying it at the feet of the king."

Robert Innes, now Laird of Innes, had by the daughter of Lord Elphinstone another Robert, his heir, and a younger son, ancestor of the Muirton line. The said eldest son was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1625, by the title of Sir Robert Innes of Innes, or of that Ilk, being the fourth on the Nova-Scotian roll. He was named a Privy Councillor of Scotland for life, and held other honours and offices. His influence seems to have been so great as to raise his lineage generally in the world, since two other baronetcies are understood to have been conferred on the Innes family at this period. The branches of Balveny and Orton respectively obtained the honour in 1628 and 1631. Taking to wife Lady Griselda, daughter of the Earl of Murray (or Moray), Sir Robert Innes of Innes had another Sir Robert, his heir, and various other children. The second Sir Robert married a daughter of Lord Ross of Halkhead, and was succeeded by his son, Sir James, whose union with Margaret Ker, youngest daughter of Henry Lord Ker, only son of the first Earl of Roxburgh, produced a striking effect ultimately on the fortunes of the Inneses. The direct offspring of the marriage mentioned was Sir Henry, who, by a daughter of the house of Culloden, had another Sir Henry, wedded to Anne Grant, daughter of the Laird of Grant. Their son, Sir James, is reckoned in the family annals as twenty-second in the direct male line from Berewald, the Fleming. At the decease of John, third Duke of Roxburgh, he claimed the titles and estates of that great family as heir-general, and obtained them by a decision of the House of Lords in 1812. By his second marriage with Harriet, daughter of Benjamin Charlewood, Esq., he left one son, James Henry Robert Innes-Ker, present and fifth Duke of Roxburgh. His Grace married, in 1836, Susan, daughter of General Sir J. C. Dalbiac, and has had issue, the Marquis of Bowmont and Cessford, with other children.

Thus the house of Innes, as regards the male line of its chiefs, has advanced through wedlock to the highest dignity attainable by subjects in Great Britain. Two minor branches were mentioned as having risen to baronetcies, namely, those of Balveny and Orton. There exists much confusion generally about Nova Scotia titles, which it is not our purpose or duty here to dispel. The Orton family are now designated "of Orton and Coxton," or Cockstoune, and there was a proper Coxton baronetcy, of date 1686, as genealogic works inform us. But both the Orton and Balveny baronetcies were represented not long ago by one person, according to the same authorities. Strange to say, Nisbet acknowledges no baronets of either title. Be this as it may, the Inneses of Orton

deserve a word further, on account of the romantic fate of one of their ancestors. The story was elsewhere told by the editor of the present work, and the main facts of the case are here repeated:—

“Early in the past century, Robert Innes fell heir to the baronetcy of Orton. By a concurrence of adverse circumstances, scarcely one rood of land, or any property whatever, followed the destination of the titular honours. This was particularly hard in his case, as he had received a liberal education, and such a general training, in short, as is usually bestowed on heirs presumptive or apparent to titles that have a substantial amount of acres appended to them. After this statement, it is scarcely necessary to say, that Robert Innes was brought up to no useful art or profession by which a livelihood might be won.

Few situations could be more painful than that in which the young baronet found himself when he acquired the right to place before his name the important monosyllable which entitled him to hold a prominent place in society, while at the same time he was totally devoid of the means of maintaining that place with fitting credit and respectability. It may well be believed that he envied the craftsmanship even of the humblest artisan, who had learned to look to his hands, and his hands alone, for subsistence. But all trades, arts, and professions, seemed in a measure closed against Sir Robert, since he possessed not the necessary means to train himself for any particular employment, even if that could have been effectively done at the period of life which he had attained. One profession only, if it may be properly so called, remained open to him, namely, the profession of arms, and to this the young baronet naturally turned his attention. Had he besieged the doors of those who had known his family in better days, he might possibly have at once entered the military service in a station corresponding with his social rank; but the risk of encountering scornful refusals, and other such-like fears and feelings, caused the indigent baronet to shrink from becoming a petitioner, desirable as it would have been to attain the object in question. He therefore preserved the independence which he loved, by entering the British army in the capacity of a private soldier. The ——— dragoons was the body in which he enrolled himself, retaining his own name, but dropping, of course, the title which had descended to him from his ancestors.

In this condition Sir Robert Innes remained for a considerable time, fulfilling regularly and peacefully the duties imposed upon him, and giving no expression to the regrets which could not but occasionally arise in the breast of one moving in a sphere so far below that to which he was suited by birth and education. The monotonous tenor of his life was at length broken in upon in an unexpected and remarkable way. While standing sentry one evening at the quarters of Colonel Winram, the commander of the regiment, he was accosted by a stranger, apparently an officer of another regiment, who inquired if the colonel was at that moment engaged. The sentinel courteously answered that he believed he was, but probably would soon be at leisure, and then recommenced his short perambulations. The stranger followed, and continued the conversation, in order, ostensibly, to while away the time, until the colonel should be at liberty to receive him, but in reality to satisfy himself on a point of curiosity which had sprung up in his mind. The issue was, that the stranger, on being admitted, said, “Colonel, you are at present more highly honoured in one point than many crowned heads, though you may not be aware of it.” “How may this be, my good friend?” asked the veteran. “In respect of your attendant sentry,” said the officer; “few princes can boast of a more honourable guard than the one now pacing backwards and forwards in front of your quarters. You have a Scottish knight baronet, of old creation, standing sentry at your threshold. I saw Sir Robert Innes several years ago, before he came to the title, and while its late possessor still retained enough of the family property to keep himself and his heir in tolerable condition as far as appearances went. When it was discovered, on the accession of this young gentleman, that his ancestral possessions had long been in the deceptive condition of a husk with the kernel gone, many individuals who had known Robert Innes, and had admired his manly and virtuous character, were anxious to aid and befriend him; but the youth disappeared suddenly from society, and the rumour went that he had entered the army. Having heard of this report, I was much struck to-night by the look and bearing of the sentry whom I saw at your porch, and a closer examination satisfied me that the soldier was indeed no other than Sir Robert Innes of Orton.”

“Can this be true?” exclaimed the veteran; and immediately gave orders to have another private brought on duty, and the hero of this tale ushered into his presence. When the young man appeared before his commander, the latter plainly and candidly stated what had been communicated to him, and asked if it was true that he really addressed Sir Robert Innes. The youth owned that the information given to the colonel was correct, and that he was really Sir Robert Innes. Colonel Winram asked a few more questions, and Sir Robert answered his commander by simply stating, that, finding himself possessed of a title without any of the requisite means for supporting it creditably, he had been under the necessity of quitting the society of his equals in station, but superiors in point of fortune. “I admire your candour, sir,” said the veteran, “and I honour your sentiments. You must be replaced in your proper station—in that station to which you were born, Sir Robert, and to which you will be a credit and an ornament. I have interest enough, I think, to procure you a cornetcy; and a cornetcy of British horse is a fitting station for any one—for the first noble in the land.” The young soldier, on whose fortunes a great change was thus unexpectedly promised, could scarcely find language to thank his warm-hearted benefactor and commander. The cornetcy of horse was obtained for Sir Robert Innes, and he became daily a greater and greater fa-

vourite with Colonel Winram, who found his protégé fulfil all the high promise that had appeared in him at their first interview. Handsome, well bred, and accomplished in all the qualifications of a gentleman, Sir Robert was indeed very generally esteemed by his brother officers and all who met him in society. It was barely possible, however, for any one to view him with the measureless partiality of the old colonel, and of this the following conclusive occurrence will give ample proof. He gave to Sir Robert Innes his daughter and heiress, Margery, in marriage, finding such an arrangement very agreeable to the feelings of both parties.

The career of the young Scottish knight, once placed in so unpromising a condition, was by the remarkable incident detailed, rendered one of much happiness throughout the whole of its after-duration. His beautiful lady brought him one sole child and daughter, whose personal charms in time attracted the admiration of the noblest in the land. One suitor for her hand was a gentleman who afterwards succeeded to the title of Duke of Roxburgh; but, eventually, Miss Innes of Orton became the wife of the sixteenth Lord Forbes. Her son was a late possessor of that ancient title, and of her daughters one became Duchess of Athol, and another the wife of Sir John Hay of Hayston.

This history would be thought one of Fiction's pleasant improbabilities, if told in the page of a novel. We assure our readers, however, that the main incidents in the narrative have been described to us, upon good authority, as being perfectly true.

ARMS OF CLAN INNES.

Argent, three stars of six points waved, azure.

[Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon King-at-arms, gives the arms in 1542 thus: Quarterly, first and fourth, three boars' heads; second and third, three stars of five points.]

CREST. A boar's head, couped, or.

SUPPORTERS. Two greyhounds.

MOTTO. *Be trauit* (Be trusty).

BADGE. (Probably) Pine.

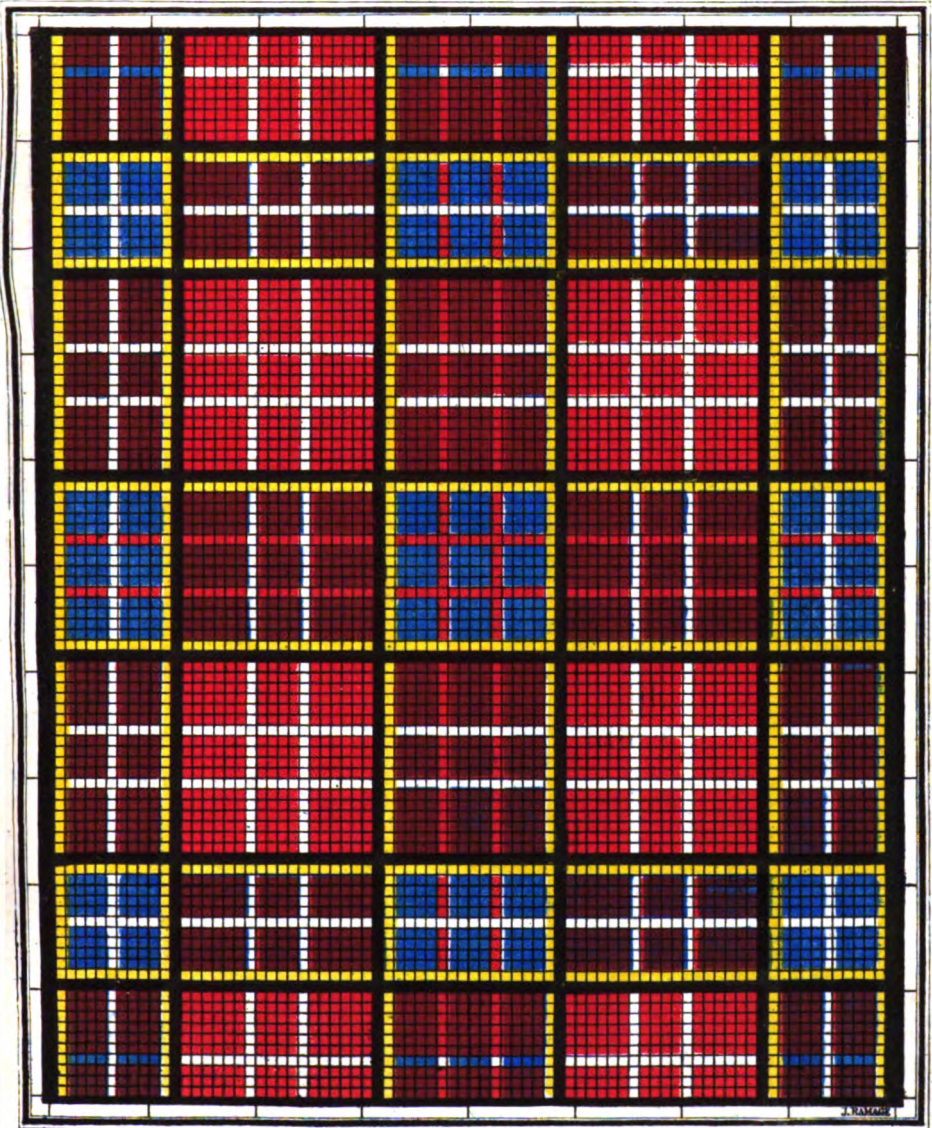


CLAN OGILVIE.

GILBERT, GILLIBREDE, or BREDUS, a younger son of the Earl of Angus (that district now called Forfarshire), obtained from William the Lion the lands of Ogilvie, Pourie, and others, and founded the family which took from the former of these properties its permanent designation of OGILVIE (or OGILVI). That the family of the Earls of Angus was originally and fundamentally Gaelic or Pictish, seems extremely probable. Finella, lady of the Lord Angus, assassinated Kenneth III., king of Scotland, A.D. 994, in revenge for the deaths of her son and other relatives; and one may fairly trace in such an event the relics of jealousy existing betwixt the Scottish and Pictish lines. After the death of this Finella, who took her leave of life (by the way) on the scaffold, and who left a castle on her Fettercairn property to bear her name to this day, even in its state of ruins, the line of the Angus family is not distinctly traceable for a time, though, most probably, the ancient serial succession of the Pictish lords did not find a close here wholly. About a century after Finella's regicidal action had occurred, Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, held the estates attached to that title, and appears to have been the father (brother by some accounts) of Gilbert or Gillibrede, the before-mentioned founder of the sept of the Ogilvies. As that we would infer from the facts here mentioned is, that no proof has been adduced of the Ogilvies having descended from any Saxon or Anglo-Saxon Norman or Anglo-Norman incomers; and that the likelihood is, therefore, that all bearing the name have a large and liberal infusion of the Gaelic blood in their veins. Therefore do the Ogilvies merit well a notice here, as a family intermingled with, if not derived from, the true Gael of northern Britain.

The Gilbert mentioned, who obtained the lands of Ogilvie, and thence took his family name, left a son Alexander, who is named in charters of the thirteenth century. He is named "de Ogilvie" in a deed of 1250; and his son, Patrick, bears the same appellation in 1296, being one of the Scottish barons

XLVIII.



Clan Ogilvie.

who swore fealty to the English king, Edward I., at that epoch—the most important one, certainly, in the entire history of Scotland, as far as the settlement of the names, stations, and titles of individual families of the time is concerned. Sir Patrick (de) Ogilvie was a baron of influence enough to be called on for his support by King Edward I., and left two sons, Patrick and Robert, both of whom adhered to Robert the Bruce. Sir Patrick obtained for his services a grant of the Kettins lands in Forfarshire. In the second next generation or so, we find Wintoun mentioning a member of the house—

“The gude Schir Walter of Ogilvie,
That manly knyght and that worthie,
Sheriff that time of Angus,
Godlike, wise, and vertuous.”

If poor poetry, this is at all events good testimony as to the standing of the Ogilvies at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Another verse of the time may be quoted as proving the same fact:—

“Schir Walter of Ogilvy, that gud knyght,
Stout and manful, bauld and wycht.”

This Sir Walter had wedded Isabel, heiress of the Ramsays of Auchterhouse, and had obtained with her that barony, as well as the hereditary sheriffship of Forfarshire. Leaving a son Alexander, whose only child, a daughter, married one of the Earls of Buchan of the Stewart line, his brother, Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, became male representative of the family. A younger son, John, founded the Ogilvies of Innerquharity. The Lintrathen family continued the line, the eldest son of Sir Walter being Sir John, eighth baron, who, according to Douglas, obtained a charter of the lands of Eroly, A.D. 1458, and originated the “bonnie house of Airly,” famous in song and history. His brother Walter founded the house of the Earls of Findlater, the Lords Banff, and the Boyne Ogilvies. Sir James, successor of Sir John, was elevated to the peerage by James IV. in 1491, as LORD OGILVIE of AIRLY. He served his sovereign with great credit in an embassy to the Danes, and other employs; and he finally left, by Elizabeth Kennedy of the Cassilis house, his heir, John, second Lord Ogilvie of Airly. A third, a fourth, and a fifth Lord Ogilvie succeeded, by marriages with the Graham, Crawford, and Sinclair families. The fifth peer wedded a daughter of Campbell of Cawdor (or Calder), and was succeeded by James, sixth Lord, in whose time a serious quarrel took place betwixt the Gordons and Ogilvies, in consequence of the chief of the Findlater family having settled his estate on a younger son of the Earl of Huntly, so excluding the heir of his own body, Sir James Ogilvie of Cardell. On the 27th of June, 1562, the Ogilvies and Gordons met accidentally on the High Street of Edinburgh, James, Lord Ogilvie, being at the head of the one party, and Sir John Gordon, the younger son of Huntly, leading the other faction. They quarrelled, and took to their weapons instantly. In the scuffle, Lord Ogilvie was wounded in the arm in three places, and the bleeding threatened to be mortal. Sir John Gordon was apprehended by the authorities, that he might answer for the issue. It is half-amusing, half-saddening, to find the surgeons of the time—the best procurable being those of Edinburgh—reporting as to the bodily hurts of Lord Ogilvie, to the effect that the three “principal membranes” of his arm were touched, “particularly the great artery;” and that, if he bled again, death would probably ensue. It is to be hoped that the practical skill of these surgeons exceeded their anatomical knowledge. Their patient in this case, the sixth Lord Ogilvie, recovered at all events from his wounds, and also took the same side with the Gordons in the wars of the time of Queen Mary. For his attachment to that princess, Lord Ogilvie endured a long imprisonment, being only released when James VI. assumed the reins of authority. By Jean, eldest daughter of Lord Forbes, he had James, seventh lord, and several other children. James succeeded in 1606; and a charter of the year 1566 indicates, that the families of the name were growing numerous, the Innerquharity, the Clova, the Balfour, the Craig, the Clunie, the Fernault, and other branches, long or

short lived ultimately, being named as springing from the main tree about this period. The seventh Lord Ogilvie of Airly had by Lady Jean Ruthven his heir James, eighth baron, who, succeeding to his sire about 1617, was created EARL of AIRLY by Charles I., A.D. 1639. Among the many Scottish families whom that prince sought to attach to him by the conference of such honours as our northern peerage-roll proves, there were few so sincerely his friends as the Ogilvies. In 1640, the Earl of Airly declined to subscribe the Covenant, and went out of the way to avoid compulsion. Forces were thereupon sent against his seat of Airly Castle by the Estates of the kingdom. But the castle was strong and well-defended; and, as the young Lord Ogilvie would not give it up in the absence of his father, the Marquis of Argyle went northward with a fresh and overwhelming force, compelled the Master of Ogilvie to fly, and burned the house of his fathers to the ground. On this incident rests, assuredly, the beautiful and well-known ballad of the "Bonnie House o' Airly;" though the author thereof seems to have been so utterly ignorant of the facts of the case as to have believed the burning of Airly to have occurred in 1745, instead of 1640.

"O! were my gude lord but at hame,
As now he is with Charlie!"

So is Lady Airly made to speak; and she also mentions her family as numbering "eleven braw sons," with a twelfth that had "ne'er seen his daddie." Ecclesiastical registrations, and other evidents, prove all this to be utter nonsense; and the point would not merit one word of notice, did it not serve to expose the hazard of trusting to such-like ballads for the establishment of historical truths. At the same time, paradoxical as it may at first sight appear, one cannot but admit that, the farther back one goes, the chances of finding verity in verse increase materially. Song became finally and naturally but an ornament of life. The antique Skalds and Bards, however, Gothic and Gaelic, were the sole and solid annalists of their ages and races. Far more credit is due, therefore, to a Runic rhyme, though graven with hieroglyphical rudeness on a sea-beaten rock, than to such ballads as that on the "House o' Airly," though even Scott dignifies them with the epithet "historical." They were written to amuse, not to instruct or record.

In 1644, the first Earl of Airly had returned to Scotland, and, having taken part with Montrose, shared largely in the royalist success at Kilsyth, A.D. 1645. The covenanting party passed sentence of excommunication and forfeiture upon his lordship and his sons; but it was speedily rescinded. By Lady Isabella, daughter of the Earl of Haddington, the earl had his successor, James, with Thomas and David, and two daughters. The young men mentioned were active royalists, James the eldest, while Lord Ogilvie fought at Marston Moor in 1644 and at Philiphaugh in the following year. Flying from that battle, where the genius of Montrose succumbed to the experience of Leslie, Lord Ogilvie fell into the hands of the enemy, and was conveyed to St Andrews, where the parliament then held its sittings. He was condemned to death, and would have undergone that hard doom, had not the love of woman interposed to save him. His sister Helen (married to Sir John Carnegie), being allowed to see her brother on the night before his appointed death-day, dressed him in her own gown, and so enabled him to pass the guards and escape safely. After sustaining a variety of fortunes, he succeeded both to the titles and estates of his family, and held the post of a Privy-Councillor subsequently to the Restoration. At his decease, he left by Helen, daughter of Lord Banff, David, third Earl of Airly, who was served heir in 1704, and died in 1717. The son of Earl David, James Lord Ogilvie, had the misfortune to participate in the rebellion of 1715, and suffered attainder in consequence, though afterwards pardoned. His brother John succeeded (barring attainders) as fourth Earl of Airly in 1731. All the mishaps suffered for the Stewarts had not weakened the Royalist propensities of this family. David, son and heir-apparent of the fourth earl, had reached the age of twenty when Prince Charles made the last attempt to regain the throne of his sires; and, like so many other young men of family

of the period, Lord Ogilvie enlisted in that romantic cause. He followed the Stewart banner up to the defeat of Culloden, and then found his way abroad. After some difficulties and dangers, consequent on his attainder at home, his lordship obtained the command of a regiment of foot in the French service, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general. His extreme youth, when guilty of insurrection, led to his being personally pardoned in 1778; and he, and his heirs of right, were admitted so far to the privileges of their blood, the estates of the house being also in a certain measure recovered or restored. On the decease of his sire in 1761, David Lord Ogilvie became (properly) fifth Earl of Airly. He enjoyed the pension of his military rank from the king of France, so long as there existed in his day a king of France; and when that title perished for the time with Louis XVI., the Earl of Airly, as an enthusiastic obituarist says, "nobly disdained to take pay from assassins." If he had resigned his pension before such-like burdens had maddened the French into assassins, it might have been more to the purpose. However, let us not blame Lord Airly for the fault of many. He is described as an eccentric but high-minded nobleman of the old school; and, at his decease in 1803, he left several children, having been twice married. His first lady, daughter of Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall, Bart., took so active a share in the rebellion of 1745 as to be sent to imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, whence she escaped by stratagem. She joined her lord in France, and bore to him David Lord Ogilvie, who became, *de jure originis*, the sixth Earl of Airly. As he died without direct issue, yet another David, son of Walter Ogilvie of Clova, second son of John, fourth earl, became finally inheritor of the Airly honours, the past forfeitures not being held to affect his rights. Reckoning his father as seventh peer (though his claims remained undecided at his decease in 1826), the said David may be held as eighth (and present) EARL of AIRLY. He was born in 1785, and wedded Miss Drummond, by whom he had his heir-apparent, David LORD OGILVIE, with other children. (Though the point is of little moment, and though the older spelling has been here used, it may be observed that the family now set down their name and title as *Ogilvy* and *Airlie*.)

Sir Walter Ogilvie of Auchleven, second son of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Lintrathen, was the founder of two subsidiary but yet ennobled branches of the name, FINLATER and SEAFIELD, and BANFF. He married, in 1437, Margaret, daughter and heiress of the Sinclairs of Deskford and Finlater, and by her had James, who continued the main line of his descendants, and Walter, ancestor of the Lords Banff. Properly a Forfarshire house, the Ogilvies were carried into the Banff and Moray districts by the Sinclair marriage mentioned, and became strong there. Sir James of Deskford had by a lady of the Innes line another James, who died before his sire, leaving a son, Sir Alexander, to whom the estates fell, A.D. 1509. The mother of this Sir Alexander chanced to have been a natural daughter of the Earl of Huntly; and to his own second wife he took also a lady of the Gordon house. In consequence of these connections, though he had a son James by his first marriage with the Hon. Janet Abernethy, he settled his large possessions on Sir John Gordon, younger son of the fourth Earl of Huntly. The fate of this Sir John Gordon has been before adverted to. Encouraged by the Catholic party, and an ambitious sire, to aim at the hand even of Queen Mary of Scotland, he fell in the bloom of early manhood on the scaffold. Before this event occurred, however, his nomination as heir to Sir Alexander Ogilvie had led to a bloody encounter betwixt the Gordons and Ogilvies on the streets of Edinburgh, A.D. 1562, in which Lord Ogilvie of Airly was severely wounded. On Gordon being decapitated a few months afterwards, James Ogilvie succeeded without trouble to nearly the whole of the lands of his fathers. His grandson was the first LORD (OGILVIE of) DESKFORD, so created in 1616 by James VI. His son James rose still higher in the peerage, being honoured, in 1638, with the title of EARL of FINLATER (or FINDLATER). But his spouse brought to him no male heirs, and he obtained a new patent destining his earldom to his son-in-law, Sir Patrick Ogilvie of Inchmartin, another scion of the same old line of Auchterhouse.

Becoming second earl, accordingly, he was followed in succession by his son and grandson, both named James. The latter of them, fourth Earl of Finlater, having been born and bred with the views of a second son, entered life as a lawyer and statesman, and rose by degrees to the first rank in these departments in Scotland. He was one of five Scottish senators who supported James VII. in his last pretensions to rule, but took the oaths to William and Mary, when the former prince lost the throne decisively. Under the new regime, James Ogilvie was named solicitor-general, knighted, made a sheriff, and finally created secretary of state in 1696. He seemed a man adapted for "all weathers," and mounted rapidly in life. To permit of his sitting with credit as President of the Scottish parliament, he obtained the dignity of the peerage in 1698, as **VISCOUNT SEAFIELD**; and he repaid his elevation by his zeal in serving the English court. His lordship sat several times as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, having also been nominated **EARL OF SEAFIELD** in 1701. In 1702 he obtained the Lord-Chancellorship. When the Union became a question of moment, the Earl of Seafield acted as one of the leading commissioners for drawing up the treaty, in 1702. He was, in fact, the great agent of the court at this period. A contemporary graphically describes him as a man "of great knowledge" in respect the national laws and constitution, well skilled in the art of managing parliament, very beautiful in person, with a graceful behaviour, a smiling countenance, and a soft tongue—but "not sincere." The after-history of the Earl of Seafield proves thoroughly the truth of this description, its significant drawback not excluded. In Queen Anne's time, he played the part of a warm advocate of the Union; and when it was finally arranged and concluded, he turned from his completed task with the heartless remark, "Now, there is an end of an auld sang!" Whatever may be now thought of the Union and its results, it is impossible to deny that a true sense of patriotism actuated its opponents generally, and that its advocates were but the servile tools of the court, a very few parties only excepted. The Chancellor Seafield cannot have the benefit of that exception. Sir Walter Scott, the best of all authorities on all Scottish subjects, describes his lordship's behaviour on that memorable occasion as having been marked by "brutal levity." Lord Seafield obtained his expected reward, being continued in his high offices, and receiving also a pension of £3000 out of the post-office returns. It is worthy of note, that the title of Lord Chancellor of Scotland was changed in his time into that of Lord Chancellor of the Scottish Court of Exchequer, the English Lord Chancellor claiming the right, and justly, to be styled High Chancellor of all Britain after the Union. It is almost needless to remark, that necessity had led to an extensive subdivision of the duties of the great post of Lord Chancellor even in England: the department of Finance, for example, being wholly severed from that of law. Still the purse, the seals, and other remaining official emblems indicate, that the Lord High Chancellor of England was originally the keeper of its national treasury, as well as first legal judge of the land; and from his being also keeper of the royal conscience, it is pretty clear that the holder of these onerous employments was likewise very often the highest ecclesiastic of the country. Who can wonder that, under such circumstances, an A-Beckett should have waxed proud enough to beard his sovereign, or that a Wolsey should have dreamed of a temporal crown and the spiritual headship of Christendom?

The Scottish Chancellors, at least latterly, did not fill a place so exalted, either legal or clerical, financial or political. Still their post had been an influential one, until the Union turned them into mere local lawyers or judges. Seafield, who, at the death of his father in 1711, became Earl both of Finlater and Seafield, was the very first man to discover how lamentably the act in question had diminished the importance of Scottish officials of his own stamp. The English ministers evidently felt, or thought, that they had drawn the teeth and cut the claws of the lion of the north, and that they might scorn its roar with safety. Lord Seafield tried, at least, to redeem his lost ground. Having a seat in the House of Lords as a representative peer, he actually stood

up in that assembly in June 1713, and made a motion for the Repeal of the Treaty of Union. As he, of all others, was the man who seemed at the time to have most slavishly obeyed the wishes of the court in getting it passed, this proposal excited universal surprise. The earl explained his conduct, by asserting that the terms of the Union Act had been violated; and he pointed to four special instances of such violations. In our humble opinion, the first one embraces the whole, and denotes what formed the actual grievance in the eyes of Seafield. That Scotland had been "deprived of a Privy Council," constituted, in few words, his primary head of complaint. And true it is, that a vast amount of influence, and the fruits of that influence, had vanished with the said body, which, from the time of James VI., had reigned with absolute despotism in Scotland, the lives and lands of men lying alike at its mercy. The king was formally asked, beyond doubt, to sanction such and such a statute or forfeiture; but, as the Privy Council took care to act as sole reporters to his majesty, the general issue in such matters may readily be imagined. The withdrawal of their large powers from the Scottish servants of the crown, after the Union, seems then, the character of Seafield being considered, to have formed his true reason for proposing to repeal the treaty of Union, which he had mainly aided to carry. If the proposer stood in a strange position on this occasion, his proposal had as strange a fate. Out of 108 peers, 54 voted for Repeal, and 54 against it; while 13 proxies were produced on the former side, and 17 on the latter, the Union act being thus sustained by a majority of *four votes*! This circumstance is remarkable, not as indicating that the Union stood any serious chance of being lastingly annulled, but as showing that the English peers did not deem the national junction a benefit to them, but the very reverse. The sixteen representative peers were the only Scots then in the House. Such a fact overturns wholly the averment of Lord Belhaven and Fletcher of Salton, that the English senate, and indeed entire England, gloried in the Union as the consummation of Scotland's disgrace and downfall. The English barons, we see, were here within an ace of practically repudiating the connection. However, had they done so, it would have at most been but a brief postponement of a measure which the junction of the crowns had rendered inevitable, and which the real interests of both countries demanded. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745 do not contradict this view of things. They but show that the Scottish nobles and chiefs felt deeply their loss of influence through the Union. The Earl of Mar, for example, almost admittedly adopted the Stewart cause in a pet, arising from what he deemed the neglect of the court; and, indeed, with the exception of old Balmerino and one or two others, few among the leaders of the insurgents of 1715 or 1745 had much better reasons to assign for their rising in arms against the Hanoverian dynasty. Personal bravery, when in arms, was assuredly shown by many. But that is a different consideration wholly.

Though the Earl of Finlater and Seafield did all that has been here recorded, he kept his place at the head of the law in Scotland, seemingly through the force of his extraordinary business talents. He had one excellent quality, in particular, being a great shortener of law-suits. To his further honour be it said, that he paid all his father's large debts, and improved materially the condition of his tenantry and estates. Dying in 1730, at the age of sixty-six, he left, by Anne Dunbar, his successor James, two other sons, and two daughters, who became Countesses of Lauderdale and Fife. Of James, fifth Earl of Finlater and second of Seafield, little needs to be said. Through the influence of his sire, he obtained several public offices, holding the vice-admiralship of Scotland up to the period of his death, which took place in 1764. His first wife, Lady Elizabeth Hay of the Kinnoul family, bore to him his heir James, with two daughters, the elder of whom married Sir Ludovic Grant of Grant. James, the sixth earl, is recorded as a nobleman of worth, occupying in his time various public situations in Scotland, and filling all with diligence and ability. By Lady Mary Murray, daughter of the Duke of Athole, he had James, seventh Earl of Finlater, and fourth of Seafield, who wedded the daughter of Count Murray of Melgum, a Scottish baronet and German noble, but by her had no

issue. The Finlater honours, being destined to heirs-male, became accordingly dormant at his decease in 1811; but the earldom of Seafield, being designed to heirs-general, fell to the grandson of his aunt, Lady Margaret Ogilvie, namely Sir Lewis Alexander Grant of Grant, Bart. At his death in 1840, his brother Francis-William succeeded, as sixth earl. His son, John Charles, Viscount of REIDHAVEN, born in 1815, is now heir-apparent to the family honours. The Lairdship of Grant has thus merged in the Earldom of Seafield, the holders of which take the name of "Grant-Ogilvie."

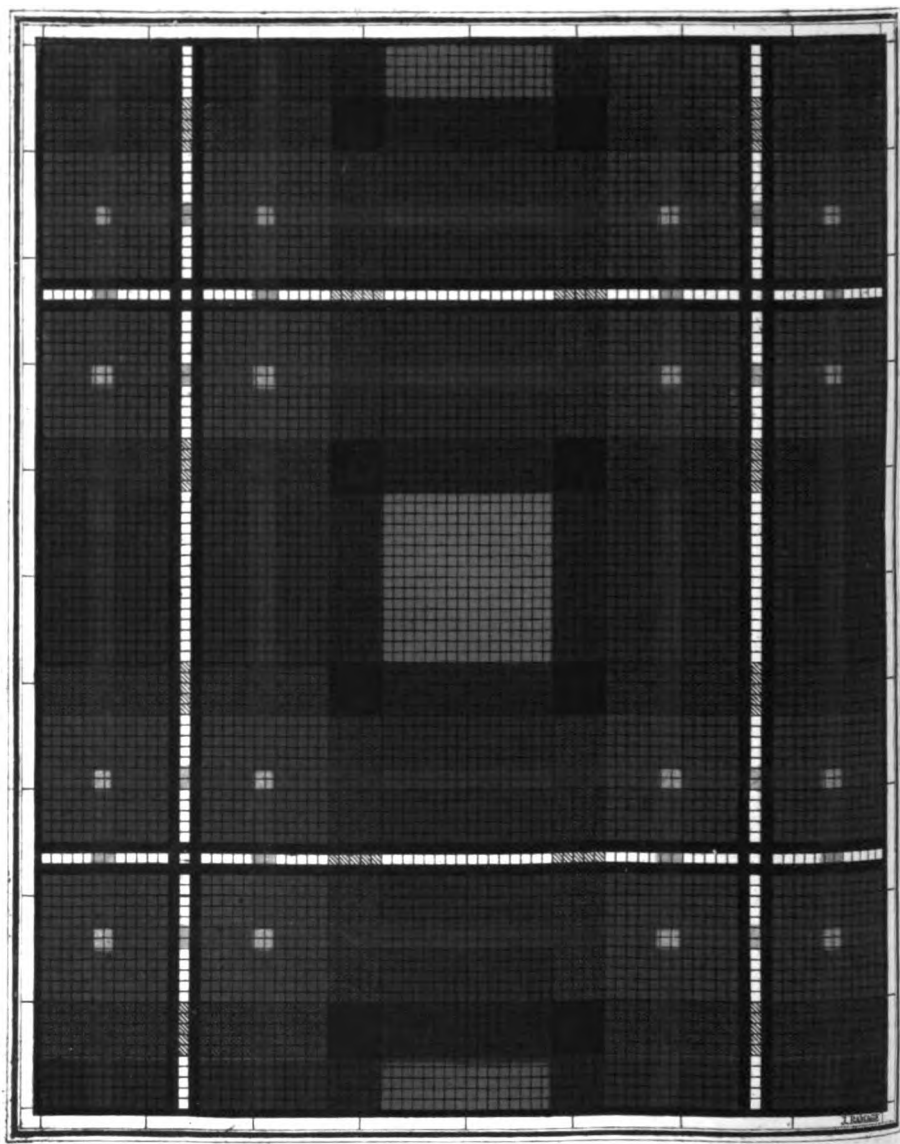
The ennobled Banff branch of the Ogilvies sprung from a younger brother of the founder of the Finlater line, namely, Sir Walter of Boyne, second son of a second son of the chief of the Lintrathen or Airly Ogilvies. By a marriage with the heiress of Boyne in Banffshire in the fifteenth century, that property fell into the possession of Walter, as it would appear; but his second son, another Walter, termed of Dunlugus, was the first of the proper Banff line, obtaining various possessions in the county of that name, and being provost or *præpositus* of the town of Banff. The word "provost" means "a person set over others;" and curious and various changes did the term undergo, seemingly, before becoming the title of a Scottish chief magistrate. By Alison Hume of Fastcastle, Sir Walter obtained a good estate, and left a son George, who succeeded him. George was duly succeeded in turn by a son and grandson, leaving also a large number of other descendants. Arthur Johnston, a Scottish scholar of high note, recorded the age and merits of this Sir George Ogilvie of Banff in a well-turned epigram. An "Olympiad," he it observed, formed a term of four years by the Greek mode of counting time, so that Sir George had reached the age of eighty-four. A rude version of the original Latin is here given—

"Olympiads, thrice seven, did Banff behold;
His race outnumbered these, when three times told.
Compute his virtues one by one, and you
Will find his children and his years but few."

This sire of many sons and daughters (*two hundred and fifty-four* by the reckoning at the time of his decease), left an heir Walter, and another son, Sir George Ogilvie of Carnousie, created a baronet by that title in 1626. The son of the said heir Walter, continuator of the main Banff line, obtained also a baronetcy of Nova Scotia in 1627, as Sir George Ogilvie; and Charles I. afterwards conferred on him (in 1642) the title of LORD BANFF. The second peer of the name succeeded in 1663, and died in 1668. His successor shared in the labours of his kinsman, Seafield, in carrying through the Union Treaty, and received as his proportion of the £20,000, distributed as pay for votes on that occasion, the sum of £11:2s. being the cheapest purchase then made. This fund got the name of arrear-money, due by government to individuals; but no one now looks on it as anything else than bribe-money. Lord Banff not only did the required work very cheaply, but, to give himself a seat and vote, had renounced previously "the errors of popery." The third Lord Banff met an unhappy death, perishing in the mansion of Inchdrue when it was consumed by fire. His heir, George, held the title from 1713 to 1718; and the next peer, fifth in succession, lost his life while bathing (A.D. 1738), leaving behind him many regrets from the high promise of his youth. His brother became the sixth Lord, and died in 1746, after a short yet honourable career in the naval service, without leaving issue. The representative of the Ogilvies of Forglen, sprung from the second peer, inherited then the title and estate of Banff, and also a baronetcy conferred specially on the Forglen branch in 1701. Alexander, seventh lord, left at his decease in 1771 a son, William, eighth Lord Banff, who died unmarried in 1803. His hereditary possessions fell to his sister Jane, wife of Sir George Abercromby of Birkenbog. By her representative, Sir Robert, the head of his very old and eminent house, are the possessions in question now held. The Banff title became dormant, and so still remains.

The house of Ogilvie, the chief branches of which have thus been noticed, is represented in the direct male line by the family of Airly, while another ennobled branch is represented, through a female ancestor, by the chief of the

XLIX



Clan Ferguson

Grants. The Finlater peerage, as also that of Banff, found a claimant in Sir William Ogilvie of Carnousie, Bart. The House of Lords have not sanctioned his pretensions. Indeed, though at least four baronetcies of Nova Scotia were bestowed on the Ogilvie family, not one appears in most of our Almanacks of the last century, save that of Innerquharity. This most respectable order of titled Scottish gentry, if really heedful of their honours, would do well to institute an inquiry into the rights of many who now rank as members of their body. Descendants of females have crept in amongst them in various cases; and others have obtained titles by what all men allow to be the weakest of all authorities, a private and undisputed jury service. Curious cases occur occasionally. It is odd enough that one particular baronet holds two different titles, by totally different patronymical names, and yet is distinctly *male heir*, we believe, of both the families on which these titles were conferred, and rightful possessor of both dignities. If baronetcies be only inheritable by the oldest males, how can any one man, it may be asked, rightly hold two titles conferred on parties of totally different family names? The solution of this riddle is simple. A younger son of a baronet marries an heiress, takes her name, and obtains a separate baronetcy under that name. The paternal branch becomes extinct, and his lineal successor falls heir to the proper patrimonial title, as well as to the one otherwise conferred. He is rightful male heir to both, to all intents and purposes. Though declining to give any opinion about these Ogilvie claims and baronetcies, it should yet be mentioned, that a Nova-Scotian title was conferred by Charles II. on Sir George Ogilvie of Barras, in 1661, for his aiding the Keiths to preserve the Regalia of Scotland. The family of Barras seems to have now become extinct, though only within these thirty years. Of the many minor and yet respectable houses of the Ogilvie name, we cannot undertake to give any detailed notice. Most of them have sprung from the ennobled branches specially mentioned; and the eastern coast of Scotland, beyond the Tay, continues to be the chief site of the family.

ARMS OF THE CLAN OGILVIE.

Argent, a lion passant, guardant, gules, crowned with a crown, or.

SUPPORTERS. Two bulls, sable.

CREST. A female, half length.

MOTTO. *A fin* (To the end).

BADGE. Alkanet.



CLAN FERGUSON.

Though the FERGUSONS may not at any time have been ranked as a proper and separate CLAN of importance, or even have been generally regarded as at all connected by blood, with the Gael, they have always formed one of the septs of note, which lay within the old Highland line, and which adopted so far Highland customs. In short, they stood in the same position as the Ogilvies, or the Lindsays, though not so powerful as either of these houses at any period. The proper seat of the Fergusons seems to have been on the boundaries of Perth and Forfarshires, immediately to the north of Dunkeld, where they neighboured the two families above mentioned, along with the Robertsons and Athole Stewarts. The mere name of the Fergusons would indeed lead us to guess that the founders of the family had a Gaelic origin. As has been already mentioned, the term "Fergus" is unquestionably Gaelic, being composed, to all appearance, out of the Gaelic "fearg," which signifies "anger, wrath;" while its derivative "feargach" means one "bold, irritable, haughty, domineering;" and, indeed, it is perhaps much the same word with the Teutonic "fierce," there being many

such sympathetic similarities in the primitive languages. It has been conjectured, that "fear" (a man) and "ghais" or "gath" (a spear) constitute the Eire roots of the name of Fergus; but we must hold by the less far-fetched term of "fearg" as the radical of the name of Fergus. From Fergus, when it became a pre-name, not to say a Christian name, the generic designation of the "Fergusons," or "Sons of Fergus," obviously sprung. At the same time, the Gaelic origin of the word Fergus by no means demonstrate that all bearing it or its derivatives must have been of Gaelic blood. The glaringly anti-Gaelic name of "Norman" became even a favourite, for example, in many purely Celtic families. So that we are only justified in holding, at the most, that the primary Ferguses and Fergusons at least participated in the blood of the Gael, whom they closely adjoined locally.

Our general conclusion thus is, that the primitive and proper Fergusons were in part Gaelic; though to assume all of the name to belong to one special line or family would be as ridiculous, in our opinion, as to count kindred among the Jacksons or Dicksons. As Fergus became a common pre-name at an early date, so Sons of Fergus, or Fergusons, are to be found settled in various quarters in very old times. The name occurs in the annals of the Ayr district in the days of Robert the Bruce, who granted a charter to a Ferguson or Fergusson, seemingly the founder of the Kilkerran branch, still a flourishing one. The Fergusons also appear as early inhabitants of portions of Mar and Athole, where their proper seat, as a clan, certainly lay originally. They are named in the Roll of 1587, as among the septes of these regions having chiefs and captains of their own; and they were at that epoch ranked as at least Highland Borderers, if not absolutely as Highlanders. Several strong branches of the name likewise sprung up in Galloway at an early date. Among these, the Craighdarroch Fergussons have long held a high position, being still respectable as landed gentry. In Fife, too, there have long been settled distinguished landholders of the name, as those of Raith, now represented by Robert Ferguson, Esq., M.P. for the Fifeshire burghs. But, in reality, it would be out of the question to rank all such parties as of one clan-family. The Kilkerran Fergusons (for so they spell their name) may be held to be capable, we believe, of proving the oldest settlement as estated proprietors by charters; and, since the proper Athole Fergusons fell under the domination of the ducal Murrays, they may therefore claim to be the chief family of the name now existing in Scotland. They at least head the branch of the west; although the terms of the charter of Robert I., which is granted "Fergusio Fergusii filio" (to Fergus the son of Fergus), render it probable that the name of Fergusson had not been borne by their line before that period; and that they claimed no connection accordingly, with those older Fergusons, who assume descent from one of the Scottish monarchs—although on no solid grounds. The names of John and Fergus Fergusson of Kilkerran occur in the year 1466, showing that the family title had then been fixed. In the time of Charles I., the Kilkerran line suffered much in the cause of loyalty, and, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the eldest branch sold the lands to a wealthier younger one, whose representative was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1703. From him springs the present Sir Charles Dalrymple Fergusson of Kilkerran. The elder line, styled latterly of Auchinblain, appears to have become extinct, and so to have left Sir Charles the head of the Fergussons of the west of Scotland.

Many able men of the name of Ferguson have illuminated the Scottish annals. In the exact sciences, who, in the last century, stood above James Ferguson—a genius in all respects self-taught? In grave literature, Adam Ferguson shone with equal lustre. The former of these two eminent Fergusons was born in 1710 in the lowest ranks of rural life. He taught himself to read before even his parents knew that he could tell one letter from another; and, while almost a mere child, he discovered the mechanical powers of the lever, and the wheel and axle, without a particle of aid from any one. These powers, it is true, had been long previously known, used, and recorded in writings, but the guideless peasant-boy was not less a discoverer than he who first found

them out in the world's rudest times. He made further discoveries in mechanics while still unassisted; but his astronomical observations were more wonderful than all his doings. By holding a string of beads betwixt his eyes and, the heavens by night—lying on his back—and by fixing beads at certain points on that string in accurate relation to one another, he actually made out, finally, a most valuable chart, recording the sites of the great heavenly bodies. As the production of a shepherd-boy, labouring under all possible disadvantages, this celestial chart was deemed something wonderful, and justly. Patrons rose up to befriend him, though very slowly. Among his other early feats, Ferguson, learning the need of a moving power in a time-piece, made one with a *whale-bone* spring! He knew of no better material, and took his idea from a single view of a watch. As he progressed in life, he obtained the use of books, and became ultimately one of the first professors of exact science of his day, leaving many valuable works to posterity. He died in 1776.

Adam Ferguson, who flourished betwixt 1724 and 1816, was a man of a different stamp, and yet equally an ornament to the name. He entered the church when young, and served as the chaplain of a Scottish regiment (the Black Watch) for some years. He was present at the famous battle of Fontenoy (A.D. 1745), and entered hotly into the fight, it is said, in spite of the remonstrances of his commander, who begged him to remember his calling. "There lie the cloth!" cried Ferguson, casting off his gown; and on he rushed with his comrades. On leaving the army, his unquestioned merits raised him to the chairs, successively, of Natural and of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. The latter office he long held with high honour, forming one of the chief ornaments of a city which could boast at the time of a galaxy of talent never equalled, perhaps, unless by the more recent assemblage of luminaries at Weimar in Germany. The names of Hume, Robertson, Home, Black, Hutton, Adam Smith, and others, will bear out fully this averment. The most valuable work of Adam Ferguson, his "History of the Roman Republic," is truly admirable as a "digest" of the information procurable from old historians. It throws into a luminous shape all that the various classical writers told of the primitive Romans; but Ferguson did not examine these annals with the sceptical eye of a Niebuhr. And, in truth, while the latter has assuredly unsettled our belief in the ancient stories—such as those of Curtius, Brutus, and the Horatii—we know not that he has given to us anything like an equivalent, or indeed done much benefit to mankind generally. "The truth is the truth," says a good and venerable saw; but yet the general belief of men in the tales of Roman (and Grecian) patriotism had a practical value, poorly compensated by the substitution of mere doubts. The inquiries of Niebuhr ended almost uniformly in doubting. He planted no solid *facts* in room of what he displaced and disproved; and a thousand "Lays of Ancient Rome" will not so effectually point the way to the goals of valour and virtue, as did the examples laid down in the once accredited histories. If these were but old songs, they at least were better than the new. The work of Adam Ferguson on Rome will ever be a standard one, despite all cavillings. This able man lived to be a friend of Walter Scott, and probably did much to initiate him into the domestic history of the last generation.

Robert Fergusson, the poet, was another ornament to the name. He was one of those meteoric marvels of youthful genius, of whom an early extinction seems to be the common if not inevitable doom. He cannot be compared, indeed, with Chatterton or Keats; and yet the distinction might arise as much from circumstances as from inferiority of natural powers. Fergusson was born in 1751, and died in 1774. During that brief term of existence, he produced pieces which stamp him as one of the true class alluded to by Cicero, when he says—"A poet is born, not made"—that is, a poet is a creation of nature, not an elaboration of art. Though the greatest poets have ever combined the powers of art with those of nature, the axiom is unquestionably borne out by many striking examples, that of Fergusson among others. Ovid in like circumstances

says—"Et quod tentabam dicere, versus erat." So might the Scottish bard have exclaimed—

" And ilka thought that crossed my pow
Bleezed out in rhyme—I wotna how."

Fergusson, the "writer chiel," had undoubtedly the merit of having given an impulse to the genius of a far greater poet than he, Robert Burns—"Ultimus Romanorum"—destined, seemingly, to be the last, as he was the most illustrious, of all the wielders of the native Doric tongue of Scotland. Twelve years (in 1786) after the death of Fergusson, Burns raised a monument to his memory in the Canongate church-yard of Edinburgh. Such a trophy, like mercy, was twice blessed. It honoured alike him who gave, and him who received!

Many other Fergusons might justly receive a passing notice here, and none more justly than old Lord Hermand (of the Kilkerran house), a Senator of the Scottish College of Justice. During the first fourth of the nineteenth century, Lord Hermand remained on the Bench, a last and aged relic of the Pleydell school of Scottish barristers. His eccentricities were many and marked. When "Guy Mannering" came out, describing the themitic game of High Jinks, the venerable judge was so delighted that he carried the novel with him to the judicial seat, and could scarcely be restrained from there quoting it to the delectation of the public generally. The then unknown author, who sat close by, at the clerk's table, must have been so far a sharer in the glee of the old judge.

ARMS OF THE CLAN FERGUSON.

Azure, a buckle argent, betwixt three boars' heads, couped, or.

CREST. A bee upon a thistle.

MOTTO. *Dulcius ex asperis* (Sweeter from difficulties).

BADGE. Sun-flower.



CLAN MURRAY.

The family of the MURRAYS, one of the most renowned in Scottish history, has been ascribed to Germany and to Flanders. The name of *de Moravia*, however, under which the Murrays first appear in Latin charters, seems to have formed the chief reason for assigning to them a foreign lineage. It is but a lame reason in all points of view. The word *Murrev* is found in very old native records as the name of a large district in the north, latterly curtailed in its limits, and known as "Morayshire." It constituted one of the ancient Maormorships, and almost certainly had a ruler of the Gaelic blood and race at no very remote date. A certain Freskin or Freskinus is styled the first lord *de Moravia* of the later line, being, according to one view mentioned, a foreigner who was sent to subdue the people of Moray, and who obtained their lands from David I., at the commencement of the twelfth century. The Sutherland family are commonly reputed to have been the oldest line sprung from Freskin of Moray, who is more likely to have belonged to the Gaelic than to any other race. At all events, there is nothing but the vaguest tradition to support the hypothesis of a foreign origin on the part of Freskin, seeing that the permanent family name of "de Moravia" plainly had its source in the Latinised district term of Murrev, and had not the slightest connection with any region called Moravia on the continent of Europe.

The first Freskin, according to Nisbet and Chalmers, is traceable in records about 1130, and his son William flourished about 1160 and 1170, in the reigns of David I., Malcolm IV., and William the Lion. The next of the family, commonly named Hugh Freskin, acquired the territory of Sutherland, having

L.

J. HAMMER

Clan Murray

suppressed in 1197 a rebellion excited by its former lords. He is said to have founded the Sutherland family, and it is very possible that his movement northwards may have originally suggested the whole story about his family being incomers or strangers. His eldest son, William, is reckoned as the first Earl of Sutherland (having held the title A.D. 1228); and his second son, Walter, enjoyed the lordship of de Moravia or Moray; but, as he died without male heirs, William, brother of Hugh Freskin, continued the line, inheriting at least part of the family lands. His son, Walter, appears distinctly as a baron of consequence in the first half of the thirteenth century, being chosen one of the Regents of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III. Dying about 1260, he left a son, another Walter, by a lady who appears to have brought with her the manor of Bothwell in Clydesdale, and so founded the first truly noted branch of the Murrays. His (second) son, and ultimate successor, was the famous Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, the friend and companion-in-arms of Sir William Wallace, and, after him, the most vigorous supporter of Scottish independence. As he carried to the Lowlands the name of de Moravia, which, for the sake of clearness, we shall set down henceforth as MURRAY, it may be presumed to have become in his time a regular family patronymic, though certainly originating in the title of a northern locality. Sir Andrew of Bothwell swore fealty to Edward I. in 1290; but afterwards wiped away the stain most nobly, adhering to Wallace when almost all the other Scottish barons deserted him, and leading in concert with him the armies of Scotland. Authentic documents style them conjoint "duces" or chiefs of these armies. In September 1297, Sir Andrew Murray fell on the field of battle at Stirling, when the English, under Warren and Cressingham, were so signally routed by Wallace. Murray must have been a man of great possessions and influence in his time, being closely connected through his mother with the Cumyns. Indeed, Wintoun says, that a younger daughter of Red John of Badenoch himself was mother to "Sir Andrew Murrawe," as he spells the name. His heir was another Sir Andrew, who adhered to Bruce as staunchly as his sire had done to Wallace, and stood high in the favour of the said monarch, being created by him *Panetarius Scotiae*, literally "Pantry-man of Scotland," or Royal Purveyor—a post which, if not quite so honourable as that of Steward or Butler, must be held as at least more lofty than that which founded the fine Norman name of "De Bouverie," signifying its first owner to have been chief "Cow-herd" in his day. The second Sir Andrew Murray—a man trusted, even next to Sir James of Douglas by Robert the Bruce in his life-time, and honoured with the hand of his sister Christian Bruce—became the third Regent of Scotland during the minority of David II., and bravely defended his country and prince against England and the Baliols. Early in 1333, however, the Baliol party had assembled in force, and the Regent met them at Roxburgh, though with most insufficient powers. Captains of hosts obtained renown of old by wielding other weapons than telescopes. Like Wallace, Bruce, and Douglas, Sir Andrew Murray habitually fought in the front rank of his armies; and on the present occasion, rushing forward sword-in-hand to rescue a brave though humble comrade, he was hemmed in inextricably by the enemy, and taken, literally after he had won the battle. His high spirit here endangered his life. To the calls made on him to surrender, the Regent replied, "I yield but to the King of England. Conduct me to him." Being accordingly conveyed to Edward, then on the borders, he was thrown into close confinement. Next year, however, Murray was released on payment of a large ransom; and, when free, he commenced with unabated spirit to struggle in the cause of his nephew and independence, though that cause had received a heavy blow during his captivity, by the victory of the English at Halidon Hill. The lady of Sir Andrew, a woman worthy of her royal brother and her brave consort, held out Kildrummie Castle against all the power of the adherents of Edward Baliol. Re-appointed Regent, one of the first exploits of the Knight of Bothwell was to relieve the Castle of Kildrummie. The Earl of Athole of the time was its assailant, and headed three thousand men; but, being taken by surprise, he sustained a complete defeat at the hands of a much smaller force,

and fell in battle A.D. 1335. It is allowed that he perished gallantly, fighting with his back to an oak, and disdaining all proffers of mercy. With the Douglas of Liddesdale, and other brave Scots, who refused all offers of compromise from Edward III., Sir Andrew Murray went on with the good work, reducing the strong castles to the north of the Forth, and expelling the garrisons. It is to his honour, that he contented himself, even in the case of the Cumyn family, with the simple expulsion of his foes from Scottish ground. From Henry de Beaumont, for example, a claimant through his wife (Alice Cumyn) of the Buchan Earldom, he only took an oath that the party should never return to Scotland as an enemy, and then dismissed him safely. Such acts, in such times, reflect credit on the memory of Sir Andrew of Bothwell, who, if he lost one battle by rash personal venturousness, showed at other times even a most rare degree of caution and prudence in his campaigning. On one occasion, while in the Highlands with a very small force, he was informed of the close approach of the English king, with an army of twenty thousand men. Being then about to hear mass, Sir Andrew ordered the service to proceed, composedly remarking to his alarmed followers, who urged an instant retreat, "There is no need for haste." When the mass had been said, the impatient Scots at length saw with joy the horse of the Regent brought forth. But the chief noticed a broken strap about his accoutrements, and sent for a piece of hide, out of which he calmly and leisurely commenced to cut a new one. During this process the cry was still, "They come!" and some of the Scottish knights fretted grievously. But the thong was in time finished; and Sir Andrew then started at once into activity, effecting a most masterly retreat, his delay having allowed all parties to get into order, as it was intended to do, and his cool confidence having spread a similar feeling among the masses of his troops. The English, though so superior in numbers, could obtain no advantage over the well regulated body under Murray. Sir Andrew died in 1338, deeply lamented. The wars with the English still raged, and the state of the country was most miserable. No law could be said even to exist; the strong arm decided all. Rarely could the husbandman hope to reap where he had sown. Violence cut off more victims than nature; and starvation itself became feeder of the tomb. And yet this was the brave age of chivalry—of the Bruces and Plantagenets, the Percies and the Douglasses. The "good old times!"

Sir Andrew Murray, a man with many of the virtues and few of the defects of his epoch, left by Lady Christian Bruce two sons, John and Thomas, Lords of Bothwell in succession. Both filled high places, and Thomas gave himself up to England as one of the hostages for David II. Dying from plague in London about 1361, he left one sole child, Jean, who wedded Archibald the Grim, third Earl of Douglas, and so carried the Bothwell estates into the Douglas family, by the legal representative of whom they are yet held.

Thus began and ended the first family of Murrays of high note, in Scotland. As has been seen, they had no connection latterly with Morayshire, which lordship was bestowed by Robert the Bruce on his brother-in-law, the famous Randolph, Earl of Moray, for many years the Regent of Scotland. In the deed of grant, it is mentioned that the district had been previously in the hands of the crown, probably by the forfeiture of some of the old "de Moravia line. By a marriage with the Randolph heiress, the March Dunbars became the next Earls of Moray, and finally the Stewart kings turned it into an appanage of their own house. By one branch of that house it is yet held. The readers of Scottish history must not confound any of the later Earls of Moray, or Murray, with the true "de Moravia" family.

The great existing family of the Murrays of **ATHOLE**, long eminent in the annals of Scotland, now claims our attention. The original "de Moravia" stock almost certainly gave off the Athole branch; but the connection is not clearly made out in respect of particulars. It is only stated to us, that Sir John de Moravia was a near kinsman of William, brother of Hugh Freskin, who was grandson to the first of the Freskin name. The chartulary of Arbroath establishes the fact of the existence of a John de Moravia at that period; and the

probability is that they were of the same blood with the Bothwell Murrays, whom we cannot absolutely prove to be of native Gaelic descent, but find no sound reason to set down as foreigners. Sir John de Moravia, the founder of the Athole house, acted as Sheriff of Perth in the reign of Alexander II., or about 1220; and his family, from that date, became a leading one in the county of Perth. His heir, Sir Malcolm, appears distinctly in charters dated betwixt 1236 and 1284; and he had two sons, John and William, the latter being the successor ultimately. William "de Moravia" (for the old style was kept up in deeds) wedded Ada, daughter of Malise, Earl of Strathern, and became lord or laird of TULLIBARDINE, long the territorial title of his descendants. Sir William flourished in the Bruce and Baliol times, and left a son, known as Sir Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, who took a noted part in the contests of his age, and contributed mainly to the success of the Baliol party at the battle of Dupplin, A.D. 1332. He did not join that party openly, as Buchanan and others say; but he fixed stakes in the Tay, to point out where they might cross, and surprise by night their Brucian adversaries. The opportunity was used most effectively, three thousand of the adherents of David Bruce being slain, and among them the Regent Mar, with many of the foremost men among the Scottish nobility. Baliol was crowned in consequence of this victory, but Andrew Murray of Tullibardine fell into the hands of the Bruce faction in the following year, and paid for his doings with his life. His son Sir William, however, with his successors John and Walter, still held the Tullibardine lands in Perthshire, and obtained others. From David II., Walter Murray, styled sixth from the first Sir John de Moravia, received various territorial grants—probably for the same reasons which led all the early Lowland kings habitually to give away Highland estates to powerful men on the northern borders. Such parties acted as defensive outposts or sentries to the Lowlands; and the sovereigns at Stirling or Holyrood granted rights and charters just as this person or that person seemed most likely to serve well the crown and country. The Tullibardine family grew strong and acquired sway among the Gael, partly from this cause. David, the son of the Walter Murray mentioned, received the honour of knighthood from James I.; and James II. erected the Tullibardine lands into a free barony, A.D. 1445. At that epoch, however, from which so many peerages are dated, Sir David was not summoned as a lord of parliament; and the fact shows that he still held the position but of a "laird" or minor baron. He had a number of children by a daughter of Stewart of Innermeath and Lorn. His younger sons founded the Drysal, Ochertyre, Strowan, and Tippermuir lines of the Murrays. From these sprung many of the families bearing as yet this respectable and well-known name. The Ochertyre branch, in particular, sent off many cadets of old, and, among others, that which once held the Earldom of Dysart, and the Murrays of Woodend.

The family spread even more widely in the next generation. The son of Sir David, named William, succeeded in 1446; and, according to the family story, which there is no good reason to disbelieve, he had by Margaret Colquhoun of Luss not less than *seventeen sons*, many of them founders of respectable houses. Sir William of Tullibardine, the eldest, lived in the time of three of the Stewart kings, and died about 1511, leaving his heir, William, and Andrew, founder of the first Stormont (Mansfield) line. William of Tullibardine was succeeded by other two Williams successively, and the last by a Sir John, who was created, by James VI., LORD MURRAY OF TULLIBARDINE in 1604, and EARL OF TULLIBARDINE in 1606. His son William, marrying the Lady Dorothea Stewart, heiress of the last Earl of Athole, obtained for his eldest son that ancient title, in place of that of Tullibardine, which was given to a brother, but returned to the main branch finally. The earldom of Athole (Athol or Atholl) had been an earldom before patronymics were known or used; it had been borne by one race (males and females) for thirteen generations; it had been given to Campbells and Douglasses; and, finally, it became an appanage of the crown, and was held by successive Stewarts. The last holders were descended from the Stewarts of Lorn; and the fifth Earl of that line was father to Lady

Dorothea, who carried the title to the Murrays, after the decease of all male claimants. On the 17th of February, 1628-9, Charles I., by a charter of *nomination*, confirmed to John, son of the second Earl of Tullibardine, the honour and dignity of EARL of ATHOLE, leaving the point unsettled as to his right to the old title of 1457, as heir-general. The Tullibardine house had possessed much influence in the Athole district previously, and they now became its dominant lords. By their Stewart heritage, they obtained command of a large clan-following of that name, Duncan Forbes reckoning the able-bodied and serviceable Stewarts of Athole, in 1745, to amount to one thousand. President Forbes likewise says, "The Murrays is no clan family," but they have a large following, he adds, in the Athole district, "Fergusons, Smalls, Spaldings, Rattrays, Macintoshes, and Maclarens, with other broken names," being among the parties subservient to the Lord of Athole. Five hundred Robertsons also followed his banner, and not that of Strowan. These facts prove, that the native Highlanders took one clan-name only where they had no others given to them baptismally. Further north, and in earlier times, all who served Athole would have taken the name of his family, as that of Fraser was taken by those serving Lovat. But, in Perthshire, the customs of civilisation made progress at an early date; and though many of the Gael there looked upon Athole as their legitimate chief, they did not call themselves Murrays. Those who were really of his blood alone took his name, and nearly all of them became planters, as landed gentry, while several branches rose separately even to the honours of nobility. Such facts demonstrate, that it is a great error to look on all the Macdonalds as of the race of Somerled, or all the Stewarts as connected by lineage with royalty. If any family should have founded a large community or clan all of one name and kindred, the Murrays were the parties, since their prolificness was most remarkable. Witness the case of that Laird of Tullibardine who had the rare number of seventeen sons.

John, created first Earl of Athole of his line, adhered to the cause of Charles I., and raised eighteen hundred men for his service, at the outbreak of the civil wars. But he was entrapped personally by Argyle, and forced to disband them at command of the Estates of Parliament. Dying in 1642, he was succeeded by his son John, second Earl and first MARQUIS of ATHOLE, so created in 1676 by Charles II. He had followed in his father's footsteps, and had raised two thousand men from his estates to serve the Stewarts. When the genius and daring of Cromwell repressed all opposition, Lord Athole suffered pecuniarily with others, but retained his life, and, at the Restoration, became a leading man in Scotland. He obtained the justice-generalship in 1663, with other high offices, some of which had been borne by his hereditary adversaries, the Argyle chiefs. The Marquis of Athole, however, opposed the noted Duke of Lauderdale, and lost ground before that unscrupulous statesman. When the Revolution of 1688 occurred, he went personally to pay his homage to William of Orange, but failed to re-establish himself in his predominance in Scotland. Retiring thereupon to his country residence, he passed his last years in repose, and died in 1703. He had formed a lofty marriage, his spouse being Lady Amelia Sophia Stanley, daughter of James, Earl of Derby, by Charlotte de la Tremouille, of the ducal house of that name in France, and which could boast of alliances with the sovereign lines of Germany, France, Spain, Orange, and Savoy. By this high-blooded consort, the Marquis left John, his successor, with Lord Charles, created EARL of DUNMORE, in 1686, and Lord William, who became the second LORD NAIRNE, in consequence of his marrying the heiress of the first peer. Other children were born to the first Marquis, and among them Lady Amelia, wedded to Hugh, tenth Lord Lovat, and so disgracefully used by his kinsman, Simon of Beaufort, in her days of widowhood. The Athole title fell to John, second Marquis and first DUKE of ATHOLE, to which dignity he attained in 1703. He had filled a prominent place in the public eye in his father's life-time, having been personally raised to the peerage for life, in 1696, as EARL of TULLIBARDINE, a family honour which had lapsed to his sire in 1670. The posts of Secretary of State, High Commissioner to the Scot-

tish Parliament, and Lord Privy-Seal, with others, were successively held by him; and, his father dying in 1703, he obtained in the same year the highest honour, as stated, which the crown could bestow on a subject. As a politician he was able, but also unstable, having on the whole Jacobite leanings, which led him at times to defend the fair rights of Scotland against English cabinets, as in the introduction of the Act of Security in 1703, and, at other times, drew down on him such suspicions as endangered his life. His bitter foe, Simon, Lord Lovat, gave information to the Duke of Queensberry, seemingly implicating his Grace of Athole with the Jacobites; but the latter boldly demanded a full inquiry, and, though this was not accorded, the charge against him fell to the ground. He thereupon joined the opponents of the Union. After the passing of that act, when the Tory party came once more into power, the Duke of Athole regained some of the highest offices in Scotland. However, he proclaimed George I. at Perth in 1714, and gave no direct countenance to the rising of 1715. Some members of his family, indeed, figured among the most ardent Jacobites both at that period, and in 1745. By Lady Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, his Grace had six sons, of whom two died young, and three became noted supporters of the Stewarts. The other, the third in point of age, became second Duke of Athole, his father having obtained an act of Parliament vesting in him the family succession, when endangered by the conduct of the proper heir in 1715. The three Jacobite brothers, the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord John, and Lord George Murray, lost all by their adhesion to the Stewarts. By a second wife, Mary, daughter of Lord Ross, the first duke had three remaining sons, who all served the Hanoverian dynasty. At his decease in 1724, his Grace was succeeded, in terms of his prudent provision, by James, second Duke of Athole.

Of the three brothers, who adhered to the Stewarts, ordinary history has much to tell. The Marquis of Tullibardine joined Mar in 1715, the invading Spaniards at Glenshiel in 1719, and, lastly, the insurgents of 1745. He died a captive in the Tower of London in 1746. Lord Charles Murray acted in the 1715 rebellion. The next Jacobite brother, Lord George Murray, was by far the most able of the three, if not the most talented chief who drew a sword for the last Stewarts. He is spoken of in high terms by Sir Walter Scott, whose unbounded amount of information on Scottish affairs, combined with genius and judgment seldom paralleled, causes us to look on him as the best of authorities on the national annals, in all cases where he delivers an opinion gravely. But Lord George Murray had an uncompromising temper, as well as high pride of birth, and a strong sense of personal consequence. He also showed a deep deep contempt for the French and Irish favourites of the Chevalier, whom he even dared to thwart personally in council more than once.

From these causes this able follower of Charles acquired enemies, who even shook his favour with the prince for whom he was sacrificing all. It is but justice to Lord George to aver, that almost every sound and wise step, taken in the campaign of 1745, appears to have resulted from his prompting. He held it as a grand truth, that Scotland alone was at that time prepared to re-accept a Stewart dynasty, an opinion found to be but too well based. He went to England, however, and behaved well there, commanding the rear-guard in the retreat from that country. At Clifton, near Penrith, he was overtaken at night by the enemy, a party of whom suddenly assailed himself and his friend Cluny with musketry. "What the devil is this?" cried the Macpherson chief. "There is no time to be lost!" exclaimed Lord George; "we must instantly charge!" And, waving his sword in the dim moonlight, he gave the deadly Highland word of onset—"Claymore!" Cluny rushed forward with him, and the two fought at the head of their men side by side, and hand to hand with their foes. The latter attacked no more the rear-guard under Murray. The last days of the insurrection, both in England and Scotland, were signalled by successive daring proposals on the part of Lord George to retrieve the cause, but he found himself always thwarted, and, after some brilliant personal exploits for the relief of his native Athole, he was hurried with the rest to the

fatal field of Culloden. On the very night before that battle, he again planned a bold movement to surprise Cumberland, and which was only defeated by the dilatory conduct of others. It is needless to dwell on the total discomfiture of the rebels on the day of Culloden. But Lord George Murray still felt undaunted, and sent a message to the fugitive prince to recall him to the head of his followers, offering still to maintain his cause against all foes, by using properly the Highland fastnesses. Charles, however, now thought only of escape, and Lord George also was forced to fly to the Continent. He wrote memoirs of his own career, and died in Holland in 1760.

This is but a dry outline of an interesting story, seeing that all of the memoir-writers on the Rebellions treat of Lord George Murray most minutely. Some of them blame, but more applaud, his deeds. He appears to us, taken all in all, to have been much the ablest of the followers of the last of the Stewarts. His immediate elder brother, James, became second Duke of Athole, the real heir Lord Tullibardine, having sustained forfeiture. His Grace, though he held high Scottish offices, and served as a peer of Parliament, did not pass an active public life. One of the most noted incidents in his career was his accession to the Lordship or rather Sovereignty of the Isle of Man, which fell to him as brother-in-law of the Stanleys, at the death of the tenth Earl of Derby. He also inherited the ancient Stanley BARONY of STRANGE, with several other English titles. By his first duchess, grand-daughter of Sir John Frederick, his Grace left Lady Charlotte Murray, his only surviving issue finally, who, by wedding her cousin John, eldest son of Lord George Murray, conjoined the female with the male claims to the Athole succession. The attainder of Lord George was set aside or overlooked; and, in 1764, his son John became third Duke of Athole. This regal favour seems to have been granted partly in lieu of one accorded by the Murrays; seeing that his Grace of Athole ceded to the British crown, in 1765, all his rights over the Isle of Man, those only excepted which pertain to ordinary holders under the crown elsewhere. He remained lord, but no longer king, of the island, receiving for the yielding of his claims the sum of £10,000 sterling, with a life-annuity of £2000 to himself and his wife. By that lady he had seven sons and four daughters, who, in his lifetime, made him progenitor of a very large family of children and grand-children. His Grace died in the year 1774. His eldest son, John, became then fourth Duke of Athole, and married Jane, daughter of Lord Cathcart, by whom he had a considerable family. His lordship was raised to the British peerage as EARL STRANGE in 1786, and obtained a further recompense for the cession of Man. Lady Mervilles, Lady Strathallan, and Lady Macgregor Murray, were among his daughters. Of his sons, John became fifth Duke of Athole, but was unfortunately affected with mental disease, rendering the story of his life a blank. His brother James, however, passed through an active career in camp and court, and received in 1821 the title of LORD GLENLYON, in the peerage of the United Kingdom. He predeceased his elder brother, dying in 1837, when his son GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK JOHN, became second Lord Glenlyon. At the death of his uncle in 1846, he succeeded as the sixth and present Duke of Athole. His father had espoused Lady Emily Frances, daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, and the children of that marriage may not improbably share one long in the vast heritage of the Percies. It has before passed through heiresses to Seymours and Smithsons; and, the males of the latter and present branch being few, the Murrays stand not far distant from this princely succession. The present Duke of Athole, the first representative of Lady Emily (Smithson) Percy, wedded in 1839 Miss Home Drummond of the house of Blair-Drummond, and has had (with other issue) John James Hugh Henry, MARQUESS of TULLIBARDINE, born in 1840, and heir-apparent of this eminent family.

Besides the Athole or Tullibardine line of the Murrays, another very old branch possesses representatives to this day, namely, the MORAYS of ABERCAIRNIX. The founder of this line was John de Moravia, a younger son of the first Sir Andrew of Bothwell. By his marriage with Mary, daughter of Malise, Earl of Strathern, the said John transmitted that earldom to his eldest son Maurice,

who was killed at Durham in 1346, and left no issue. But his brother, named Alexander, obtained the Abercainrey and other properties, and was followed by a race of descendants, still highly respected and well-estated in the North of Scotland. The settlement of this line in the north perhaps in part explains the severment of the main Bothwell house from their Morayshire connections. It is impossible to doubt the descent of the Tullibardine Murrays from the ancient Freskins de Moravia; but it is at the same time undeniable that the Morays of Abercainrey can make out their early lineage more clearly, and that they represent the Bothwell stock. If that stock was the elder one, they are certainly what the Gael would hold to be the true chiefs of the Murrays. But a doubt hangs over the relative positions of the first Bothwells and the first Tullibardines, which can never now be dispelled. The Athole Murrays have at least risen far above all others of the name in worldly greatness.

We have now to notice the other ennobled branches of the Murray family. Three yet exist among the proper Scottish peers, to-wit, the Earls of Dunmore, the Viscounts Stormont, and the Lords Elibank. The Lord Charles Murray, second son of the first Marquis of Athole by Lady Charlotte Stanley, obtained the title of EARL of DUNMORE from James VII. A.D. 1686. He served the Princesses and Queens, Mary and Anne Stewart, in the capacity of Master of the Horse; and, during their successive tenures of the throne of their exiled sire, he retained their favour, and held various public posts for some years before the Union. At his decease in 1710, he left a number of children, of whom John and William became in turns Earls of Dunmore. The son of William, John, fourth Earl, led a more busy life than his two predecessors, having acted as Governor of New-York, and latterly of Virginia, at the critical time when the great Revolution took place, by which the leading American colonies were finally separated from the mother-country. His lordship had a difficult part to play, and yet seems to have won the respect of both sides, until compelled to quit the United States. By Lady Charlotte Stewart, the earl had several children, of whom John, the eldest, succeeded to the title in 1809, having married, shortly before, Lady Susan, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton. That lady bore to him his successor, Alexander-Edward, at whose premature decease in 1845, Charles Adolphus, the present and seventh EARL of DUNMORE, succeeded to the family honours. The sixth peer left no other male children by his wife, Lady Catherine Herbert; and the heir-presumptive to the present youthful lord is the Hon. CHARLES AUGUSTUS MURRAY (consul-general in Egypt), very favourably known to fame as a tourist in America, and as a novelist. He acted as Master of the Household to Queen Victoria in her first years of rule, being indeed personally connected so far with royalty, through the marriage of his aunt Lady Augusta Murray with the Duke of Sussex (in 1793). That union contravened the Royal Marriages' Act; but the Duke twice in his life-time consulted his feelings in this respect, rather than an arbitrary statute. The British Peers, however, even in the present liberal time, declined to recognise Sir Augustus D'Este, son of Lady Augusta by the royal Duke, as entitled to any of the paternal dignities.

Sir Andrew Murray, third son of Sir William of Tullibardine, founded, at the close of the fifteenth century, the ennobled branch of Stormont or Mansfield. This branch has undergone a variety of fortunes. Sir Andrew, its originator, obtained a fair succession by marrying the heiress of Barclay of Arngosk, and from him sprung (son or grandson) Sir David, whose eldest son, Andrew, founded the Balvaird family, while his second, David, obtained the dignity of the peerage as LORD SCONE, and afterwards as VISCOUNT STORMONT (1621). The succession to these titles was arranged on a broad basis. All of the name of Murray seem to have come within the scope of the entail. The second Viscount Stormont (the first having left no male issue) was Mungo, a younger brother of the first Earl of Tullibardine, and, by his mother, of the Balvaird house. Mungo, second Viscount, died similarly without issue, whereupon, by the entail, James Murray, EARL of ANNANDALE, succeeded to the Stormont honours. So had it "been nominated in the bond." But it would puzzle the

best of genealogists to find out any relationship justifying this succession. The said James Murray, whose father was created Earl of Annandale in March 1624-5, drew his descent, according to the common doubtful accounts, from the Duffus Murrays, a branch of the old Morayshire stock. The founder, Sir William Murray, had married a sister of Randolph, first earl of Moray, and probably succeeded to some of the large possessions in the south of Scotland, which the Randolphs held for so very short a time in the male line. At all events, the race of this Sir William Murray grew strong and wealthy, being originally called the Knights or Lairds of Cockpool in Annandale. Sixteen or seventeen generations held that position and title before the family became ennobled; and they were at that time among the wealthiest commoners in the south of Scotland. They had sent off cadets, besides, in many directions, founding the Broughton line in Kirkcudbrightshire, as well as (in all likelihood) several of the well-estated houses of the Murrays in the counties of Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk, and others adjoining. More will be said on this head afterwards. In the meantime it may but be repeated that the power of the Annandale Murrays generally appears to have mainly sprung from their connection with the Randolphs, Earls of Moray, through whom they shared in the royal blood of the Bruces, and reaped all the fruits of that high connection. From the Earls of Moray they might derive even their very family name. It is more probable, however, that they really were "de Morays" of the Bothwell lineage. That they were Duffus Murrays is merely traditional.

It would seem that the Stormont Murrays counted kindred of some sort at all events, with those of Annandale, since James, second and last holder of that earldom, succeeded, by the terms of the entail, as third Viscount of Stormont. At his decease in 1658, his Annandale titles became extinct; but the Stormont Viscounty devolved on David, second LORD BALVAIRD (a peerage of date 1641), an undoubted scion of the house of Tullibardine, being grandson to the elder brother of the first Lord Stormont. Thus, by a complicated route, the Stormont honours returned to the true line, and therein have they been ever since vested, the present and ninth Viscount of Stormont being directly descended from the party mentioned. It may be told here, that, by a marriage with Margery Scot of Scotstarvet, chief heiress ultimately of the Cockpool or Annandale Murrays, the fifth Lord Stormont placed his family in possession of a considerable portion of the Dumfriesshire properties.

The second Lord Balvaird, and fourth Viscount of Stormont, was succeeded by his son, who had, by Margery Scot, his heir David, and other sons and daughters. The third of these sons was named William; and he, entering at the English bar, rose to all its principal honours, as well as to the dignity of the British peerage, by the titles of LORD MANSFIELD (1756) and of EARL of MANSFIELD (1776). He acted successively, in his legal character, as Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Chief-Justice of the King's Bench in England; refusing several times, it is understood, the Lord High Chancellorship; while, as a politician, he shone long in both houses of Parliament, and for a time acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In an age of great men, Murray was not the least eminent, the elder Pitt (Lord Chatham), and the elder Fox (Lord Holland) being his compeers, and scarcely excelling him in renown. His eloquence, forensic and senatorial, has been described as singularly "sweet and silvery"; and indeed the poet Pope, who ranked among his friends, laments the appropriation of his powers to the dry labours of the law, saying—"How sweet an Ovid was in Murray lost!" The same bard addressed to him one of the famous "Imitations of Horace," and, in doing so, fell (it must be owned) into the very depths of the *bathos*—that *bathos* by himself so ridiculed. For example, the poet says of his friend—

"Graced as thou art with all the power of words,
So known, so honoured, at the House of Lords!"

Lord Mansfield was indeed known and honoured in the senate of Britain, and still more so in her courts of justice, of which he took a formal leave in 1788.

when advanced to the great age of eighty-four. He died in 1793. Among the most remarkable events in the life of Lord Mansfield, must be reckoned his appearance for the crown against the rebels of 1745. He on this occasion conducted himself so well, that Lord Lovat declared he heard him speak with pleasure, though the speech was against himself. Of another Murray, old Simon talked very differently; and, from his name, that personage merits a passing notice here. John Murray of Broughton, well known in history as having been secretary to Prince Charles during the last Stewart insurrection, appeared as a witness against the rebels, buying his own safety by becoming "king's evidence." In the defence drawn up by Lovat, Murray of Broughton is accordingly spoken of with a degree of indignant scorn approaching to sublimity. The aged rebel had himself played fast and loose with all parties; but this did not prevent him from tearing to shreds the character and conduct of Secretary Murray, whom he styled "the most abandoned of mankind," a "sanguinary monster," a very "Catiline," a "disciple of Iscariot." The unhappy object of this vituperation, though he saved his life, certainly lost the respect of all men by the purchase. Secretary (commonly called Sir John) Murray was not of the Broughton family of Galloway, but took his territorial title from his patrimony of Broughton in Peeblesshire. Thither he had fled on the failure of the rising of 1745, and near to Broughton house, his own seat, he was captured, having taken temporary refuge with his brother-in-law, Hunter of Polmood. The house of Broughton was burned in 1773, by accident; and even the ruins are now invisible. The family, however, is not extinct, we believe.

The earldom of Mansfield fell to David, seventh Viscount Stormont, nephew of the great law-lord. His successor, in the second generation, is now fourth Earl of Mansfield, as well as ninth Viscount of Stormont. The seventh Viscount held high offices abroad, serving with distinction as envoy at various continental courts.

The Murrays became numerous at an early period, as already mentioned, in the county of Peebles. Indeed, several of the vales opening into the Tweed became filled with Murrays, all of them probably relics of the potent house of Bothwell, or cadets of Cockpool. The first great family of the name in Tweeddale seems to have been that of Blackbarony, now represented by the ennobled branch of Elibank. The Murrays of Blackbarony claim a descent apart from the northern Murrays. They are, in all likelihood, as said, of the Bothwell line, whencesoever that may have come. A certain John de Moravia appears as proprietor of Blackbarony (an estate lying on the northern or Midlothian bounds of Peeblesshire) in charters of date 1409-10. They seem to have been also lords of Traquair, until the Stewarts obtained that barony, still possessed by them. In short, they were certainly holders of great estates not only in the county of Peebles, but also in that of Selkirk, at a very early period; and they latterly obtained others in the Lothians, as that of Ballincrief, still the property of Lord Elibank. John Murray, called the eighth of Blackbarony, fell at Flodden. His grandson, Sir John Murray, founded many branches of the name, those of Ravelrig, Murrayshall, Cringeltie, and Henderland, being among the number. All of these families appear to have been well provided for, and their descendants are yet of note in the land. [Lord Murray, the present Judge of Session, is of the Henderland house; and the late Murray of Cringeltie held a similar judicial position.] The Blackbarony representation is claimed, in the direct line, by Sir Archibald John Murray, Bart., a Nova Scotia title having been conferred on the family in 1628. On the justice of that claim we are not called here to decide. Certain it is, that the main possessions of the Blackbarony Murrays passed, on the failure of the more direct line, to the Elibank Murrays, descended from Gideon Murray, a younger son of Blackbarony. Born in the middle of the sixteenth century, he directed his views to the church, but, having the misfortune to kill a man in a dispute, he turned his mind to secular matters, and rose to be Treasurer-depute of Scotland under James VI. Sir Gideon Murray seems to have been a man of great ability,

and as such was highly prized by his sovereign, though the latter allowed him to be crushed in the end by a malicious charge of pecuniary malversations. Murray, then a very old man, took the matter so much to heart, that he refused to eat, would speak no word, and so died (A.D. 1621). He left his heir, Sir Patrick, and a daughter, Margaret, better known in legendary story as "Muckle-mou'ed Meg." Her fate was a strange one. Young Scott of Harden had made a night-raid up the Tweed, and had trespassed on the Elibank lands, where, however, he was seized, and thrown into a dungeon by the wary Gideon Murray. The latter, at the instigation of his lady, it is said, gave to the youth the choice of a halter of hemp, or the noose matrimonial, having a daughter gifted with a mouth of such dimensions that it threatened to mar her marriage. Harden preferred Muckle-mou'ed Meg to the gallows, and took home a bride as the prize of his nocturnal foray. Though brought together so singularly, this pair lived long and happily in wedlock; and, whatever may have been the looks of the lady, she at least left some descendants eminent for beauty, as witness the younger Flower of Yarrow. James Hogg has written a good ballad on the preceding incident, ending with a delicate hint that the large mouth has not quite disappeared among the kith and kin of Meg of Elibank. It is a truth—*oculis nostris testibus*.

Sir Patrick, son of Sir Gideon Murray, was made a Baronet in 1628, and LORD ELIBANK in 1643. Dying in 1649, he was succeeded by a second Patrick, and he, again, by a third of the name in 1661. These three Lords Elibank adhered generally to the Stewarts. Alexander, fourth peer (born 1677, died 1736), left several sons, of whom Patrick, George, and Gideon, were the eldest three. A fourth son, Alexander, made some noise in his day as a politician of the Wilkes' school, having, indeed, been a personal friend of that well-known individual. In 1750, the Hon. Alexander Murray so conducted himself at a London election as to be called to the bar of the Commons, when, refusing to "go on his knees," he was sent to Newgate. On his liberation, he was conducted home in triumphal procession, "Murray and Liberty!" being the popular cry. In short, he served as a sort of precursor, in a small way, to John Wilkes. An obnoxious pamphlet got him into fresh trouble, and caused him to fly to France. He died in 1777. His younger brother, James, rose to high positions in the army, and for a time held the Governorship of Canada and Minorca. He was an officer of great merit and bravery.

Of the three elder brothers mentioned, Patrick became fifth Lord Elibank. He was in his day both a lawyer and a soldier, but more famous still as a man of wit and literary talent, being among the few Scotsmen really liked by Dr Samuel Johnson. His lordship, however, once gave the lexicographer as complete a rebuff as he ever received. The word "oats" had been defined by Johnson, bitterly and sneeringly, as "food for men in Scotland, and for horses in England." "And where will you find such men and such horses?" asked Lord Elibank. Deceasing in 1778, he was succeeded by his brother George, sixth Lord Elibank, who married the eldest daughter of the last Earl of Cromarty, and left by her Maria, heiress of the Cromarty estates. Her line lately ended anew in an heiress, now the consort of the Marquis of Stafford, heir-apparent of the Sutherland house. The Gowers are thus raised still higher in the north, absorbing, with the Lennoxes, the great inheritances of the Gordons, Sutherlands, and Cromarty-Mackenzies. Do not these cases teach us how Lowland lords might readily settle of old in the same regions? They had then double facilities for so doing, seeing that the Lowland kings had the disposal in marriage of all great heiresses, over all Scotland. It was a feature in the feudal system, adding vast powers to every suzerain for the time being.

At the decease of George sixth Lord Elibank, in 1785, Alexander, son of the Hon. and Rev. Gideon Murray (prebendary of Durham), succeeded to his cousin in the family honours. The father of the seventh peer had wedded Elizabeth, a daughter of the noble house of Montolieu, exiled from France on the revocation of the edict of Nantz; and the seventh lord also espoused a lady of that line, Mary Clara Montolieu, his cousin-german. Born in 1747.

he served his country in the army and the senate, and became, finally, Lord-Lieutenant of Peeblesshire. By the marriage mentioned, he had his successor, Alexander, eighth Lord Elibank, and, by another marriage contracted in advanced life, he had a second family, one member of which, the Hon. Erskine Murray, attained to some note as the author of a work of travels (among the Pyrenees), and ultimately perished in a bold attempt to add to our knowledge of the Malay Islands. He had carried thither two vessels, mainly at his own cost, and would certainly have done something to perpetuate his memory worthily, had not his career, like that of the ill-fated Mungo Park, been cut short by the ferociousness of the savages among whom he ventured his person. His enterprising spirit well merits this passing word of praise.

Alexander, eighth Lord Elibank, succeeded in 1820, and took to wife Janet Oliphant, only child of John Oliphant of Bachilton, claimant of the Oliphant Baronage. From this union sprung ALEXANDER, the ninth and present peer, who, in 1838, espoused Emily Maria, daughter of Archibald Montgomery, Esq. of Whim, and has had by her MONTOLIEU-FOX, MASTER of ELIBANK, with other children.

The Stratherne, Annandale, and Dysart Earldoms were once, as so far narrated, in the holding of Murrays. Five Nova-Scotia Baronetcies are yet represented (or claimed) by parties of the name; to wit, Sir Robert Murray of Hillhead; Sir Archibald John Murray of Blackbarony; Sir John Murray of Stanhope; Sir William Keith Murray of Ochtertyre; and Sir Albert Joseph Murray of Melgun. The family has numberless representatives among the landed gentry; and it has produced many men renowned in war, science, and literature. The late Sir George Murray, K.G.C.B., for example, may be mentioned as a soldier trusted highly by Wellington; and Professor Alexander Murray, of the Edinburgh University, was a linguist unequalled in his day for the universality of his acquirements, to him the more honourable, as having been the result of a poor herd-boy's almost unaided exertions. When the king of Abyssinia addressed a letter in his own tongue to George III., Murray was the only man in the British empire found capable of explaining its purport. His autobiographical sketch of his early struggles in the walks of knowledge forms a picture to be hung on the walls of memory, beside the similar records left by Ferguson and Franklin. It is a true tale for the young, surpassing all fictitious ones, not excepting even those of the great master of verisimilitude; Defoe.

In addition to the radical houses of Bothwell, Tullibardine, Abercainey, Cockpool, and others (such as Stormont and Elibank) springing from these, there are yet many ancient families of Murrays who might here be noted. For instance, the Philiphaugh (once Fallahill) branch has long held lands in Selkirkshire, its chiefs being once hereditary keepers of Ettrick Forest, and more lately its sheriffs. The beautiful old ballad of the "Outlaw Murray" shows well the high position of this branch at an early date. The Touchadam Murrays formed another ancient house of the name. But, in truth, the Murray gentry are, and have long been, too numerous for computation; and their arms are varied to an equal degree, at least in respect to details. The Tullibardine motto, "Furth Fortune, and fill the Fetters," alludes to a royal commission given to an old laird of Tullibardine to act against the Highlanders of Perthshire. He did act against them to purpose too, and got their best lands in recompense, as the custom then was.

ARMS OF THE MURRAYS.

Three stars, argent. (The later Athole Arms are quartered with the old Athole, with the Stewart, and with the Man arms).

CREST. A demi-savage, wreathed, bearing a sword and key.

SUPPORTERS. A lion, collared, gules (on the right), and a fettered savage (on the left).

MOTTO. Furth fortune, and fill the fetters.

BARGE. Broom (butchers').

THE CLAN LINDSAY.

An able member of the house or CLAN of the LINDSAYS, and now the heir-apparent to its honours, has lately given to the public the annals of his ancestors ("Lives of the Lindsays," by Lord Lindsay) with such interesting minuteness, that it will be difficult rightly to confine the facts of the family narrative within suitable bounds. Still the "Light Lindsays" form a sept not to be passed over in any account of the men of the Highland borders of Scotland.

The Lindsays are thought by their descendant to have been originally "Sires de *Limesay*," and of Norman origin. The synonymity of the terms *lime* and *linden* is held to account for the change from "*Limesay*" to "*Lindsay*," both of the words meaning, it is said, the "Isle of the Lime or Linden Trees." As the first half of the word (*Linden*) is the Saxon form of the word, and the latter half (*Ai* or *I*) is Celtic or Gaelic, *Lindsay* would be a curiously compounded term according to this view of matters. But the derivation is one not impossible; though we may reasonably doubt regarding the further story of the first "*de Lindsay*" having been "sister's son to William the Conqueror." The Norman Bastard must have had a goodly host of kinsmen, indeed, if all such tales were true. Let it suffice, that the first of the Scottish Lindsays, whether of the Norman "*Limesay*" family or not, came, to all appearance, from England during the reign of David I., when both Normans and Saxons, of noble birth, assuredly settled in the north in great numbers. The English lordships had been swallowed up by the Bastard Conqueror's sixty thousand followers, after the battle of Hastings; and unprovided younger sons afterwards came willingly to Scotland, on invitation, as to a new land of promise. On the other hand, the expatriated Saxons of good lineage flocked thither with an equal certainty of being well received, David I. being the offspring of a princess of their own blood-royal. It was at this time, certainly, that the Lindsays came to Scotland; and, though we have given the story of their descent from a Norman "*Limesay*," it is but fair to add, that the almost undoubted existence in England of seemingly Saxon "*Lindesayes*," or of the territorial appellation of "*de Lindesaye*," rather unsettles our faith in the Norman hypothesis. It matters little; they came from the south to the north of Britain at all events, and were not Gaelic, as respects the line of the founders and chiefs. They in time became partly Gaelicised, however, beyond question, through inter-marriages with Gaelic neighbours.

The personage who settled in Scotland in the time of David I., was called Walter de Lindsay, and is often noticed in the charters of that sovereign. On the borders of England and Scotland the name also occurs frequently as held by powerful landed proprietors. Indeed, the first Lindsays of note were certainly Scottish borderers, though we must keep in mind that charters in those days did not prove or ensure any lengthened tenures of the lands to which they refer, being mostly given in cases of forfeiture, and being as often recalled on the reconciliation of the earlier holders with the reigning powers. Thus we find in the archives of Scotland many deeds relating to land-holding, which must be viewed as only indicating even momentary possession. The Lindsays, at all events, left *Ercildoune* (*Earlstoun*), and *Locharret* (*Lockhart*), of which properties they were once lords, to very different families finally. Walter, the first settler in Scotland, seems to have been followed by two Williams in the ordinary line of succession; and it is somewhat singular that portraits of these parties show them as "beardless," a fact suggesting a new explanation of the nickname of a later member of the house, "*Earl Beardie*"—as if his predecessors had been knights of the order of the "*imberbis Apollo*." William de Lindsay was of importance in the time of William the Lion; and he is also named as the first party of his line connected with the locality of "*Crawford*" in Lanarkshire, a term so often found recurring in the family story, and indeed



Cian Lindsay

so far adopted in the end as a family designation. The immediate successors of William de Lindsay, lord of Crawford, must be passed over rapidly, mention being merely made that they are named by their family annalist as having been great barons in Scotland, and as having also held English properties "extending over the counties of Essex, Hertford, Oxford, Warwick, Leicester, Norfolk, and Suffolk." A goodly patrimony, truly! But, though such ample possessions may really have been vested in the name of Lindsay, one may well doubt if they were ever all held by the members of the Scottish house. David, son of William de Lindsay, by a daughter of the royal line of Scotland, succeeded about the year 1200, and left a son, also named David, whose brother Gerard became representative of the family in 1241, and died without direct male heirs (A.D. 1249). His sister Alice carried claims even on the throne of Scotland to her descendants, who were the English Pinkeneys. The representation of the Scottish Lindsays then fell to the heir of Lindsay of Lamberton, a personage killed in battle with the Welsh in 1283, and whose "vast estates, both in England and Scotland, comprising above seventeen manors, and towns and hamlets numberless," passed from the Lindsays with his heiress, who yet "conveyed a far richer inheritance to her children in the representation of the ancient Scoto-Pictish dynasty of Scotland, and of the original Saxon line of England, including Edward the Confessor, Alfred the Great, Egbert, Cerdic, and Odin!" Odin! The lineal heirs of Jupiter may next be found out; and, when found, they ought to claim godship without delay. Seriously, Lord Lindsay has thrown some discredit on his own good sense, in the above-quoted passages. A claim of descent from Odin, at least, is laughable in the extreme.

The male representation of the Lindsay house now fell to a Haddingtonshire branch, styled of Luffness and the Byres, though better known afterwards as the lords of Crawford. Sir Alexander, of this line, signs the Ragman Roll with several others of his name, showing it to have been really powerful at the time. Sir James of Lindsay, one of its cadets, was a sharer in the terrible deed of the Bruce at Dumfries, aiding Roger Kirkpatrick to dispatch finally the Red Cumyn. The Lindsays shared in the subsequently successful fortunes of the Bruces, Sir David, son and heir of Sir Alexander the chief, being highly favoured by them, and also adding to his estates by a marriage with Mary Abernethy, a great heiress in the district of Angus. Indeed, this marriage, the result of royal favour most probably, seems to have carried the leading and most potent section of the Lindsays northwards, and to have settled them in what became properly their *clan-lands*. Sir David left several sons, who founded the houses of Edzell, the Byres, and others. The name now spread more and more widely. Sir James of Crawford, eldest son of the said Sir David, became eminent in the wars with England during the time of Hotspur and Bolingbroke (Henry IV.) Froissart narrates a strange adventure which befell him on this occasion. He fought at Otterburne, accompanied by many of his kin, when—

"The Lindsays flew like fire about,
Till all the fray was done,"

as the old ballad hath it. "Now," in the words of Froissart, "I will tell you what befell the said knight of Scotland, Sir James, Sieur de Lindsay." Sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, seeing the day to be lost to the English, turned his horse's head reluctantly, and fled from the field of Otterburne (A.D. 1388). But he had at his heels a Scottish knight, who stuck to him for several miles, and shouted repeatedly to him to turn and fight, or yield and take quarter, telling him that he had but to deal with one man, and that it was shame to fly. Sir Matthew at last wheeled round, and entered on a solitary and single-handed combat with Lindsay, the first using his sword and the latter his battle-axe. Both of them were wary, stout, and brave. They only paused for a moment to learn the degrees of each other, and then the strife recommenced. The sword of Sir Matthew was, in the end, struck out of his hand, and he stood defenceless, yielding thereupon, "rescue or no rescue." A scene followed, worthy of the most romantic days of chivalry. Sir James de

Lindsay appears to have thought to himself, "What, in the name of all the saints, can I do with you, now that I have got you?" Redman solved the difficulty. He begged leave to be allowed to go to Newcastle, promising to render himself a prisoner at Edinburgh on a certain day. His parole was readily taken, and Sir James de Lindsay parted from his captive, only to be himself immediately captured in turn by the Bishop of Durham, with an armed array not to be resisted. So it fell out that Redman and Lindsay met, to their mutual astonishment, in the lodgings of the Bishop at Newcastle, and "banded many blythe words of merriment" on their several misadventures. The result seems to have been the liberation by exchange of Sir James de Lindsay.

The same Sir James (of Crawford, head of his house) had the misfortune to kill John Lyon, founder of the Glammis or Strathmore house. John Lyon had risen to favour with Robert II., and had wedded his daughter by Elizabeth More. This high marriage is said by Godscroft to have been managed by Sir James Lindsay. The royal lady had been frail, Lyon being the culpable lover; and, when a dangerous exposure seemed inevitable, a gentleman totally unconnected with the business was persuaded to fly, as if conscious of criminality. Lindsay then advised the king to cover his daughter's shame by bestowing her on John Lyon, and the union of the pair was thus happily accomplished. But the same Lindsay afterwards slew the same Lyon very cruelly from doubtful motives. Sir James is called by Godscroft "Earl of Crawford," but appears only to have been territorial Baron by real rank. He died about 1397 without issue, when the Glenesk branch became Lords of Crawford. Sir David was then representative of that branch, and must in his time have been a knight of unusual bravery and gallantry. He it was, who, nettled by the bravadoes of Lord Welles, the envoy of England at the Scottish court, proffered personally to meet him in arms, within the lists of the tourney, wherever he might choose to appoint. Lord Welles (somewhat shabbily) selected London Bridge as the scene of the encounter; but the distance deterred not Sir David Lindsay. Thither he wended duly, in May, 1390, with thirty countrymen and companions. Richard II. gave to the parties all the necessary facilities, and a vast concourse of people witnessed the tournament. Lord Welles was a tried soldier, and in the very prime of his years. His well-aimed lance broke to splinters on the body of Lindsay, in their first course, and yet the Scot sat firm as a tower—so much so that the jealous English loudly cried out, "He is tied—he is tied to the saddle!" Sir David heard, and made a practical reply. He rode up to the king's chair, leaped from his seat, and, though loaded with his armour, vaulted again on horseback, "deliverly." The second course was then run, without serious injury to either party, though the spears were "grounden sharply." At the third bout, however, Lord Welles was hurled violently from his saddle to the ground. Some authorities relate that they afterwards fought on foot with their daggers; but, be this as it may, Lord Welles ultimately lay at the mercy of Lindsay, and King Richard bade the Scot work his pleasure on the vanquished. Sir David showed as much courtesy as valour, aiding his opponent to rise, and doing him all manner of kindness. At this memorable tournament the English received another defeat, Sir William Dalzell encountering, in the fields both of wit and war, Sir Piers Courtenay, the very mirror of England's knightly gentility. Sir Piers had made his appearance with a boastful motto on his sleeve—"I bear a falcon, fairest of flicht, whoso pinches at her, his death is dicht, in graith." Dalzell came forth next day with—"I bear a pye, picking at ane pese, whoso picks at her, I shall pick at his nese (nose), in faith." The Englishman felt so deeply galled by the laughter resulting from this jibe, that he challenged Dalzell to mortal combat. They fought accordingly, and Sir William had still the best of it, joking away to the last. Sir Piers, having sustained one trick at the hands of his enemy, had vehemently insisted on their jousting on the closest terms of equality. Dalzell, with great gravity, assented; and he then, with the like gravity, demanded that Sir Piers should submit to lose one of his eyes, he himself having before met with such a misfortune!

In the year 1398, Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk was created EARL of

CRAWFORD by Robert III., having shortly before succeeded to the chiefship of the Lindsays. He died early in life, but not till he had raised his family materially in the world. One letter of his to Henry IV. of England, on the subject of an act of piracy committed on a merchant ship of St Andrews, is curious, as showing how nearly a great feudal noble of those days approached, in rank and power, to a sovereign prince. The Earl writes in French, and claims reparation because the piratical act was against treaties, "*et aussi que les dits marchans et ville de Sanct Andrew m'apartynent*" (because the said merchants and town of St Andrews belonged to him)! The whole epistle is like that of a prince writing to a prince. Earl David, being trained in Angus, permanently fixed there the main dwelling-place of his family, to wit, at the castle of Finhaven, situated about six miles from Forfar, and long since ruinous. The word Finhaven in part proves the early Gaelic or Pictish character of the region, having the meaning of "the white river," and referring to a little foamy streamlet which passes near the walls. The urban dwelling of the Crawford house was situated in Dundee, of which the Lindsays were long the "great folks," if not properly the lords. With pardonable pride their descendant speaks of the vast revenues of the Lindsay chiefs, and of their possession of "above twenty great baronies and lordships, besides other lands of minor importance, in Forfarshire, Angus, Perthshire, the Mearns, Fife, Aberdeenshire, Inverness, Banff, Lanark, Wigton, Dumfries, Kircudbright, besides hereditary revenues from the Great Customs of Dundee, Montrose, Forfar, Crail, Aberdeen, and Banff." This immense array of power and property must be viewed with a considerative eye, nevertheless. We must take into account the fact, that lands in those days gave to the holders little else than the bodily service of the vassals who tilled them, or, rather, who lived on their natural produce. As for the "Great Customs," the total revenue of 300 marks, derived from all the burghs, came probably but to some thirty pounds sterling. Lord Lindsay errs, we imagine, in counting the marks as marks of thirteen shillings *English*, in place of thirteen shillings *Scottish* (thirteen pence sterling and a plack). By the first reckoning the sum would amount to two thousand pounds of our present money. But even thirty pounds sterling formed a considerable tax in those days, to be raised from free burgesses (independently of crown burdens) by one baron of the neighbourhood. The Lindsays are, however, to be looked on, in all respects, as a powerful house, Sheriffs in their day of the shires of Forfar or Aberdeen. We find their annalist making a singular remark, consonant wholly with our own former observations, to the effect that "population was encouraged as much as possible" by the *Scoto-Norman* barons. Human beings constituted the stock and their life-blood the rental, giving value to property. Lord Lindsay views it as the Scottish or Gaelic principle; and he is so far right, though not wholly. However, the Celtic race have at all times peculiarly demanded the government of some prevailing head—one knowing and powerful enough to breed them for his own uses, as a farmer breeds cattle for the market. This may seem a harsh saying; but the Gallic or Celtic population of France were, in this very age of ours, cultivated by Napoleon with the views mentioned. He took many steps to encourage French prolificness; and, when the produce was ripe and ready, he led young France to Moscow and Waterloo.

David, first Earl of Crawford, died about 1407, leaving his son Alexander as second earl. The latter took a share in the release of James I., becoming one of his hostages. He died in 1438, and was succeeded by David, third Earl of Crawford. At the period when the murder of James I. had left Scotland to a weak Regency, Crawford became one of the leading barons who opposed the crown authority, but paid the penalty with his life. His men had risen in arms under his son, the Master of Crawford, in the year 1445-6, ostensibly to quell the Ogilvies. The two parties met at Arbroath. "It must have been a beautiful sight!" exclaims Lord Lindsay, enthusiastically. "The two armies were composed of the bravest knights and gentlemen of the north-east of Scotland. Steeds were prancing, broadswords gleaming, and banners waving in

the evening breeze. The word was given, and that scene was about to be changed to one of blood and carnage" when (to revert to our own language) the old Earl of Crawford appeared, and tried to stop the threatened expenditure of gore, but got himself slain for his pains. The "beauty" of this scene became soon defaced in reality, in consequence. The Lindsay party killed on the spot five hundred of the Ogilvies and their allies; and Ogilvie of Innerquharity, being wounded and captured, is said to have been assassinated (smothered) in his bed by the hands of the newly widowed countess of Crawford. Of this third Lord of Crawford, his annalists approvingly say, that "he died in a good action, albeit he was very insolent *all the rest of his life-time*." The Master of Crawford, Alexander, became thus the fourth Earl, though other genealogists than Lord Lindsay style him but third Earl. The word "Dominus" (Lord or Laird) forms an endless source of confusion in these cases, since general historians apply it with equal readiness to sons and sires. Be this as it may, Alexander, presumed to be fourth Earl of Crawford, acquired rather an unhappy prominence in story as "Earl Beardie," and "the Tiger," nicknames indicative of the fierceness of his character, and the corresponding terrors of his look and visage. He was the greatest baron of his time in the mid-east of Scotland, as the Earl of Douglas was in the south, and the Lord of the Isles in the north-west. Unhappily, the three formed an union so alarming to the throne, that its then youthful possessor, James II., having vainly sought to win the Douglas to his side, felt tempted to the base act of stabbing him even at the regal table at Stirling. Crawford rose in arms to avenge his friend, but was defeated at Brechin by his greatest northern rival, the Earl of Huntly, in 1452. The truly fearful character of Earl Beardie may be guessed from the various anecdotes told of him. After his defeat, the "Tiger" fled to his castle of Finhaven, and, calling there for a cup of wine, is said to have expressed his willingness "to pass seven years in hell" to be even with Huntly. He ravaged most cruelly and brutally the lands of all whom he deemed to have shrunk from him on the recent occasion. But his savage spirit was forced to yield when King James came north in strength. The Earl then appeared "bare-footed and bare-headed" in the royal presence, in poor array, as if he had been "ane miserable caitiff;" and so he fell on his knees, and shed tears abundantly, "to move commiseration and pity." The Tiger lord, by this act of degradation, obtained the grace which he himself had seldom shown to others. He indeed offered himself personally to punishment, saying that he pleaded mainly for his kin and allies; but his very enumeration of the pains to which he expressed his readiness to submit gives a horrible glimpse into his own deeds. He said, that if his friends were spared, he was content "either to be hangit, to be riven with wild beasts, to be drowned, or cast ower ane craig (rock)." His lordship's abettors then held up their hands with him, crying "Mercy! most dolorously;" and such a scene of sighing and sobbing took place, as melted the heart of the king. He had sworn, however, to make "the highest stone of Finhaven Castle the lowest;" and how did he get over this oath? He went thither as the guest of the pardoned Earl, and going up to the top battlements, pushed over a loose stone which he found lying there. The witches of "Macbeth" so kept *their* jurements. Another legend of the Tiger Earl merits, but merely merits, a word of notice. His character for devilry lived long in the remembrance of the neighbourhood; and they say, that, having declared during a losing game at cards that he would "never give up till the day of judgment," the Evil One took him at his word, and so shut him up in the Castle of Glamis, where he remains playing still, the imaginary howls and curses of himself and his companions being at times heard by the belated peasant mingling with the midnight storm. So runs the tale; and it but points to the life and memory of a "bold, bad man." His seeming repentance came too late to save his fame in this world.

This fourth holder of the Crawford title left a son and heir, David, fifth Earl. The other descendants of Beardie, and the first peers, must be noticed afterwards, as occasion requires. Succeeding in the year 1454, the fifth Earl

of Crawford raised the Lindsay house to the highest pitch of importance, being created DUKE OF MONTROSE by James III. (A.D. 1488). The title proves him to have been then the greatest baron on the medial eastern coasts of Scotland, the "Gay Gordons" being lords of the north-eastern regions. But the Duke of Montrose fell from his high estate in the same year which had witnessed his elevation, James III. perishing then at the unnatural conflict of Stirling, (A.D. 1488), where the prince, afterwards James IV., appeared in arms against his own father—an act for which he is said to have done bodily penance throughout his life. When he fell at Flodden, a hair-cloth shirt, wrapped around his person, formed one of the principal evidences of his identity. David, Duke of Montrose, survived his king and master (James III.) but a few years, and died at Finhaven Castle in 1495. He had led on the whole a troubled life. Ex-communication, and the like misfortunes, had fallen on himself and his family; and they were stripped of the Sheriffdom of Angus with other hereditary offices. But his domestic griefs seem to have been even of a deeper description. His eldest son, Alexander, perished by violence; and the next son, John, was called to account by the courts of the country for participation in the black deed. John, however, succeeded as sixth Earl of Crawford, and fell, with comparative honour, on the field of Flodden. The Dukedom of Montrose passed from the Lindsays with the first party who held the title; but the present (Balcarras or) Crawford family have actually put in a claim for its recovery, although it has been so long held subsequently by the Grahams. Lord Lindsay observes that his father intends applying, however, in the event of success, "for an Act of Authority attaching the title of 'Crawford' to the Dukedom in lieu of 'Montrose,' in deference to the gallant Grahams." Such deference is commendable; but, if the Lindsays are Scottish Dukes of Montrose *de jure*, that right is insalienable. A legal act, however, deprived Lindsay, first Duke of Montrose, of that title, and a legal act restored it to him—but only for his own life. There the matter begins and ends.

On the death of the sixth Earl of Crawford at Flodden in 1513, Sir Alexander Lindsay of Auchtermenzie, descended from the fourth earl, succeeded to the titles and estates. He died in 1517, leaving a son, David, eighth Earl of Crawford. The life of this nobleman was rendered peculiarly unhappy by the conduct of his eldest son, Alexander, commonly called "The Wicked Master" (of Crawford), and well deserving of the appellation. At a court presided over by James V. in person at Dundee, this personage was proven guilty of an awful catalogue of enormities—rapine, rape, and murder being of the number—aggravated all by acts of violence done to his own father, with the seeming intent of committing parricide. The life of the unhappy man was spared, but the right of succession to his heritage was taken from him by his sire and sovereign, and conferred on David Lindsay of Edzell, descended from a younger son of the third Earl of Crawford. He became ninth Earl in 1542, the Wicked Master having before been slain, characteristically, in a low broil with a cobbler of Dundee. He left a son, however; and the ninth Earl restored to that son his titles and patrimony—an act the more to the honour of the doer, as Edzell had children of his own who might fairly have claimed the succession. The son of the Wicked Master became tenth Earl accordingly in 1558; and he showed himself worthy of his sire, by running a career of vice and prodigality almost beyond example in his times. He persecuted the family of his benefactor and restorer (Lindsay of Edzell), and managed to carry the chances of the Crawford succession past them, in favour of a younger branch of the Lindsays, namely, those of the Byres, to be noticed afterwards. David, the tenth lord, died about 1574, and was succeeded by his eldest son, David, who had less of the mischievous in him than his immediate sires, but yet fell into some unhappy scrapes in his life-time. At a casual meeting between him and Lord Glamis, for example, on the streets of Stirling, the latter, who was Chancellor of the realm for the time being, was attacked and assassinated by the Lindsays. Their chief declared himself innocent, and the deed may have been the result of accident, but, when called on to stand a trial at Edinburgh, Crawford took

the precaution to send a circular to all his numerous friends, urging them to compare at the same time and place, with all their "honest kin, friends, and servants," and "*advise what was best to be done for his defence.*" This summons wears a most browbeating look. The earl was never tried in reality. He submitted to James VI. when that strange compound of regal folly and scholarly accomplishments, "the most learned fool in Christendom," as he was afterwards called by the acute Sully, obtained the mastery over the Catholic party in Scotland. The Earl of Crawford, however, found it prudent to retire to the Continent at this period, and there remained for some years. Other Lindsays assisted King James in his troubles and undertakings; and Alexander Lindsay, his vice-chamberlain (younger son of the tenth lord of Crawford) received a written promise of the temporalities of the see of Moray, dated from the Danish castle of Croneburg, "*quhair we (the king says) are drinking and driving ower in the auld manner.*" The monarch had then gone to Denmark, to fetch home his bride. The promise was so far fulfilled, Alexander Lindsay being created LORD SPYNE as soon as James came home. Some curious letters on this subject have been preserved. In one sent from Denmark to Lindsay, James says—"Sandie, we are going on here in the auld way, and very merry. I'll not forget you when I come hame—you shall be a lord. But mind Jean Lyon, for her *auld tout* will make you a *new horn*." Jean Lyon was a wealthy dame, twice wedded and twice widowed before she was sought by Lindsay; and the king took pains to unite her to his favourite. The phrase of "*auld tout*" refers to her former unions; but, as to the "*new horn*," it may be that the monarch intended a sly hint at Sandie's matrimonial prospects. He made many worse puns in his time. However, the dame accepted the suitor for whom James thus interested himself, and whom he, in due time, raised to the peerage. The lady is said to have made an excellent wife.

David, eleventh Earl of Crawford, died in 1607, and was succeeded by another David, twelfth peer of the name. Dying without issue in 1621, his grand-uncle, Henry, became thirteenth Earl of Crawford, being second son of the tenth lord. Only for two years did Earl Henry hold the family titles, when his son George became fourteenth Earl, according to the computation of the special family annalist—which, as stated, differs from that of other genealogists. Ludovic, brother of George, was his successor in the earldom; and, in his time, the fortunes of the Lindsays again acquire interest, both from private occurrences, and through the stirring influence of the Stewart changes, which then shook Scotland to the very centre, affecting its peers and gentry peculiarly and permanently. Ludovic, fifteenth Earl of Crawford, served abroad in his youth, and joined the royalists who stood out for Charles I. His lordship acted under Montrose and Prince Rupert, partaking in the defeat of the latter at Marston Moor, in 1644. Attempting afterwards to defend Newcastle, he was captured by his own countrymen of the opposite party, and sent to Edinburgh. He was led into the city by the Water-gate, and conducted, bare-headed, to the jail or Tolbooth, passing in melancholy review before all men, of all sides. His instant execution was moved for in the Parliament-House; but a majority voted for a brief delay, and Crawford lived to be liberated by Montrose, after the victory at Kilsyth, A.D. 1645. Soon afterwards, he shared in the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh, and, after some other futile efforts in the cause of King Charles, was fain to transport himself (by leave) to the continent in 1646, where he shortly afterwards died. With him the current line of the Lindsays, Earls of Crawford, came to a close, but abundance of male scions remained to claim the titles and possessions. Properly speaking, the Lindsays of Edzell, with the Balcarras branch of that house, were the nearest heirs; but entails fixed the succession on the Lindsays of the Byres, who had become Barons and Earls of Lindsay, and of whose early career a very brief account may now be given.

Sir William, younger son of Sir David Lindsay of Crawford, obtained from David II. a charter of the lands of the *Byres* in Haddingtonshire—the said name of Byres meaning assuredly "*cow-houses*," and somewhat corresponding with the Norman term of *De Bouverie*. By marriage with a southland heiress,

he founded a strong branch of the Lindsays in the Lothians and in Fife. His descendant, John, appears to have been summoned to Parliament, as LORD LINDSAY of the BYRES, in the year 1445, when so many other titles were fixed. Several peers of the style and name succeeded, and the family grew in wealth and importance; but Patrick, usually held as sixth lord, made the most remarkable figure in history. His father, the fifth lord, had taken a lead in the Reformation movements, and the son followed the same course, opposing Queen Mary and the Catholic party during his whole life. Lord Patrick seems to have been the very model of a feudal baron, strong of person and brave in the extreme, but savage in temperament and manners to an equal degree. It would almost seem as if the agents in all great and beneficial changes among mankind required to possess something of the latter qualities. Henry VIII. needs not to be dwelt upon as an example; and even Knox and Luther, ministers of religion, had a tinge of the same violence of spirit. Lord Lindsay was to Knox as a strong weapon wherewith to overawe and crush the enemies of the Reformation. While Master of Lindsay, he opposed Huntly and the Catholics of the north; and, at the death of his father in 1563, he became the chief soldier of what was styled the party of the "Congregation." The family annalist prefers him flatteringly to "the cold and perfidious (Regent) Murray;" but we must take leave here to think very differently. Murray was something more than "a good blade," usable by the hands of any party of higher intellect. As such, Sir Walter Scott has made Queen Mary to designate Lindsay, with his wonted correct appreciation of the characters of Scottish history. Patrick, Lord Lindsay, stood forth from among his compeers on three memorable occasions. He was properly the leader of the band of armed men who murdered David Rizzio—bursting by night into the apartments of Holyrood, and sacrificing the victim almost at the feet of the queen. The second memorable appearance of the Lord of the Byres was somewhat more honourable. When Bothwell stepped forth on Carberry Hill (A.D. 1567), and challenged any foe to Queen Mary, of equal rank, to meet him in single combat, Lord Lindsay showed almost a wild anxiety to be allowed to undertake the encounter; and his leader for the time, the Earl of Morton, at length acceded to his wish, giving to him the famous two-handed sword of the great Bell-the-Cat, Earl of Angus. But Queen Mary prohibited the combat, and bitterly told Lindsay, that "she would have his head" for his conduct. However, she was forced to yield in a manner the most humiliating, and was led a weeping prisoner through the city of Edinburgh, as if she had been a common drab, not being allowed to retain even decent clothing. A third eventful scene in the life of Lord Patrick occurred when Mary had been sent to Lochleven. Thither Lindsay went, as an envoy, to force her to resign her throne, being purposely chosen as a proper party "to enter on hard terms, if he came not speed" by mild means. It has been generally related that she resisted till Lindsay actually crushed her arm with his iron gauntlet; and the only gentler account which the family historian can find says, that Mary was so terrified by the mere intelligence that the said lord was nigh her, and "in a boasting humour," that she complied with all demands at once. What a picture these incidents give to us of a fierce and fearless baron of old times! Yet Lord Lindsay was an eminent member of the party of the Congregation—in short, one of the most efficient of our Scottish Reformers of religion. He showed unabated violence of disposition in 1522, joining the famous "Raid of Ruthven," an enterprise intended to give to himself and his party the sole command of the person of the young king, James VI. Another of his feats was equally characteristic of the man. He went to England in 1568 with Murray, to attempt to prove the complicity of Mary in the murder of Darnley before Queen Elizabeth, which attempt failed. Hearing that a true friend of Mary, Lord Herries, had declared the real murderers to be in the Regent Murray's own company, Lord Lindsay demanded an explanation, on pain of a mortal challenge. Herries replied that he had not alluded personally to Lindsay, but that any other individual of Moray's party, who dared to make the same demand, would find him ready, to maintain such a

charge with his sword. This goes far to exculpate Lord Lindsay from all knowledge of a crime, which Morton, and some other Congregationists, certainly knew of the intent of Bothwell to commit. Patrick, sixth peer of his name, died in 1589.

Of his successors, little need be said until we reach the tenth Lord of the Byres, created EARL of LINDSAY in 1633, though his patent did not take effect for some years afterwards. On the forfeiture of Ludovic, Earl of Crawford, in 1644, that title was bestowed, by an Act of Parliament, on the Earl of Lindsay, who also obtained the assent of the former peer to his accession, and was designated EARL of CRAWFORD-LINDSAY. He was not heir-male of the Lindsays, however; but he kept the title, and left it to his descendants. The sixteenth Earl of Crawford (and first of Lindsay) suffered much for the royalist cause, and was, indeed, a prisoner when the Restoration occurred. Being a man of probity and talent, he filled high offices in Scotland, and died at a great age in 1678. His son and grandson, William and John, carried on the succession, and were followed by another John, familiarly called the "Great Earl." He became twentieth peer in 1713, and has left a name well known in history. His united mental and bodily accomplishments earned for this nobleman a European reputation scarcely exceeded by even that of the Admirable Crichton. Earl John adopted a military life, and, with the spirit of a Paladin and Crusader, served under half the masters of the art of war of his day in Europe, Prince Eugene among others. He fought along with the Cossacks in the Russian service, and astonished even these renowned horsemen by his feats in the saddle. At length, in a battle with the Turkish infidels (A.D. 1738), near Belgrade, the Earl of Crawford received wounds so severe as to render all his after life a scene of physical suffering. A musket-ball broke his thigh-bone, and he came back to Britain some months afterwards, a very different man in body from that young and gallant noble, who, to please the Britannic and Hungarian courts, had danced before them the war-dance of the Scottish Gael, habited in the tartans of the north. But he recovered in part, and was honoured with the command of the Black Watch in 1739, and other regiments afterwards. Though not fully reinstated in health, his active spirit led him to join the armies of George II. abroad, and he was one among those Scots to whom alone the defeat at Fontenoy brought no disgrace. Summoned to Scotland in 1745, the Earl of Crawford had no opportunity of then distinguishing himself, being ordered to guard the Lowlands during the transactions which closed at Culloden. Again he went abroad, and again won distinction in arms. His lordship seems to have possessed that true presence of mind which alone forms the great captain. Once, while reconnoitring, he fell in unexpectedly with the advanced posts of the enemy. "*Qui va là ?*" cried his lordship boldly; then, speaking still in French, he addressed the foe as one of their own generals, and before they came to their senses, had coolly got out of their way. Marshal Saxe heard of the incident, and sent ironical congratulations to Lord Crawford on his being appointed to a French generalship. We are afraid, however, that the Marshal hanged the duped officer, since he added that he could not pardon the man for "not procuring him the pleasure of his lordship's company to dinner."

John, the Great Earl of Crawford, wedded Lady Jean Murray in 1747, but lost her during the next year, without issue. His grief injured his health; his wounds broke out anew; and, returning to London, he died there in 1749, aged forty-seven. George, the direct descendant of the Hon. Patrick Lindsay—second son to the sixteenth Earl of Crawford, and whose successor and heir had been created VISCOUNT GARNOCK in 1703—became now twenty-first Earl of Crawford and fifth Earl of Lindsay, still holding also his special title of line as Viscount Garnock. This Garnock or Kilbirnie branch possessed estates in Ayrshire, and the daughter of the Hon. Patrick Lindsay, first of the house, wedded an Earl of Glasgow, whence the Boyles now hold the last Crawford estates. The fourth Viscount Garnock, as said, became Earl of Crawford. His life suggests no fitting subject of remark. In 1781, he was succeeded by

his son George, twenty-second Earl of Crawford and sixth of Lindsay, in whose day the once vast estates of this family had dwindled down mainly to some Fifeshire manors. As we descend to modern times, indeed, the members of all the principal houses of our nobility, formerly coequal on the stage of life with princes, sink into characters of little consequence, showing the vast strides made by the once unimportant mercantile and burghal orders. The Lindsay-Crawfords had felt the altered position of things almost as deeply as did the Highland chiefs, and all who had been originally powerful through personal followings. As these became useless, they grew also ruinously burdensome. The twenty-second Earl of Crawford died in 1808, when his estates fell to his sister, Lady Mary Lindsay-Crawford. This lady possessed much of the habitual strength of mind of her family—for it has been one ever marked by intellectual ability, whether directed to evil or to good—and her eccentricities would occupy a volume; but our object here is mainly to tell the plain story of the Past, to (and respecting) the Clans of Scotland. Their later annals are to themselves well known.

In the life-time of Lady Mary Lindsay, as well as after her decease (after 1830), various claimants of the Crawford-Lindsay honours appeared, and made a vast noise in the world by the said claims. In particular, one John Lindsay-Crawford, a poor man, came forward as the alleged descendant of a younger son of the Garnock house, an Hon. James Lindsay, who had settled (it was said) and had left heirs in Ireland. But the courts of law, after a long inquiry, sent him to Australia in 1812, as guilty of forgery. Still a strong belief in his rights existed, and, on his return in 1820, many persons aided him with money to resume his plea, which he did accordingly. It again fell to the ground, indubitable proofs being adduced that the Hon. James Lindsay died in London, and that the Irish tombstones, and other presumed evidents of his decease in Ireland, were rank forgeries. All that can excuse such malversations is, that the claimants had a firm belief in the justice of their claims; and that, in the absence of true testimony, the invention of false appeared to them scarcely a crime, or one at least very pardonable. So was it in the Stirling Peerage case, which broke down like that of the Lindsays. In the end the Earls of Glasgow, as descended from Margaret Lindsay, sister of the first Viscount Garnock—to which line of the family, as stated, the Crawford-Lindsay honours fell on the death of the Great Earl John—became inheritors of the landed possessions of this distinguished house. The titles attached to the Earldom of Crawford, however, have devolved, finally, on the Earl of Balcarres, the Earldom of Lindsay becoming dormant, if not extinct. The present and seventh Earl of Balcarres is now (his predecessors being properly numbered) the twenty-fourth Earl of Crawford, by a decision of the British House of Peers.

It is now requisite to notice the remaining lines of the Lindsays. The LORDS SPYNIE have been mentioned, as springing from a younger grandson of the Wicked Master, and a favourite of James VI. In the third generation, an heiress carried the pretensions of the Spynie line to a family now represented by William Fullarton Lindsay Carnegie, Esq.; but they have failed to obtain a resuscitation of the titular honours. Of the great branch of the LORDS LINDSAY of the BYRES, something has also been said. They struck off from the main line before its ennoblement, and became its representatives by right of entails, to the exclusion of the proper heirs, the Edzell or Balcarres offshoots, sprung from the third Earl of Crawford. The Byres line, beside the stalwart barons previously mentioned, gave off many cadets, and, amongst them, the Lindsays of the Mount and Pitcottie. One Lindsay of Pitcottie is well known as a quaint and honest Scottish annalist of old times; but a Lindsay of the Mount took, and yet holds, a higher place in history. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount was born in the latter third of the sixteenth century, and spent his life in the service of the monarchs James IV. and V. He acted as governor to the latter when in infancy, and records that the first syllables mastered by the young prince were pa-da-lyn, "where's Davie Lindsay?" As he advanced in life, the corruptions of the court, church, and state, disgusted Lindsay, and

called all his latent mental powers into action. He began to satirise defaulters with a vigorous and poetic pen, and continued unweariedly at the same work to his dying day. He wrote with surprising purity of language, comparatively; and he is, on the whole, by no means so illegible by moderns as most authors of his time. His wit was easy, pointed, and practical; and he has the undoubted merit of being the first church reformer of high note who dared to raise his head in Scotland. We may reckon among his chief pieces his "Three Estates," his "Squire Meldrum," and his "Monarchie," all of which inculcated amelioration in church and state, and, with many minor pieces, attained to the highest popularity. It may be questioned if he did not do more to advance the Reformation than was ever done even through the pulpit itself. Men are too apt to forget the services of such parties as Lindsay and Buchanan in this great cause. The former, indeed, spoke so strongly, that it is almost amazing that Cardinal Beaton was contented with his banishment, and allowed him to reach the grave in the way of nature. He died about 1557, in his own land.

Of the Balcarras (now the Crawford) Lindsays, much might be said, did space or the plan of this work permit. The parental Edzell line was founded by a second son of the third Earl of Crawford, as observed; and, in the third generation, his descendant (Sir David of Edzell) became ninth Earl, though he gave up the honours again to the son of the Wicked Master, and left an eldest son, David, to inherit Edzell, while a second son, John, originated the Balcarras house. Born towards the middle of the sixteenth century, John became rector or parson of Menmuir, and other cures in Forfarshire, obtaining, according to the usages of the time, the secular fruits, without the burden of the religious duties. He studied the law, in reality, as a profession, and showed so much ability in that walk as to be made a Lord of Session in 1581, before he had passed the age of thirty. Well had it been for our sires, had all the judges, raised from family influence like "Lord Menmuir," been like to him in character and talents. He seems to have been, indeed, a good and honest man, respected as a senator in the courts of law, and equally valued as a leading member of the body-politic, in the times of James VI., who esteemed him greatly. His letters to his elder brother, Sir David Lindsay of Edzell—a good man, too, in his way, and an accomplished, though the assassin of Campbell of Lundie for all that—show Lord Menmuir in a most amiable light, as a furtherer of peace among neighbours, and promoter of local and national improvements. Still he must, like others, have used well the advantages of power and place. We find him accepting sinecure or at least life-offices, and in due time buying estates. As one of the members of the Scottish government of the Sixth James—a party called (from their number) "The Octavians"—he holds a foremost place in the annals of those times, and, as a statesman, is mentioned honourably by almost all our historians. He was raised to the peerage as LORD (LINDSAY of) BALCARRES in 1633; and his son Alexander, in 1651, obtained the title of EARL of BALCARRES from Charles II. Though it has been remarked that the founder of this branch of the Lindsays (Lord Menmuir) acquired estates in his day, as well as others, these were yet of but moderate extent; and his successors, perhaps for their own good, were necessitated to take active parts in the service of their country. The first Earl of Balcarras (a Fifeshire estate) adopted warmly the Stewart cause, and suffered many hardships in consequence, attending Charles II. in his exile, and being much esteemed by that prince. Abraham Cowley knew him personally; and, on his lordship's decease in 1659, the poet said of him—

"His wisdom, justice, and his piety,
His courage both to suffer and to die,
His virtues and his Lady too,
Were things celestial."

The son and successor of the first earl died while a boy (A.D. 1662); and the estate and title fell to his brother Colin, third Earl. This nobleman adhered to James VII. with a degree of fidelity honourable even in such a cause. When

James was crushed to the earth by the desertions even of his own children, Balcarres went to him with Dundee (Claverhouse), and proposed to serve him in Scotland. The king had just seen his son-in-law, George of Denmark, leave his party; and, alluding to what that prince had always said on hearing of other desertions—" *Est il possible*" (Is it possible?)—had merely exclaimed, "What! is *Est il possible* gone too?" Balcarres and Dundee came north to do their best for tottering monarchy, but the former was seized, imprisoned, and seriously put in peril of life. He was set free, however, and lived, partly abroad with the exiled Stewarts, and partly at home, until he had reached the age of threescore and ten. His fortunes were sadly dilapidated by his doings in the cause of legitimate royalty. He even joined the rising of 1715, and escaped the results again with difficulty. He died in 1722.

Alexander, his son, succeeded as fourth Earl, but died without issue, leaving the honours and estates to his brother James, fifth earl. This nobleman, born in 1691, had become involved in youth in the Stewart affairs, but afterwards served the Hanoverian dynasty with great repute. His lordship lived to witness the extinction of the main Edzell Lindsays, and, himself then a man of threescore, might well have deemed that line (the elder and true Crawford one) as verging to extinction. But things fell out differently. Old as he was, he sought and won a lady (Miss Dalrymple of the North Berwick family), who brought to him the goodly number of eleven children, and so kept the ancient stem flourishing. It is a pity to pass lightly over, as we must perforce do, the stories of this noble family. One of the daughters of the peer mentioned, Lady Ann Lindsay (by marriage Barnard) won a lasting literary name as authoress of "Auld Robin Gray," which, like Hardyknute, fairly puzzled antiquaries for many long years. They could not but pronounce it exquisite, and yet they could not tell whence it came. Lady Anne finally solved the difficulty by avowing the piece as hers to Sir Walter Scott; and, in doing so, she gave to us a little touch of nature, perhaps even more exquisite than the piece itself. It is almost needless to remind readers that Jenny, while loving "Jamie far at sea," gives her hand to Auld Robin Gray, in consequence of accumulated ills having befallen her own poor family. The authoress, while heaping up these evils, felt at a loss for a crowning one; "Steal the cow, sister Anne!" cried a younger member of the Balcarres household. So "our cow was stow'n awa'," and the tale of distress completed. Lady Anne tried in after years to give a happy close to the story, by widowing Jenny, and wedding her at last to her "Jamie." The attempt was injudicious, the effect of the first piece resting mainly on the utter misery therein depicted. The very music revolts against being made the vehicle of happiness. Lady Anne Barnard showed herself to be a woman of no common mind by her letters in after life; but "Auld Robin Gray" was the work of a moment of inspiration, not often bestowed on the most talented of mortals. It is singular to note how many literary reputations hang similarly on individual efforts. "Lucy's Flitting," by William Laidlaw; "The Flowers of the Forest," (both versions) by Miss Elliott and Mrs Cockburn; "Mary's Dream," by John Lowe; "William and Margaret," by David Mallet; "My only joe and dearie, O!" by Richard Gall; the "Chameleon," by Merrick; and the "Three Warnings," by Mrs Thrale; these pieces have almost singly ensured a share of poetical immortality to their several authors. Even without high merit, the same meed has at times been similarly won. On the basis, for example, of a song—"I hate this drum's discordant sound"—which the poorest provincial newspaper of our day would certainly not admit—Scott of Ancrum ranks among the poets of England in all collections, from that of Anderson downwards.

Though Lady Anne Barnard, however, wrote but one prominent piece, never excelled or even approached by herself afterwards, it was such a gem of its kind as truly to merit continuous admiration. As observed, she married (Sir) Andrew Barnard, who filled various public situations at home and abroad with distinction. Of her brothers and sisters Lord Lindsay gives ample accounts, chiefly from their own notes of their experiences and toils in the East Indies and other British colonial dependencies. For such particulars his work must

be consulted ; and well worthy is it of consultation. Few families, we imagine, could produce a chest of papers rivalling that of the Lindsays of Balcarres, or rather (now) of Crawford. The spirit and talent which produced a Tiger Earl and a Wicked Master, have of late years become, not extinct, but more legitimately and honourably directed.

Alexander, sixth Earl of Balcarres, succeeded his sire in 1768. He had entered the military service in early life, and held various responsible situations abroad at different times, being Governor of Jamaica during the troubled days of the Maroon wars, and receiving general praise for his conduct. He had wedded a lady who became ultimately heiress of the Bradshaighs of Haigh Hall in Lancashire ; and, the Balcarres estate in Scotland having been purchased by a younger branch of his own family, his lordship passed his latter years at Haigh Hall. He died in 1825, and was succeeded by his son James, present and seventh EARL OF BALCARRES, as also twenty-fourth EARL OF CRAWFORD, being so adjudged by the House of Lords in 1848, and taking rank by that adjudgment at the head of the old Union Roll. His apparent-heir, ALEXANDER-WILLIAM-CRAWFORD, LORD LINDSAY, espoused his cousin, Margaret Lindsay (of Balcarres), and has had issue, JAMES LUDOVIC, MASTER OF LINDSAY.

Though the old title of Crawford has been thus restored to its proper owners, the heads of this family are now no longer among the great land-holding barons of Scotland. But they have left numberless parties of the Lindsay name in all quarters, and of all ranks in life. Lord Lindsay numbers some hundred and odd gentlemen of the name as at one time holders of northern estates, and many are still directly represented. The Evelick Lindsays were once Baronets ; and a British Baronetcy has of late years been bestowed on Sir Coutts Lindsay, younger of Balcarres. Like the family annalist, Lord Lindsay—who has written works of travel, and works on art—Sir Coutts Lindsay has made various efforts in the field of light literature, evincing no slight spice of originality.

ARMS OF THE LINDSAYS.

Gules, a fess-chequé, argent and azure.

SUPPORTERS. Two lions.

CREST. An Ostrich.

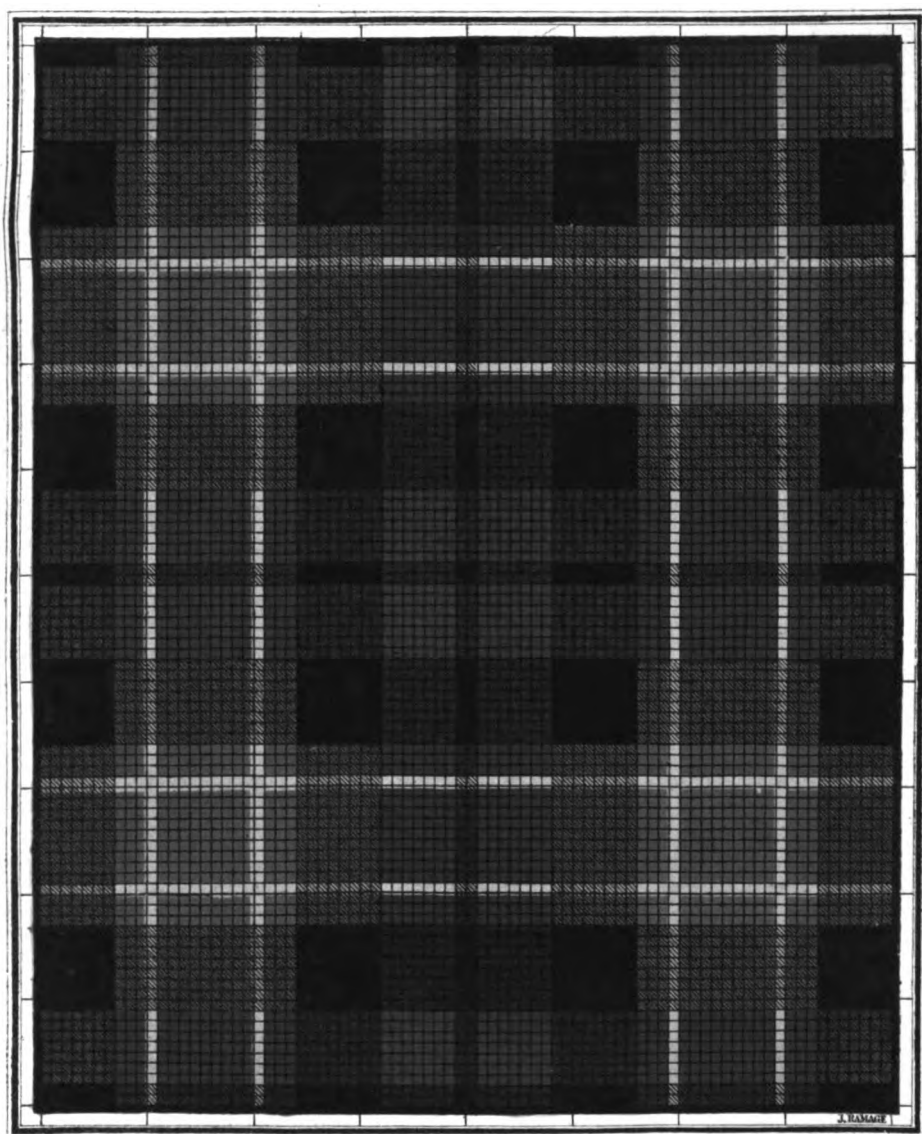
MOTTO. Endure furth.



THE CLAN GRAHAM.

A high degree of antiquity has been claimed for the family of the GRAHAMS, GRAHAMES, or GRAEMES. The presumed originator of the house has been referred to the fifth century, and is stated to have been the demolisher of the wall, or line of defences, built by the Emperor Severus betwixt the Clyde and Forth, in order to keep back the northern Caledonians. It is certain that such a wall did really exist, and was called "Graeme's Dyke ;" though, if the dyke was named from its *destruction* by a Graeme, the case is certainly one of the *lucus a non lucendo* description. In short, while the traditions of the country are too strong to be utterly contemned, they would only prove at most that parties of a name resembling that of Graham (or Graeme) had actually a location in Scotland at a very early date, and were of note among their compeers. To speak the truth, we, for our own part, incline to the opinion that the popular traditional title of Grim's Dyke (for so it is usually pronounced and set down) formed merely a half-punning translation of the name of its founder "Severus." Some of our best antiquaries have held this opinion.

Whether or not a Gramus, general of the armies of Fergus II. about A.D.



404-420, and overthrower of the wall of Severus, was ancestor of the noble house of Graham, matters little in reality. The mere tradition, as observed, is of itself demonstrative of the antiquity of the name. The first person bearing it authentically seems to have been William de Graham, who witnessed the chartering of the Abbey of Holyrood by David I. in 1128, and obtained from the same prince the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith in Midlothian. The old stories above quoted point, of course, to a British or Celtic origin, but this early settlement of the Grahams in the south, and their rise in the time of David, rather indicate an Anglo-Norman descent. We must be content, on the whole, with the knowledge that the Grahams did in time become Highland borderers, if not truly of the Albionic or Alpinian race; and that, like the gay Gordons and the light Lindsays, they finally took the form of a clan, "the gallant Grahams." The descendants of Peter, eldest son of William de Graham of Dalkeith, are traceable down to the close of the fourteenth century, when the line ended in an heiress, through whom the Morton Douglasses obtained the family estates. But a second son of the first William of Dalkeith carried on the male line of the Grahams, being followed by a son William, and a grandson David, the latter of whom held the Clifton lands in Midlothian, and the lordship of Kinnaber in Forfarshire, with other properties near Montrose. William the Lion was the donor of these properties, and his reign (A.D. 1165-1214) points out the time at which the Grahams moved northwards. A second Sir David de Graham obtained lands in the Lennox and Stirlingshire. Thus, so early as in the thirteenth century, the Grahams acquired the Montrose and Lennox lands, with which their name and house has so long been (and still is) associated. But they also grew strong in many other quarters, and played an important part among the Scottish barons in the days preceding the accession of the Bruces. A third David de Graham, styled of Dundaff, left two sons—his heir, Sir Patrick, and the famous SIR JOHN the GRAHAM, the best beloved of all the compatriots of Wallace. Sir John fell at Falkirk in 1298, and there lies buried. A stone (several times renewed) bears the following monumental inscription:—

*"Mente manque potens, et Vallae fidus Achates,
Conditur hic Gramus, bello interpectus ab Anglis."*

One of Cromwell's officers asked a Falkirk schoolmaster of the time to construe this Latin for him, when the dominie gave it thus pithily in English:—

*"Of mind and courage stout,
Wallace's true Achates,
Here lies Sir John the Graham,
Felled by the English Eaties."*

Though forced from Falkirk by the English, Wallace returned in person next day to seek for the body of Graham, and mourned over it bitterly, Blind Harry says, when it was found. He was wont to call Sir John "his right hand." Sir Patrick, brother of Sir John, was also a brave knight, and, though he did homage to Edward I., closed his days while fighting against the English at Dunbar, A.D. 1296. "He was a stout soldier, wise in council, and among the noblest most noble." So says Hemingford.

Sir Patrick Graham was succeeded by Sir David, styled commonly "of Kinnardine," a mark of the growing weight of the family on the coast of the east of Scotland, or near Montrose. Sir David signed the memorable letter to the Pope in 1320, asserting the independence of Scotland; and his son, another David, fought and was captured at Durham in 1346. He is called Lord of "Auld Monros"—the latter word being a singular one in form, and not impossibly (as before observed) explanatory of the name of the Monroes. Sir Patrick, his son, was one of the hostages for the ransom of David II. in 1357, thus proving the rank of the family—since the Scottish and English kings picked every one of these hostages from among the first houses of the Scottish nobility. This Sir Patrick was twice married, leaving by his first spouse William his heir, and by his second a son named Patrick, who by marriage with Euphemia,

sole heiress of David Stewart (son of Robert II.), and Countess of Stratherne in her own right, obtained that title and earldom. Their son, Malise, succeeded in due course; but James I. took from him the Stratherne earldom, as being a male fee, and bestowed on him the dignity of EARL of MENTEITH, held by his successors for several consecutive generations. This branch of the Graham family may here be briefly noticed, before proceeding with the story of the older line, descended from the above-mentioned William.

Malise, first Earl of Menteith of this house, left his heir, Alexander, and a second son, called "Sir John with the Bright Sword," or of Kilbride. From the latter sprung a noted branch of the Grahams (or Graemes), namely, those of the "Debateable Land." This territory consisted of that portion of Cumberland lying immediately to the south of the river Esk, and the Solway Frith; and it was so named from being a perpetual scene of strife betwixt the Scottish and English borderers. Sir John Graham of Kilbride seems there to have wielded his "bright sword" to some purpose, since his second son became planted in the Debateable Land as the head of a pretty strong clan of Grahams, whose descendants have kept their ground to this day. The representative and chief of this line is SIR JAMES GRAHAM of NETHERBY, a party of eminence among living statesmen. A collateral ancestor received from James VII. (A.D. 1681) the title of VISCOUNT PRESTON, soon afterwards forfeited, but not unlikely to be one day revived, amid the shifts and turns of modern politics. The elder brother of Sir John of Kilbride continued the line of Malise Graham; though predeceasing his sire, he left his son Alexander to succeed as second Earl of Menteith. From him, in regular order, descended William, seventh Earl of Menteith, who, born in 1589, inherited the family honours in 1610, and was also served heir to the Earldom of Stratherne in 1630. King Charles I. ratified the service in 1631; and the earl was formally admitted to be Earl of Stratherne and Menteith. But here a strange feeling came into play on the part of Charles I., or his counsellors, and as strange a proceeding followed, having the effect of stripping the nobleman under notice of his lineal honours. Though he was a favourite of the king, and held the justice-generalship of Scotland, with other high offices, in all of which he conducted himself ably and loyally, Charles I. actually listened gravely to some parties who suggested that, to admit the right of Lord Menteith to succeed the Stewarts of Stratherne, was to endanger the succession to the crown itself. David Stewart of Stratherne, from whom Menteith claimed, drew his origin directly from Robert II., being eldest son of that king's marriage with Euphemia Ross. Now, though eight sovereigns had held the crown as just heirs by a previous marriage with Elizabeth Mure, king Charles adopted the impression, as stated, that, to allow of the succession of a true heir of the Ross marriage, might really be prejudicial to his own family. Besides that the dates of the papal dispensations would at once have proven Euphemia Ross to have been the second wife, the notion of a revival of her offspring's claims at that late hour appears utterly ridiculous. Yet, singularly enough, the learned Drummond of Hawthornden was one of those who told Charles I. that "the restoring of the Earl of Menteith in blood was thought to be disadvantageous to his majesty." If Menteith gave any ground for the adverse proceedings adopted, it lay all, at most, in a silly rumour that he had boasted of having "the reddest blood in Scotland." Be this as it may, Charles I. caused the Scottish courts to set aside his retours and patent as Earl of Stratherne, upon a plea manifestly false—to wit, that David of Stratherne had left no issue. As if to palliate this act of injustice, the king bestowed on him the new title of EARL of Airth (A.D. 1633), to be held conjunctly with that of Menteith. The only feasible reason that can be given for the conduct of Charles I. is, that he had been persuaded of the propriety of keeping Stratherne as a title-palatine, to be borne but by princes of the immediate blood-royal. (As such, it was lately joined with the title of Sussex.) Yet he could not de-royalise the blood of Menteith. The latter, being deprived of most of his offices, spent his latter years privately, having, before his decease, sustained a grievous domestic calamity. His eldest son died by the hand of an

assassin. The tragic story of this young nobleman, who bore the title of LORD KINPONT, has been often told, and indeed suggested to the Great Novelist of Scotland one of his most popular pieces, the "Legend of Montrose." Lord Kinpont had joined Montrose, and was present at the battle of Tippermuir in September, 1644. Three or four days afterwards, the heir of Menteith was assassinated by his own relative, James Stewart of Ardvorlich. Various accounts, mollifying the act of Stewart, have been given, but it is certain that the murderer fled to the Covenanters, by whom he was pardoned and taken into service. This fact goes far to do away with all the exculpations made. If he slew Kinpont through one of those fits of passion which have been represented as approaching to irresponsible lunacy, he joined the Covenant cause at least coolly.

This unfortunate young noble left his son, William, to succeed as second Earl of Airth and Menteith. Lord Kinpont also left a daughter, Mary, wedded to Sir John Allardice of Allardice, and another, Elizabeth, whose great-grandson claimed the title of Menteith, but without success, and indeed without justice. On the death (in 1694) of William, second Earl of Airth and Menteith, the children of his eldest sister became obviously the true heirs of line of the Menteith Gramhams. Her great-grandson, James Allardice of Allardice, died in 1765, leaving an only child and heiress, Sarah Anne, who espoused Robert Barclay of Ury, and carried to her children all her high claims. The Scottish Barclays seem to have sprung from the English Berkeleys, and had long been of note in Kincardineshire, producing in the seventeenth century the well-known Robert Barclay of Ury, author of the "Apology for the Quakers." His lineal descendant, in the third generation, espoused the heiress of the Allardices, whom a jury served heir-portioner-general to the Airth and Menteith house in 1785. Her son, the present Robert Barclay-Allardice of Ury and Allardice, inherits all her rights, and has established his descent clearly, though the titles of Airth and Menteith (both of which he claims) have not yet been adjudged to him formally or legally. Perhaps he has not himself urged on a final decision. If any of these titles were destined to heirs-general, as most old ones were, his pretensions appear to be unquestionable. But the new patents of Charles I. have probably embarrassed the question of succession. The present laird of Ury is well known (as Captain Barclay) in the annals of sportsmanship, having been the first man who attempted the great feat of walking one thousand miles in one thousand successive hours; in which feat he succeeded, as well as in other remarkable trials of physical endurance.

From the Menteith Gramhams, whose line thus closed, we now recur to the Montrose family. Sir William Graham of Dundaff and Kincardine, elder brother of the founder of the Menteith branch, is mentioned in many charters and public acts at the beginning of the fifteenth century. By a first marriage he left his direct successors; and by his second nuptials (with a daughter of King Robert III.), he had sons who founded eminent subsidiary lines, as the Gramhams of Claverhouse and Balgowan (ennobled in time by the titles of Dundee and Lynedoch). The Gramhams of Fintry sprung from the same parentage. The eldest son of the first marriage of Sir William Graham died before his sire, and left a son, Patrick, who seems to have been created LORD GRAHAM about the noted year 1445, when so many other great landlords were summoned as peers of parliament. His son and grandson, both named William, intermarried respectively with the Douglas and Drummond houses, and the latter of them was created EARL of MONTROSE, A.D. 1504. It may be mentioned that the title came properly from the lands of Auld Montrose, as it was called. From the first earl, and his son William, sprung the Gorthy, the Killearn, and other Gramhams. John, grandchild of the last William, became third earl, and held the highest Scottish offices under James VI. From his son John, fourth peer, sprung the Great Marquis of Montrose, as his exploits led him to be styled.

James, fifth Earl (and finally Marquis) of Montrose, was born in 1612, and succeeded to his father in 1626. Induced by his friends, in mere boyhood, to marry Lady Magdalen Carnegie, that the hopes of the house might not perish,

the earl nevertheless continued to pursue his studies even when he had become a father, as he was at little more than seventeen. He even travelled on the continent for some years, accomplishing both mind and body. Active and well formed, he became a perfect master of all the military exercises of the day. Returning to Britain about 1634, the young Montrose took umbrage at the coolness displayed towards him by Charles I. It was most unwisely displayed, since Montrose was the only Scottish noble capable of checking the domination of the Covenanting chief of Argyle. The former was driven into the party of the Covenant, in consequence, and commanded a force under them, with which he pillaged Aberdeen, and beat the royalist Gordons at the Bridge of Dee, A.D. 1639. When the army of the Covenanters marched into England, in the following year, Montrose led the van, and showed his apparent zeal in the cause by leaping from his horse, and crossing the Tweed on foot before all his men. After sharing in the subsequent fighting, he grew disgusted, it is usually said, at being excluded from the private councils of the army when the treaty of Ripon was arranged. This circumstance might have its immediate share of influence, but the complete ascendancy possessed by Argyle in those councils must soon have proved intolerable to Montrose in any case. He was a man of too high a spirit to play second willingly to any one, and least of all to his hereditary foe. We cannot give him credit, besides, for having ever been a sincere adherent of the Covenant. All his feelings, prejudices, and aspirations leant towards the cause of royalty. He proved his true nature fully in the sequel, and, indeed, now stands forth in history as one of the last great captains of the school of chivalrous loyalty.

The Earl of Montrose commenced a secret correspondence with Charles I., and induced eighteen other peers to sign a joint offer to support the king against Argyle's party. But the earl spoke out too soon and too freely; and Charles could not save his friend from being sent to Edinburgh Castle in 1641. He obtained his liberation, however, in 1642; and thenceforth his aroused and haughty spirit rested not till he had compassed the means of full retaliation on Argyle and all other foes. He joined the royal cause in England, and obtained various isolated successes, all of which were rendered unavailing by the defeat of Prince Rupert at Marston Moor, A.D. 1644. The MARQUIS OF MONTROSE (so created in 1644) then fled to Scotland in the disguise of a groom, and soon after appeared in the same shape before a body of Irish, who had landed on the western coasts, and had ravaged them, though as yet aided by but few Highlanders. To these invaders and their friends Montrose disclosed himself, and produced a commission of lieutenantship from the king, empowering him to command the royalists of Scotland. Sir Walter Scott, in the "Legend of Montrose," describes forcibly the impression made on the Gaelic chiefs by the appearance amongst them of the nobleman whom all looked to as the only fit rival to Argyle. The enthusiasm was immense. The Highlanders flocked to his standard, increasing his array to the amount of three thousand men. With these he scrupled not to attack an army of six thousand foot and horse, acting for the Covenanting party, and gave to them a signal defeat at Tippermuir, in September, 1644. On the advance of Argyle shortly afterwards, Montrose left Perthshire and moved northwards. At the Bridge of Dee he discomfited a force under Lord Lewis Gordon, then holding a command for the Covenanters. As commanding for the latter party, Montrose had himself, on the very same field, defeated some of the very same Gordons under Lord Aboyne, only three years previously. Such was the shifting character of the times. Lord Lewis, it is true, pursued not the policy of the Gordon family generally, and Montrose expected their general support; but his second sacking of Aberdeen could not gain him many adherents in that quarter, the centre of the Gordon authority. And here, while noticing this piece of inconsistency, it may be observed that Montrose evidently owed his whole train of successes to the desire for plunder on the part of his followers, and that the desertion of these, when satiated with the spoilage of each campaign, explains the total inutility of his victories. His friend, Alaster Macdonald, called Colkitto or Colkeitoch, with his brave sons,

the leaders of the Irish recruits, seem to have resembled greatly those parties called in Spain "guerilla captains," or those who, in other times and lands, headed bands of "free companions." Like the most of these, they were gentlemen of good descent, and only differed in so far as they led kilted footmen, not mounted men-at-arms, to scenes of blood and destruction.

The habits of his followers enabled Montrose—than whom no man appears to have studied more thoroughly the dispositions of the Gael—to come and go like a flash of lightning, fairly bewildering his foe, Argyle, sent to cope with him by the party of the Covenant. Montrose was here one day, and gone the next, always keeping, however, a set rendezvous (as far as he could) with his precarious followers. Such a style of campaigning suited the Highlanders perfectly. And thus it chanced, that they gathered in force at the command of the Marquis, at the close of 1644, and made an inroad on Argyleshire. Montrose here took an ample revenge on his hereditary and personal enemy, leaving scarcely a standing house, or a single head of cattle, on all the lands of Argyle. As to his treatment of the population, some of the Gaelic annalists even boast that his troops murdered eight hundred unresisting persons on one occasion alone. There may be exaggeration here, but it is unlikely that Montrose could prevent, even if willing, many horrid scenes of bloodshed. The evil fell, too, on the helpless aged and equally helpless young; because Argyle himself, taken completely by surprise, fled before the invaders, while almost all the able-bodied members of his kin and clan followed in his steps, waiting to act at his call as he thought fit. Nor was it long ere the chief of the Campbells made an endeavour to check Montrose in his career of victory. The latter had retired from Argyleshire, to seek fresh scenes of occupation in the north—because a great part of his army, satisfied with the spoils already won, had left his banner, and he had no hopes of further success, saving by holding out new chances of spoliation. Montrose formed a daring resolve when he heard of Argyle's pursuit of him, as well as of a movement on the east to intercept his northward course. He turned back, and came suddenly on the camp of Argyle at Inverlochy, on the line of the Great Glen of Albyn, now the channel of the Caledonian canal. Though disappointed in his purpose of surprising his foes by night, yet the appearance of Montrose was so unexpected that, until the royal trumpet-call wakened the echoes of Ben Nevis, and announced the representative of majesty to be present, the Campbells could scarcely believe that they had before them their great feudal enemy. However, they prepared for battle on the morn of the 2d of February (Sunday) 1645. Argyle himself retired to a galley on the adjoining Loch of Lochy. He has been often condemned on this account; but he almost certainly was quite incapable of personal exertion at the time, since he had dislocated his shoulder about a fortnight previously, as appears from an authentic letter to the Scottish council, dated the 18th of January. This plea might not avail with modern commanders, who do just as well without hands as with them, as the cases of Nelson and Hardinge sufficiently prove; but, in the days under consideration, men really needed their own hands to defend their own heads in conflict, whatever might be their place and degree. On the whole, therefore, we should not hastily blame Argyle, with "a *disjointed* shoulder" not yet cured, from not acting personally in the battle of Inverlochy. His absence had a bad effect, however, and helped to give Montrose the victory, though at the head of greatly inferior numbers. Another mistake on the Campbell side was, that they stood still in their ranks to receive the onset of the foe. Highland successes in war have ever mainly rested on their gaining the opportunity of making the first rush. It is the Gaelic (Gallic or Celtic) battle-principle. Acting upon a knowledge of it, Montrose gained all his victories; profiting or profited by it, Prince Charles Edward obtained his short-lived triumphs. Without denying his general strategic excellence, we may also notice that Napoleon, on the actual field of battle, trusted ever greatly to the first impulsive attacks of his soldiers; and hence was his disappointment at Waterloo expressed in the peevish but emphatic words, that the English "knew not when they were beaten." If stricken down, they rose again; and it is plain,

indeed, that this peculiar principle of endurance alone won for the English the palm at Waterloo. They drew it from their Norse (or radically Gothic) sires—

“ Stern to inflict, and stubborn to endure,
Who smiled in death.”

On the other hand, the habitual dependence of all the Gaelic or Celtic races on the first onset in fight was long ago remarked. Six or seven centuries since, Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the Gael of Wales (the Gwaelsh), his own countrymen, calls them—“ At the first blow, more than men—at the second, less than women.” Of all this the lieutenant of Argyle, Campbell of Auchinbreck, a continentally trained soldier, seems to have been unaware at Inverlochy. Stand these things as they may, Argyle fled in his galleys, and his host was entirely routed, much slaughter taking place. Some respectable histories of the rebellions actually record as a fact that three men of the Montrose party killed, with their own hands, *sixty* of the enemy. Twenty a-piece! The same work informs us that Montrose lost three men in all, while the Campbells lost between one and two thousand. These must be exaggerations.

The victory of Inverlochy raised greatly the depressed spirits of the royalists. King Charles himself was induced to break off a pacific negociation which might yet have saved his head. The Scottish Covenanted party in the capital were sorely afraid lest Montrose should have followed up his victory, and descended on them with his mountaineers. His own annalists blame him for not doing so. The great marquis, however, knew better the character of his own following. He felt that by them no stable footing could ever be secured anywhere; and, throughout the whole of his career, he seemed rather to hang about the skirts of victory than to bask in the full light of her countenance. When he did at last venture to test the strength of the Lowlands, he was foiled signally. The most generous view that can be taken of the career and objects of Montrose is, that he counted ever on a final pronouncement in favour of royalty over the country generally, and only hoped to advance it by keeping his Highlanders in arms. On scarcely any other principle can his bloody and unserviceable campaigns be justified; since, admitting loyalty to have given the sufficing and honourable impulse, he must have felt thoroughly the fruitlessness of his own unaided perseverance in its cause, during the height of his (at least later) successes. After the battle of Inverlochy, he took Dundee by storm; and he eluded, by able management of his light-footed and light-armed followers, the pursuit of generals Baillie and Hurry. Surprising finally the two apart, he defeated Hurry at Auldearn, near Nairn, A.D. 1645, and Baillie at Alford shortly afterwards. About five thousand Covenanters fell at these places, *no quarter being given*. The men of the hills flocked to Montrose in consequence of these victories, and enabled him to gain his greatest triumph on the field of Kilsyth, A.D. 1645. He laid five thousand of the Covenanted party low on that day, by the common accounts. To show how admirably he was calculated for the command of such a body of men as his Highland followers, we may notice an event which preceded the day of Kilsyth. The regular troops of the adverse party wore strong bright breast-plates, and at the sight of these the Highlanders seemed dispirited. Montrose observed the circumstance. He cried out, that these men in armour were the very men whom they had before beaten, and would beat in spite of their new coats; and, stripping off his own buff doublet, as a flattering annalist tells us, he stood forth in his denuded state, “ a perfect living statue or model of all that can be conceived terrific in the appearance of a soldier!” The cavalry, it is also said, followed his example by “ throwing off their upper garments, and buckling up their shirt-sleeves.” The bodies of Highland foot, again, “ stript their whole persons, even to their feet, retaining only their shirts.” Of small-clothes they could not divest themselves, such a thing being proverbially impossible. Fighting in this fashion, the Marquis of Montrose gained at Kilsyth the most marked and memorable of all his conflicts. The encounter needs not to be described. Victory was won at once by a dashing onset, the consequence, mainly, of the impulsive spirit

generated by the gallant though barbarian ruse of Montrose, and the losers fell, not on the field, but during the after-chase. Wishart says, "the pursuers 'had the killing of their foes' for fourteen miles." Six thousand men, at least, perished on this fatal day, no quarter, as usual, being any where given—a black spot on the military fame of Montrose, and one but imperfectly wiped off by the plea that his troops were incapable of restraint. Such formed his own apology on the scaffold; but by leading troops of this description to battle, with a full foreknowledge of the sanguinary consequences, he assuredly took upon himself the responsibility of their acts. One of the Highlanders present at Kilsyth was heard in after-life to boast that every stroke of his broadsword, on the "braw day of Kilsyth" cut through "an ell o' breeks"—a savage sneer at the dress of the fugitive Lowlanders whom he had slain in the pursuit. It was before remarked in this work—nor have we seen the point anywhere else properly insisted upon—that the very victories of the Gael helped to ruin the cause of the last Stewarts. The English viewed them, and feared them, as actual barbarians; and even the Scottish Lowlanders felt horrified by their half naked aspect, their savage manners, and their strange speech, when they made their marauding descents on the south. The risings of Montrose, Dundee, Mar, and Prince Charles, therefore, were rendered unavailing, to all seeming, mainly by the very props on which they appeared to rest. The civilisation of the country took alarm at the prospect of the renewed ascendancy of princes and parties so supported; and when France also gave its countenance to the Stewarts, that alarm was aggravated to its highest pitch, and the lingering respect for legitimate royalty withered wholly away in the bosoms of millions. No reflecting person can feel surprise that such should have been the case. The only wonder is, that these movements of the Scottish Highlanders should have so often and so long been viewed in an opposite light—that, in short, the Gaelic insurrections should ever have been thought to have advanced a cause which they really and absolutely ruined.

This conclusion detracts not from the bravery of the Gael, nor from the merits of their chiefs, such as the noble Lochiel and others, any more than the evil aims of Napoleon can lessen the glories of the French arms, republican and imperial. However, as the issue of his leading was to raise banded Europe against France, so did the movements of the Highlanders under Montrose and others tend to rouse great part of Britain against the cause which they supported. Their valour and successes only aggravated the evil, and nullified all their doings.

We must now turn over another leaf in the history of Montrose. His victory at Kilsyth—on which field Argyle was present with General Baillie—had drawn together the desultory Highland troops in force; and their leader marched southwards, receiving submissions from the great cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. One of his chief modern admirers speaks of him as "the red and triumphant soldier," who appeared in the eyes of the superstitious people as "a destroying angel;" and the same writer denounces the "city of Edinburgh," as guilty of "dissimulation, meanness, hypocrisy, unmanly dissembling," and what not, because its rulers temporised with Montrose, to save their helpless fellow-townsmen from the "destruction" which ever marked the "angelic" path of the great marquis. If temporising may ever be pardoned, it surely should be so on this occasion, when the young and old of a defenceless capital lay at the mercy of men reeking from the slaughter of nearly twenty thousand human beings, and hardened by the memory of six quarterless victories. Moreover, the charges made are unjust, since, ere a few weeks passed over, the defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh gave to the city of Edinburgh new masters as powerful as he had been, and rendered the fulfilment of any stipulations made with him an utter impossibility. The chief one involved loyalty to the king. We would here do all justice to Montrose, but cannot see the necessity of softening all his acts to attain that end, or of blackening all his adversaries.

The battle of Philiphaugh occurred on the 13th of September, 1645. The

plain so named lies within a mile or two of Selkirk town, and there Montrose had encamped with an army under two thousand strong. The general who opposed him was the famous David Leslie, a soldier of experience in the foreign wars, and now heading a force of Covenanting Scots more than doubling the army of Montrose. Many royalist writers declare the Marquis to have been betrayed, but, at all events, he was taken by surprise, and lost the advantage of the first rush, which, with his troops, was a loss fatal and irremediable. Leslie made the attack spiritedly with his veteran troopers, and Montrose, heading his own few horse in person, made as spirited an effort to repulse the enemy. Indeed, like Napoleon in the closing conflicts of 1814, the Marquis never exerted himself so energetically as on this unfortunate day. The falling hero did not succumb without a struggle—harpooned as he was, he showed himself dangerous, like the whale, in his last flurry. And, when driven at last from the field, he turned again and again on his pursuers, and actually carried off from them two standards, usually (but not here) the signs of victory. It is credibly recorded also, that he wished to die on the scene of his discomfiture, but was urged to fly by his friends, on the plea that his life was essential to the royalist cause. With a few friends, he then spurred his horse westwards, and slept for the night at Peebles. Next day he entered Lanarkshire, and so made his way, by a north-westerly course, into the Highlands.

The future career of the Marquis of Montrose affords a fresh example of the ruinous effects of one defeat upon the name and influence of generals. Like Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon, he himself entertained a strong belief in his "good fortune," or his "star," as Bonaparte chose to phrase it. Indeed, all eminent commanders, Wellington not excepted, have recognised the effect of chances upon at least the immediate issue of their enterprises; though, where a truly great cause or principle is at stake, an hundred defeats will not quell the courage of those who uphold it, as was exemplified in the wars of Wallace and Bruce for the recovery of Scottish independence. Where men fight, however, from meaner motives—as the love of conquest or of plunder—the loss of the prestige of a name is usually fatal to a commander, as it proved to Montrose, fighting for a cause of doubtful virtue. He did, indeed, again gather a considerable force in the Highlands, but, as they picked up plunder in their southward march, they dropt off from him by degrees, and he arrived before Glasgow with about fifteen hundred men in all (at the close of 1645). The step was a bold one, like all his acts, seeing that Glasgow was guarded by three thousand horse. The trials of his captured friends was in progress in the city at that very time. Burning to relieve them, he yet dared not venture on an attack, and only lay there in the desperate hope that the foe would issue to assail him, and that he might catch them at a disadvantage. In the meantime he made the estates of the west country Covenanters pay amply for his maintenance. At length, his position becoming dangerous, the Marquis moved again to the north, and tried to rouse Huntly and the Gordons, but fruitlessly. The chief of the Gordons seems to have viewed the Graham chief with jealousy. At all events Montrose found himself compelled to capitulate with the Parliamentary and Covenanting parties, English and Scottish, and to disband his little army. He was permitted to retire to the continent, and all his friends, save one or two, were freed from their attainders, while the rest were freely pardoned. As King Charles was now in the hands of the Covenanters, Montrose must have felt that his own further resistance could only add to the perils of his sovereign. In September, 1646, he left Scotland.

Montrose, on going abroad, spent some time at the French court, endeavouring to procure friends for the captive Charles. Cardinal de Retz, one of the most acute men of his time, has left it on record that the Marquis reminded him of "the heroes of Plutarch." The Corsican general, Paoli, is said to have made the very same remark relative to Napoleon in his young days, calling him one of "the men of Plutarch." The French monarch offered to Montrose some of the highest military honours and offices of the Gallic land, giving promise even of a *marechalship*, and securing immediately twelve thousand crowns a-year in

pension, besides his regular pay. The marquis declined these proffers, and, retiring from Paris in 1648, was living in the Netherlands when informed of the execution of Charles I. He is said to have swooned at the tidings. Joining Charles II. afterwards at the Hague, at the request of that prince, he proposed again to arouse the Highlands in the royal cause. Charles behaved in a manner worthy of his after-life. He was then negotiating for his return with the Scottish leaders at home, but, as they proposed hard terms, he allowed Montrose to go and try to reduce these leaders to *his* royal terms, careless, seemingly, whether his gallant agent lived or died in the enterprise. Montrose received aid in men and money from Sweden, Denmark, and some of the German states, and landed in Orkney in the beginning of 1650, at the head of one or two hundreds of men, a much larger number having perished by shipwreck. That first misfortune was soon followed by others. Though the Earls of Morton and Kinnoul used their influence to raise forces, both these nobles chanced to die shortly afterwards. In the meantime, all the Scottish Lowlands experienced the deepest alarm at the prospect of fresh hostile visitations from the Highlanders, and the Presbyterian leaders, laical and clerical, awakened all the antipathies of the people against "the excommunicated traitor (as he stood by his former sentence) James Graham." The latter assembled finally about twelve hundred men, and moved southward as far as the Frith of Dornoch. Here, on the 27th of April, 1750, he was fairly surprised or entrapped by the Covenanting leader, Colonel Strachan, and utterly discomfited. The great marquis never fought another battle; and his defeat here is as easily explained as his victories; he lost the chance of the first onset, and, losing that, lost all. He fled to the wilds of Sutherland, and, being hotly pursued, was finally taken and delivered up to the Scottish government by Macleod of Assynt, a gentleman whose retainers were at that very moment in arms to join the royalist cause! So much for the consistency of the parties engaged in these destructive risings.

The Marquis of Montrose was sent to Edinburgh to sustain his trial. From first to last, after his seizure, he bore himself nobly, though indignities were heaped upon him cruelly and unnecessarily. He was drawn into Edinburgh in a cart, pinioned, and exposed to the gaze of the whole city-rabble. He had been the terror of the Lowlands for successive years, and they came out to curse, it is said, but were moved by his calm and manly bearing to pray for him. Argyle, it is commonly stated, took his place at the window of the Earl of Moray's lodging in the Canongate, purposely to enjoy the fall of his great enemy. But, if Argyle was there at all, he was there, almost certainly, for very different reasons, since his daughter had been wedded on the previous night to Lord Moray, and all the friends of the parties were at the time there, paying their customary visits of congratulation on the post-nuptial morrow. Argyle might perhaps triumph at heart in the fall of Graham, but he showed in public at least no slight feeling of delicacy on the occasion. He declined to vote in council personally for the condemnation of his foe, declaring himself "too much a party to be a judge." When Montrose appeared at trial, he defended himself almost solely on the plea of loyalty. All that he had done was in the cause of the rightful king and the monarchy. The plea, as may be supposed, proved utterly unavailing; and he was doomed to die upon the scaffold. The following are the words of the sentence—one most needlessly barbarous:

"He was to be hanged on a gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh, with a copy of his 'Memoirs,' by Wishart, and a copy of his 'Declaration,' tied by a rope about his neck; after hanging the space of three hours, he was to be cut down by the hangman; his head, hands, and legs, to be cut off, and afterwards distributed as follows: His head to be affixed on an iron pin, and set on the pinnacle of the west gavel of the new prison of Edinburgh; one hand to be set on the port (gate) of Perth, the other on the port of Stirling; one leg and foot on the port of Aberdeen, the other on the port of Glasgow. If he was at his death penitent, and relaxed from excommunication, then the trunk of his body to be interred by pioneers in the Grey Friars' Church; otherwise, to be interred by the hangman's men under the gallows, on the Burrow-muir."

So far from seeming frightful to the doomed prisoner, the purposed mutilation drew from him the ensuing lines written on the eve before his death—

“Let them bestow on every airt a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake ;
Then place my parboil'd head upon a stake ;
Scatter my ashes, throw them in the air ;
Lord, since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou'lt raise me with the just.”

Urged by the clergy to confess his guilt, that the excommunicative sentence of the church might be withdrawn before he went to his account, he resisted all entreaties, averring his whole conduct to have been dictated by honour and loyalty. He died on the scaffold, avowing the same sentiments, on May 21, 1650.

The career of Montrose has been spoken of, even by late writers, as “glorious exceedingly.” While acknowledging the brilliancy of his successes in the field, and the skill with which he managed his Celtic followers, we cannot but feel that he cruelly devastated his native country during his various campaigns, without seeing before him any solid chance of a favourable issue. If he possessed the talents ascribed to him, he could not but feel that no permanent revolution could ever be effected in Britain by a merely Gaelic force. He only alarmed the more civilised portions of the nation into stronger opposition, by bringing against them assailants differing in dress, language, and manners, and so giving to all his movements on the Lowlands the character of hostile invasions. The restoration which he aimed at did finally come, but from the very quarter and party against which he had ever acted. When Monk spoke the word, the whole empire assented, even joyfully, to the recall of the Stewarts. Montrose might have hopes of such a general movement originally, but he persisted long after he knew that his name had become a terror to the better part of the land, and that, if he succeeded, it could only be as a destroying conqueror. Many passages of his life indicate a high and chivalrous spirit, nevertheless; and, indeed, the preceding reflections refer mainly to the policy of his conduct. His death was noble in the extreme.

Besides the lines already quoted, there are some fine stanzas usually printed as from the pen of Montrose, and breathing at least the very essence of chivalrous love and loyalty. For example, he tells his mistress—

“I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour more.”

And he also says, alluding to both love and war—

“As Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone ;
My thoughts did evermore disdain
A rival on my throne.
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all.”

So might have sung, at all events, James Graham, the “Great Marquis” of Montrose. *Requiescat!* On the restoration of Charles II. his remains were collected and laid in the cathedral church of St Giles. His eldest son died in 1645, at the age of sixteen; and a second son, James, inherited the family honours and estates, which were restored by Charles II. This peer received the name of the “Good Marquis.” He died early in life, leaving by Lady Isabel Douglas (of the Morton house) his heir, James, third Marquis of Montrose. The latter also descended to the grave prematurely (in 1684), leaving but one son, James, to continue the family line. In this case, for the fourth or fifth time within two centuries, the direct male succession of the Montrose Grahams hung on a single life. It may seem foolish to talk of prolificness and want of prolificness in particular families; and yet nature does appear to have her laws in this respect as well as in others. James, fourth marquis, and sole

heir of his house, was created **DUKE of MONTROSE** by Queen Anne in 1707; and, at his decease in 1742, was succeeded by William, second Duke, and finally sole representative of his line. His only son, James, born in 1755, became third Duke in 1790, and was succeeded in 1836 by his son James, present and fourth duke. By his union with Caroline-Agnes, daughter of Lord Decies, his grace has had one son, **JAMES, MARQUIS of GRAHAM**, and two daughters. There can be no offence given to delicacy, we trust, when we notice the dependence of this noble house still upon single heirs in the direct male line. Notwithstanding such occasional perils, the great house of the **Grahams** has never failed in its series of lineal male successors since the time of the dyke-destroyer. Few noble houses in Scotland stand in the same position.

We have said little about the later **Grahams** of the ducal house of Montrose. They have held many high offices under the Brunswick dynasty, the third duke having been Justice-General of Scotland. But attention must now be paid to some of the cadet-branches of the **Graham** family. The **Menteiths** have been spoken of; another branch rose to nobility in the time of James VII. Several lines of **Grahams** struck off from the main one in the time of Robert III., one of whose daughters Lord **Graham** had received in second marriage. The **Fintry** and the **Claverhouse** **Grahams** sprung from the eldest son by this match, and a younger son founded the line of the **Grahams** of **Balgowan**, which produced in the present age the eminent soldier, **Thomas Graham**, created in 1814 **LORD LYNEDOCH**. He left no offspring, and his title became extinct at his decease. In the person of **JOHN GRAHAM of CLAVERHOUSE**, who flourished in the time of the persecutions of the Scottish Covenanters, under Charles II. and James VII., the name became but too famous, if not perhaps infamous. He served Charles and James in their attempts to repress Presbyterianism in Scotland, and served them so unscrupulously as to earn the title of the "**Bloody Claver'se**." He was trained to arms abroad, along with William (III.) Prince of Orange, and distinguished himself highly at the battle of **Seneff** in 1674. Save in a few cases, where the cause has been peculiarly good, and the men serving therein of a remarkable temperament, this mercenary training has ever proved destructive to the humaner feelings in the breasts of those thereto exposed. It was unfortunate for Scotland that **Claverhouse**, **Dalzell**, **Turner**, and others engaged against the Covenanters, had been regularly bred to look on war as a *trade*, in which the destruction of enemies constituted the only true gain, and an end which it was justifiable to attain by all accessible means. On the hills and the moorlands of the west of Scotland, many an innocent life was taken on these unhappy principles—the takers thereof being not only callous all the while to any feelings of remorse, but even deeming themselves the honoured and meritorious agents of legitimate authority.

Between **Montrose** and **Claverhouse** there seems to have been strong points of physical resemblance. Both of them were handsomely formed, but of only middle stature, and with countenances so comparatively mild in expression as scarcely to indicate the bold and indomitable characters of both the parties. **Graham** of **Claverhouse**, after his foreign service, entered that of Charles II., obtaining in 1677, by the recommendation of the very prince whom he ultimately opposed (the Prince of Orange), a command in the royal guards. He went to Scotland, and took such a lead in the persecution of the Covenanting Presbyterians, during the reigns of Charles II. and James VII., as has rendered his name infamously famous ever since among Scotsmen. He was defeated at **Loudon-hill**, or **Drumclog**, by a band of "**West Country Whigs**," as they were styled, in May, 1679, but enjoyed his full revenge a month afterwards at the **Bridge of Bothwell**, when the ill-fated appeal of the Covenanters to arms failed so decidedly. After this epoch, **Graham** of **Claverhouse** so behaved as to aggravate more and more his evil repute among the Presbyterians of the west of Scotland. No doubt, *all* the accounts given of him by them are not trustworthy, as is well shown by the inconsistent stories, for example, which have been told about his **Drumclog** horse. The Covenanters called it a black horse, and, as such, a fitting and direct present from Satan. So is it described, from tradition, by Sir **Walter Scott**, in "**Old Mortality**." In other

histories of the rebellion, it is, however, styled "a beautiful white horse." Claverhouse himself, writing an official account of the skirmish, calls it a "roan" horse, and adds, that it carried him a mile from Drumclog, though so wounded by a pitchfork that "its guts hung out an ell." Appointed Sheriff of Wigton in 1682, Graham had but too many new opportunities of making the west country Whigs execrate the name of Bloody Claver'se. He also obtained the Constabulary of Dundee, A.D. 1684. When James VII. came to the throne, Claverhouse was neglected through the jealousies of other Scotsmen; but, as the king got into difficulties, he turned his eyes once more on the bravest of his northern officers, raised him to the rank of general, and, in November, 1688, created him **VISCOUNT DUNDEE**. This was almost the last act of James as a king. The new peer was then with him in London, and earnestly endeavoured to prevent him from leaving the kingdom. But James fled, and Dundee came down to Scotland, where he made a bold attempt to overawe the Convention of Estates, and to gain over the castle of Edinburgh. Being at the head of but sixty horse, however, he found it necessary to decamp before the Convention awoke from the alarm caused by his sudden appearance. They sent troops after him, but he had won the wilds of Lochaber, and there succeeded in raising between two and three thousand of the men of the clans. Following the rapid tactics of Montrose, he then moved actively into Athole, and, on the 17th June, 1689, met and defeated General Mackay, at the Pass of Killiecrankie. But the victory cost the victor his life, and the lives of two thousand of the enemy. A fitting hecatomb on such an occasion!

Few men have ever been so differently estimated. The Jacobite party idolised his memory, as is in part shown by the exquisitely written Latin epigraph by Dr Pitcairn, in which Claverhouse is called "the last and best of Scots." On the other hand, he left a name abhorrent to the Covenanters, and placed by them next even to that of the Author of all Evil. Making allowances for considerable exaggerations, John Graham stands clearly on record as a man reckless of blood-spilling, and unheeding of all save military obligations. He brought among his Christian fellow-countrymen much the same spirit which *Cœur de Lion* carried to the Crusades; and the lives of the Saracen infidels were nearly as valuable in the eyes of Richard, as were those of Scotsmen of the seventeenth century in the eyes of Claverhouse. The parallel might be continued. The chivalrous personal daring of the Lion-Heart so far formed a redeeming quality, and John Graham, also, was similarly characterised. But the deep blots on his name may never now be wiped away. Some late writers have made the attempt, indeed, charging the gossiping Wodrow with being the sole calumniator of Claverhouse. The deeds of Claverhouse were effacelessly graven, even on hewn martyr-stones, by men who never even heard of a Wodrow. Still more durably were they stamped, and in letters of blood, on a whole nation's memory. No idle rumours could have left so deep an impression. To speak of any one writer doing so is foolish exceedingly.

The brother of Claverhouse took up his title, but his right never was recognised. It was before mentioned, that the Montrose family had never been prolific of male offshoots, more especially during later years. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, several subsidiary houses of the Graham name (besides those noticed) were founded, as those of Inchbraco, Gorthy, Orchill, Killearn, Scottistown, and Braco, the latter of which branches obtained a baronetcy. The Gartur and (original) Gartmore lines came from Menteith. The Calendar, Duchray, and other Grahams also rose to note; and, certainly, various estated families were founded by the old Grahams of Dalkeith. The name is at this day plentiful in Scotland.

ARMS OF THE GRAHAMS.

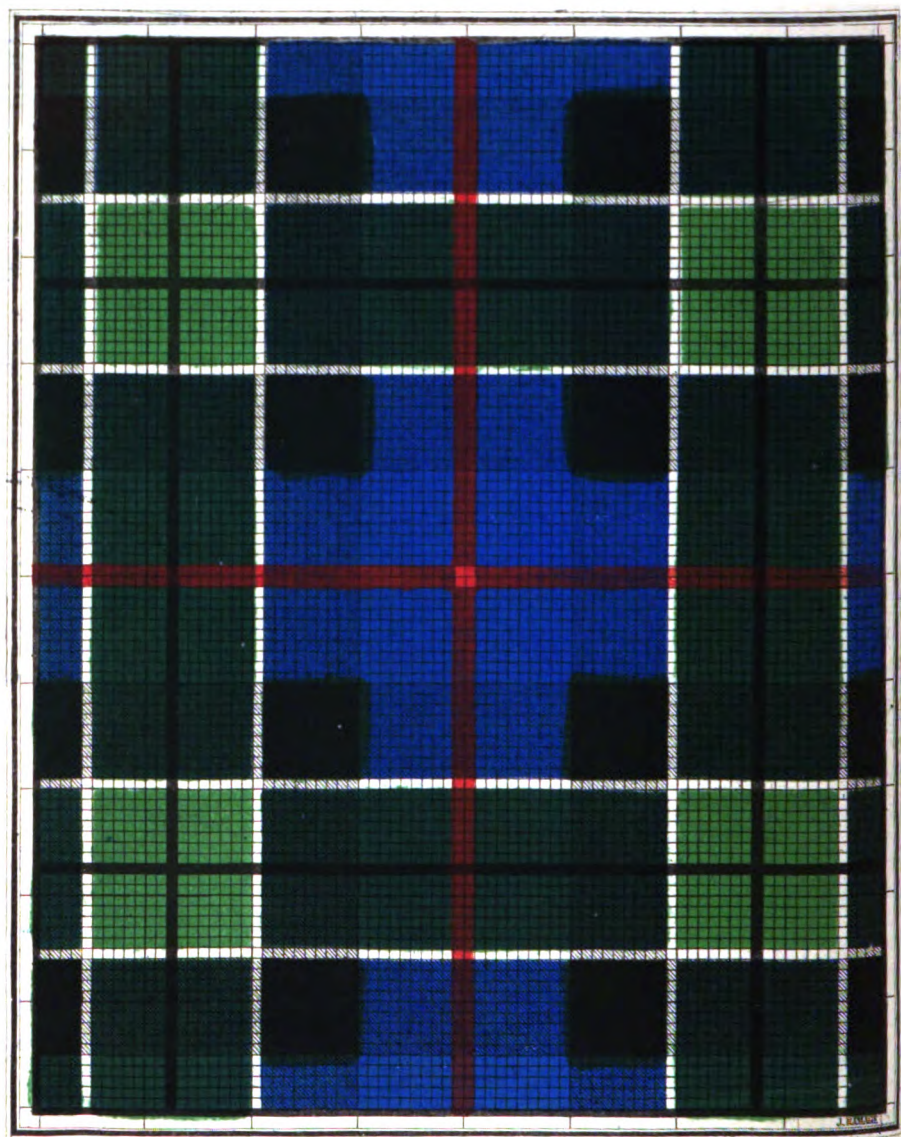
ARMS. Or, three scallop shells of the first. (Montrose quarters Three Roses).

SUPPORTERS. Two storks.

CREST. An eagle, preying on a stork.

MOTTO. Ne oublie (Forget not).

BADGE. Laurel spurge.



Clan Leslie

THE LESLIES.

With the GRAHAMS the proper list of Highland Clans and Highland Borderers may be held as having reached a close. In that list are to be found various septs certainly not of Gaelic origin; but they have been admitted to a place, as has already been more than once remarked, from their having become, through time and position, *Celticised*—a change thoroughly effected in the case of the Frasers, for example, and but partially in such instances as that of the Grahams. It is felt by the editor of this work, however, that the license of intermixture has now been carried as far as is consistent with its plan and scope; and though, in the introduction, the idea was mooted of noticing a few of the leading Lowland septs to whom peculiar tartans had been assigned of late years, the roll, on due consideration, has been circumscribed, and but three great families, the Leslie, the Douglasses, and Scotts, have been selected, as affording specimens of a third class of Scottish clans. But that these tribes habitually used tartans of the Highland cast at a distant date, or indeed at any date, is not for a moment here asserted or credited. The true article of this description which they did really wear in old times, and which the commonalty of them wear at this day, will be pointed to when we speak conclusively of the SCOTTS. The plates, however, give the pseudo-tartans commonly called those of the Leslie and Douglasses.

It is not intended here to treat at length of the annals of these families; the Grahams, as observed, being the last sept which seems to us to merit such extended consideration. The LESLIES came, by all accounts, from Hungary, as followers of the Saxon princess Margaret, finally queen of Malcolm Canmore. Bartholdus, or Bartholomew, as the first Leslie was called, obtained great advantages, like the head of the Drummonds, from his fidelity to Queen Margaret, and acquired ample possessions in the district of Garioch in Aberdeenshire, where a parish called Leslie exists to the present day. From this locality the family name was probably derived, as we find a grandson of Bartholomew authentically styled Norman de Leslyn. It is true that a parish denominated Leslie is found also in Fifeshire, and that there the Leslies have been seated for many centuries; but, as they were named de Leslie before settling there, it follows that the district in question must have obtained its appellation from them after they had taken their family title from the north of Scotland. An heiress of the name of More brought to the Leslies a portion, perhaps the nucleus, of their Fife lands, at the close of the thirteenth century. An Abernethy heiress further enriched Sir Andrew, sixth or seventh from the Hungarian, with the lands of Rothies, in Elginshire, and additional Fifeshire possessions. The family really promised at this time to be a great northern one, holding, as they did, the Sheriffship of Aberdeen, and many lands there. Besides, a second son of Sir Andrew wedded the heiress of the vast Ross earldom, and became Earl of Ross in her right. However, he left only a daughter, and the Leslies missed the chance of founding (like the Frasers) a powerful Highland family. The said daughter carried her titles and rights to her children by Donald of the Isles.

George Leslie, the head of his house, was created EARL of ROTHES by James II., A.D. 1437. In the time of his great-grandson, the third earl, the Leslies had grown more and more powerful, and played important parts in the troubled days of Queen Mary. Norman, a younger son of the third earl, is noted in history as the leader of the assassins of Cardinal Beaton. In the person of John, sixth peer, the Leslie line attained to the "highest point of all its greatness." Having held several of the chief offices of state in Scotland, as second, and only second, to Lauderdale, he was raised by Charles II., in 1680, to the dignity of DUKE of ROTHES. That title died with him, however, and the earldom fell to his grandson by his daughter, Margaret, Countess of Haddington. So that here the male Rothies line became Hamiltons. In the time of the third

succeeding generation, the comital title again fell to a female, who, marrying a gentleman of the family of Evelyn, placed a son of that patronymical name in the old seat of the Leslies, as tenth Earl. He, too, left no male succession, and his daughter, Lady Henrietta, continued the family by her marriage with George Gwyther-Leslie, Esq. Their grandson, **GEORGE-WILLIAM-EVELYN-LESLIE-LESLIE**, born in 1835, is the present Earl of Rothes.

Various scions of the Leslie race acquired high repute in the Scottish annals, and none more so than Alexander, who became Earl of Leven, and David, Lord Newark, both of them distantly referable to the Rothes line. These eminent soldiers were trained abroad, in the wars of Germany, Sweden, and Holland, and both of them returned home to take active shares in the long civil wars of the times of Charles I. and II. Acting under the Scottish Parliament, these experienced generals were hampered throughout their whole career by the wavering policy of their superiors and employers—now adverse to royalty, and now equally so to its enemies. Thus, in 1645, David Leslie defeated the royalists under Montrose at Philiphaugh, and, in 1650, was himself defeated by Cromwell and the Commonwealth men at Dunbar. Both of the Leslies received peerages, either by way of conciliation or remuneration. In 1641, Alexander was created Earl of Leven, and his grand-daughter, by her union with George, Earl of Melville, founded the conjunct and existent line of the Leslie-Melvilles, **EARLS OF LEVEN and MELVILLE**. General David Leslie was created **LORD NEWARK** in 1661. His family ended in a female, whose right to the title was not acknowledged by parliament. A branch of the Rothes line became **LORDS LINDORES**, which title fell dormant in 1775.

Thus, neither the Rothes nor the Leven and Melville family are Leslies on the paternal side. One baronet of the name exists, however, Sir Norman Robert Leslie of Wardes and Findrassie; and many of the Scottish gentry and commonalty still bear this distinguished patronymic. It has been honoured, too, by scholars and philosophers of note; as by John Leslie, bishop of Ross, in the sixteenth century, who wrote on Scottish history, and by John Leslie, a philosopher of the present age, famous for his original discoveries in natural philosophy.

ARMS OF THE LESLIES.

Argent, on a bend, azure, three buckles, or.

SUPPORTERS. Two griffins.

CREST. On a wreath, a demi-griffin.

MOTTO. Grip fast.

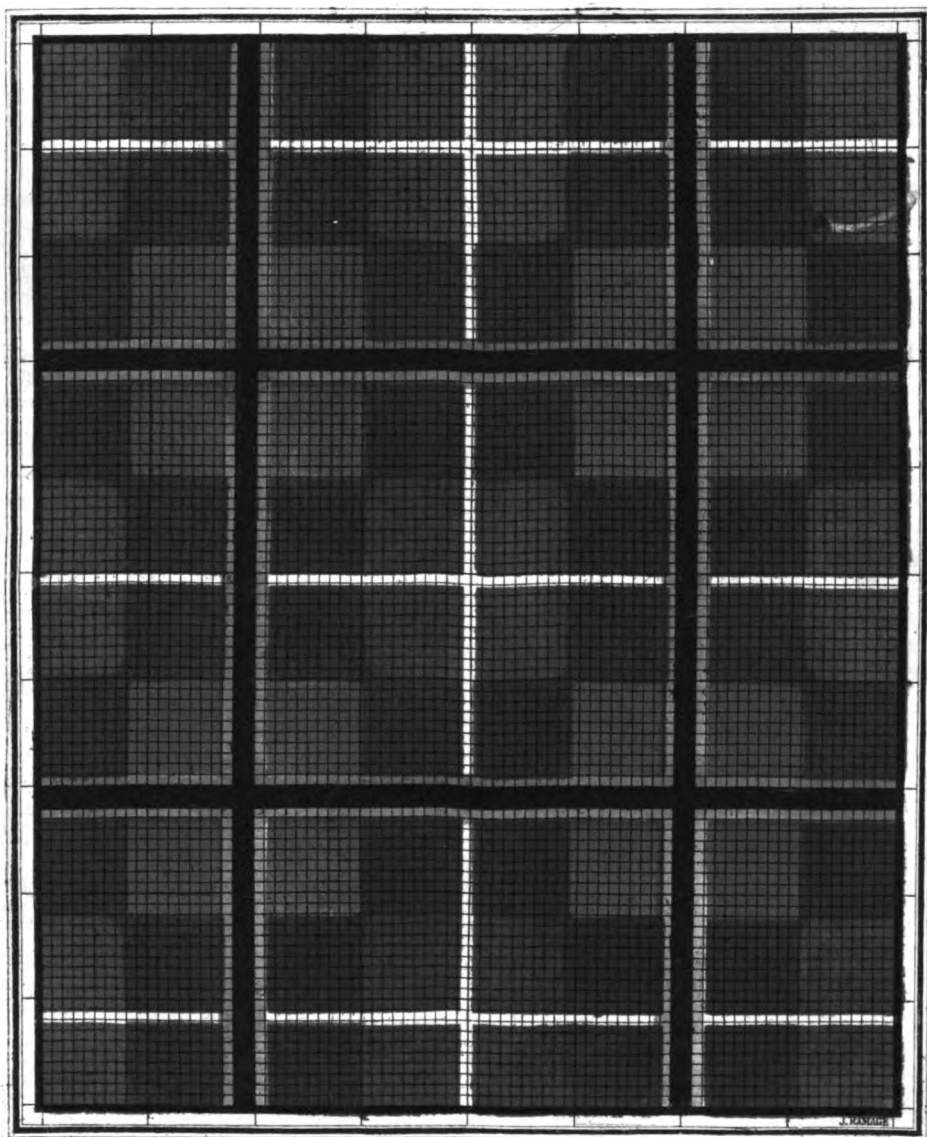


THE DOUGLASSES.

This mighty Scottish family, upheld by the first of poets as famed—

“For military reputation capital,
Through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ,”

was long deemed of untraceable original. As its members themselves boasted. “Men have seen the stream, but what eye ever beheld the source?” According to the early and most common opinion, the name of Douglas was derived from the Gaelic “Dhu-glas,” signifying, by one interpretation, the “dark-grey” man; while other authorities supposed it to be a version merely of “Dhu-gall,” the “black stranger.” But the laborious Chalmers completely overturned all these conjectures, feasible as they seemed. By chartulary (the best of all) evidence, he found that a certain Theobaldus Flamaticus (Theobald the Fleming) received from Arnald, abbot of Kelso from 1147 to 1160, a grant of lands on Douglas Water in Lanarkshire. The word “Douglas,” which, by one reading, means “black-water,” is thus found characterising a specific locality



at an early date; and William, immediate successor of the said Theobald, is moreover distinctly traceable in charters, with the name, assumed for the first time, of "de Duglas." But, even so early as in the times of Cambro-British or Welsh story, the name of the locality was fixed. It appears as "Dubglas" in Nennius, who wrote about A.D. 858. On a stream in the Lowlands of Scotland so called—"flumen quod dicitur Dubglas"—the famous King Arthur fought four battles, and a succeeding one in *Silva Celidonis*, or, "in the Caledonian Woods." By this and other circumstances, the name of Duglas or Douglas is clearly shown to have been that of a "Scottish" stream or locality.

The first Flemish lords of Douglasdale, being men of talent, and, above all, great warlike capacity, rose rapidly in the world, and William, fourth or fifth from Theobald, made a prominent figure among the Scottish barons in the time of Wallace. Still more eminent became his son, "the good Sir James," in the Brucean days. Already has allusion been here made to his memorable death-scene among the Moors, when he tossed into the press of fight the casketed heart of his royal master, bidding it "go first as it had been wont, and Douglas would follow or die!" Leaving but two natural children, one of whom became famed as the knight of Liddesdale, Sir James was finally succeeded in the family honours by his nephew, the first proper EARL of DOUGLAS (so created about 1357). His son, another James, added largely to the high military renown of the house, being the Douglas of Chevy-Chase or Otterbourne. The story of this hero, and indeed of his race generally in those days, stirs the Scottish heart like a trumpet, to use the phrase of Sir Philip Sidney. From the prevailing hue of the family features, the chiefs were usually termed the "Black Douglasses," and, for generation after generation, they were characterised by persons of almost gigantic build, corresponding strength of arm, and valour indomitable. Their name became the dread of the border tribes of England, in times when Scotland sorely needed such a shield. The bravest of all the cotemporary English chiefs, Henry Percy (Hotspur), was foiled in a personal encounter by James of Douglas (second earl) under the walls of Newcastle; and it was to redeem his pennon, carried off in triumph by the Scot, that Percy followed and fought the battle of Otterbourne (A.D. 1388). Douglas fell, but in the arms of victory. Sounded by his friends, the war-cry of the dead hero won the field.

His brother Archibald, surnamed The Grim, succeeded as third Earl of Douglas, and made himself noted as the most able soldier and statesman of his time. Having individually obtained the Lordship of Galloway from David II., and having wedded the sole heiress of the Murrays of Bothwell, he became, on inheriting the proper family possessions, by far the most powerful of all the Scottish barons of his epoch. His daughter was united to the Prince of Scotland, the unhappy Duke of Rothsay; and his son and heir, Archibald, received the hand of the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Robert III., thus leaving only one captive boy (afterwards James I.) betwixt the Douglasses and the crown. Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, proved as great a soldier as any of his sires. Joining the Percies, he fought at Shrewsbury against Henry IV., and, scorning meaner prey, hunted that field over and over in quest of the English monarch, resolute upon his extermination. But King Henry, for personal security, or more probably, as he was of undoubted courage, to encourage his troops by his seeming presence in all quarters, had attired several of his nobles in the royal garb; and not less than three of these masquers, Stafford, Blunt, and Shirley, are said to have fallen under the sword of Douglas. Being finally captured, however, the Scottish Earl received from the politic victor a free dismissal. Besides other warlike services against England, Douglas went to France to aid Charles VII. in his wars, and was created DUKE of TOURAINE. He perished at the battle of Verneuil in 1424.

In the times of his son and grandson, the fifth and sixth earls, the power of the Douglasses greatly alarmed the Scottish throne and its ministers. William, sixth earl, maintained a splendid train of one thousand horse, took upon him to dub knights, and even held regular courts or levees. In consequence, Chancellor

Crichton inveigled him to Edinburgh, and put him most unjustifiably to death. His great-uncle, James the Grose, became seventh earl, but the Touraine duchy reverted to the crown of France. His son, the eighth earl, showed unhappily even more than the wonted haughtiness of his line, and had the audacity repeatedly to brave his sovereign, James II. The latter on one occasion had sent Sir Patrick Gray to request the release of Maclellan of Bomby, nephew to Gray, and then imprisoned in Douglas Castle. The Earl of Douglas, suspecting the nature of the errand, induced Sir Patrick to sit down at table for a few minutes before making his communication, and privily ordered Maclellan to be instantly beheaded. When Gray at length delivered his message, the earl led him down to the scene of execution, and told him that he might see "he had come too late to get it with the head, but he was welcome to the body of his sister's son." Sir Patrick burst out into fearful menaces, for which he would have paid with his life, had he not sprung upon his ready horse, and galloped across the drawbridge ere it could be raised to intercept his retreat. The king dared not avenge this murder; and, when Douglas stooped to a show of submission, his power seemed only to be increased and legalised thereby. Three of his brothers obtained peerages, the earldoms of MORAY and ORMOND, and the lordship of BALVENIE. In short, to use the words of an old annalist, "nae man was safe in Scotland at this time unless he were either a Douglas or a Douglas's man." The Earl of Douglas having passed to Rome with a noble train (A.D. 1450), to show his pomp at a grand jubilee held there, the king made a poor attempt to free himself from the thralldom of this great vassal, by razing the chief castle of Douglas, and cutting off some of his friends; but when the earl returned home, he only grew more formidable, conspiring against all foes with Lords Crawford and Ross. At last James sent for him to Stirling Castle, and deigned to entreat the haughty noble to dissolve that confederacy. Being scornfully refused, the enraged monarch stabbed Douglas with a dagger, exclaiming, "If you will not break up the league, I will!" A second blow, from the ready and vengeful battle-axe of Sir Patrick Gray, closed the scene. This deed was the more heinous, as the slain earl had visited the king under a safe-conduct.

The death of Douglas left the family succession open to his brother James, ninth earl (A.D. 1451-2.) A period of troubles followed, during which the Scottish throne tottered under the open and avenging attacks of the Douglasses. At length, in the year 1454, the earl raised an army of forty thousand men, chiefly borderers, the hardiest troops in Scotland, and with these he marched against the king at Stirling. James II. had raised a force in the north, of nearly equal numbers, but far inferior in real strength. It seemed then that a crisis really approached, and that Douglas required but to stretch out his hand to seize the crown of the Stewarts. But wise is the axiom of the poet—"The king's name is a tower of strength." At the hour of rest, Douglas lay down the leader of a great army. He awoke at morn, and found his camp deserted. The defection of Lord Hamilton mainly caused this change in the aspect of affairs. Douglas escaped ultimately to England with his brother Lord Balvenie, while Moray was slain in fight and Ormond executed. Thus, at the very moment when their star appeared highest in the ascendant, the house of the Black Douglasses fell—never more to regain its former lustre. Proscriptions and confiscations blasted their power to the core. Douglas, indeed, after having long been sustained honourably by England, made one last effort in his age to rouse his former vassals in the south of Scotland. It failed wholly, and he was carried a prisoner before James III. The still proud baron is said to have turned his back on the Scottish sovereign, who only sentenced him, however, to pass the rest of his days in Lindores Abbey. "He who may no better be, must be a monk," muttered the old earl. He died there in 1488.

After a duration of ninety-eight years, the earldom of Douglas thus ceased to exist. But a powerful and genuine branch of the family had been founded by George, only son of the first earl by his third wife, Countess of Angus in her own right. George became EARL of ANGUS in 1389, obtaining with his

mother's title her large landed possessions. Attaching themselves firmly to the throne, the Red Douglasses, as they were called in contradistinction to the Black Douglasses, shared in the spoils of the fallen branch, and stood, when it declined, at the very height of prosperity. The fifth peer, called the Great Earl, received also the common bye-name of Bell-the-Cat. It originated at a meeting of the Scottish nobles to concert means for removing the low-born favourites of King James. Those present were all of one mind as to the propriety of that removal, but Lord Gray compared their position to that of the mice when they resolved to hang a bell about the cat's neck, that they might always be warned of its approach. But "who was to attach the instrument of warning?" "I will bell the cat," cried Angus; and so acquired he that famous designation. Under James IV., the earl held the highest offices of state, and was one of those who strongly censured the fatal quarrel of that prince with England. The earl took the field with his sovereign, however; but, on the very eve of the battle of Flodden, he remonstrated against the acceptance of the English challenge to fight (at least) on that ground. "Angus," said the hasty king, "if you are afraid, you can go home." Wounded to the very soul, the grey-haired veteran shed bitter tears, and did quit the scene of this unmerited insult. But he left his two eldest sons, who fell with their prince, along with two hundred gentlemen of the Douglas name, and many common followers. The earl held up his head no more in the world. Retiring to Whithorn Priory, he died in the year after the battle of Flodden, A.D. 1514. In his time, the Bothwell barony was recovered from the Hepburns, and Douglasses again ruled on "Bothwell banks." Bell-the-Cat was the sire of the celebrated poet, Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, who attempted to render into the Scottish tongue a great Latin classic. His version of Virgil is excellently correct and pithy, though, with his other poems, now almost unreadable from the obsolete diction. Gawin lived too early for his own permanent acceptability, but we must in justice rank him among the benefactors of his country, seeing that those who first labour to convert a spoken into a written language are very nearly in the position of inventors—of such as produce rudimental instruments, by others afterwards perfected and made useful. Another younger son of Bell-the-Cat was Sir Archibald of Kilspindie, familiarly called by James V. his "Gray Steil," and long a favourite at court. His fortunes fell, however, with those of his nephew, the sixth Earl of Angus, who, having wedded the Scottish queen-dowager, Margaret Tudor, grew so powerful as to excite the jealousy of his sovereign and his fellow-nobles. The story of Kilspindie is beautifully and in part truly told in the "Lady of the Lake." From 1514 to 1556, Angus spent a life of continual vicissitudes, now exiled and now restored—a dependant at one time on England, and at another serving Scotland against that country. His nephew and grand-nephew became successively the seventh and eighth earls, and at the decease of the last, Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, sprung from the fifth peer, inherited as ninth Earl of Angus. [A younger brother of Sir William founded a line ennobled as LORDS GLENBERVIE, by George III. The peerage soon expired, but a British baronetcy was conferred in 1831 on Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie.] Still wealthy and powerful, a tenth and eleventh Angus followed, and, in the person of the last, the house was raised to a marquisate by Charles I., A.D. 1633. The first MARQUIS of DOUGLAS received many other favours from the same prince in reward of his loyalty. Two of his younger sons were created earls, by the titles of SELKIRK and DUMBARTON. The Earl of Selkirk rose high in the world. He married the heiress of the ducal house of Hamilton, and the pair continued that princely line, thus rendered Douglasses on the male side. The eldest son of the first Marquis of Douglas predeceased his sire, and left as his heir James, second Marquis, whose eldest son Archibald, again, was created DUKE of DOUGLAS in 1703. This title died with his grace, its first and only holder, in 1761; and the succession of the Douglasses—still comprising no inconsiderable portion of the southern heritage of both the Black and the Red branches of the house—became the subject of a law-suit of almost unparalleled duration and interest. A brief

notice of this cause must be given, to complete the story of the main line of this family.

The dukedom of Douglas became extinct in 1761, as observed, being limited to heirs-male of the body of the patentee; but the title of Marquis of Douglas, with many subordinate ones, fell undisputedly to the Duke of Hamilton, as descended in the male line from the first Marquis of Douglas. Though without nearer male kindred, or offspring of his own, the Duke of Douglas had a sister, and but one, Lady Jane Douglas. Notwithstanding that her rank, prospects, accomplishments, and personal attractions, had led to frequent and suitable offers of marriage, Lady Jane did not enter the wedded state until she had nearly reached the age of fifty. She then gave her hand to Colonel John Stewart, a younger brother of Sir James Stewart, and himself finally Sir John Stewart, Bart., of Grandtully. By the statements given out, Lady Jane bore twins in France in July 1748, called Archibald and Sholto Stewart, by their reputed parents, who brought them to Britain in 1749. The Duke of Douglas received due intelligence of the birth of these prospective heirs to his great wealth, but he refused to acknowledge them, cut off his sister's small allowance in his ire, and left her to die in poverty and distress, A.D. 1753. Sholto, the youngest twin, had preceded her to the grave. So obstinately did the Duke adhere to his prepossessions on this subject, that he himself took a wife in 1758, in the hope of yet having personal heirs. His grace died childless in 1761, however; and to the surprise of all men, he, during his last illness, was found to have executed a deed admitting the right of succession of "*his nephew*, Archibald Stewart," failing whom the Hamilton family were named inheritors. Coming forward with such a claim as heir of entail and provision, and habit-and-repute acknowledgment by his presumed parents, young Stewart found little difficulty in being served heir by a jury, and entered on possession of the immense heritage of Douglas.

Happy it was for the youth that the laws thus placed abundant means at his command; since he had soon to combat the wealthy and potent house of Hamilton, who advanced before the Scottish courts to demand the abrogation, or (as it is called) the "Reduction of the Jury-Service." Before the death of the Duke of Douglas, Archibald Stewart had been mainly sustained by the charity of an old friend of Lady Jane—his professed father, though living, being poor in the extreme; but, when served heir to Douglas, the youth in a moment, and most unexpectedly, rose from a state of indigence to a level with his adversaries, and could meet agents with agents, gold with gold. The lengthened process which ensued, accordingly, came to a close only in the year 1771. The excitement awakened on the subject was, as respected Scotland, absolutely national; and the judges of the Court of Session, when the case came before them, in 1767, for decision, felt deeply their responsibility. On the bench sat at that time several parties of wide-spread repute—men eminent in literature and science, as well as in the department of the law; and, strange to say, these parties, fourteen in number, proved to be equally divided in opinions on the question of the reduction or non-reduction of the jury-service—that is, seven voted against, and seven in favour of the pretensions of young Stewart. The casting vote of the Lord President decided the matter at the time. It was given for the Hamiltons; and, had no court of appeal existed, the princely heritage of the Douglasses would have been lost, at once and for ever, to Archibald Stewart. But the cause was carried to the British House of Peers; and that tribunal of last resort, seeing so close a division among the judges who most thoroughly understood the subject, decided finally and irrevocably in favour of the young Stewart. They did so upon nearly the same principle (we will believe) as that which determines many criminal cases—namely, the principle of giving to all parties brought to the bar the "benefit of a doubt," or even "the shadow of a doubt." One can scarcely wonder at the decision of the peers, after all. Seeing that such men as Lord Kames and Lord Monboddo voted on the side of Stewart, the less-informed nobles of England might well hesitate to pronounce upon his case unfavourably, even although other judges, of the stamp of

Lord Hailes and Lord President Dundas, had decidedly negatived his claims. By all men it was and is agreed, that the Scottish bench never made a more honourable display, throughout its entire lengthened annals, than in its speeches on this singular cause. Their delivery occupied an entire week of July, 1767.

The birth of Archibald Stewart was indeed enveloped in doubt and mystery; and we shall state the circumstances here, with the inferences drawn on the adverse or Hamilton side. In the first place, Lady Jane Douglas had reached fifty years of age, when said to have borne twin-children. Not one woman in thousands has offspring at that age. But such things are possible, and her ladyship had not passed the child-bearing condition. Again, when Lady Jane married, she did so professedly to give an heir to the opulent house of Douglas. A strong motive here becomes apparent for her having children, if children were to be had. When she did marry, she took as her spouse a younger son or brother—of good family, but needy to excess, and buried in debts—notoriously a spendthrift and gambler—and, in short, a broken-down man, without even the prospect of maintaining himself, much less of supporting suitably the sister of a duke. This was an unfortunate match, and had a doubtful look, when the issue came to be considered. When wedded, the pair went to the Continent; and there, it is said, Lady Jane found herself “as ladies wish to be”—in the state, in truth, which she had married to attain. Her further steps were still unlucky. It might have been supposed that she, a woman of fifty, *enceinte* for the first time, and upon whose possible offspring hopes so lofty depended, would have fixed herself in quietude in a secure and well-provided place, and so have awaited the grand event. Besides, she was positively prepared for all manner of distrust on the part of her brother; and, altogether, she was in that position when, as Lady Stair told her, she ought to have had her accouchement testified as pointedly as those of royalty. On the contrary, Lady Jane left Aix-la-Chapelle in the eighth month of her pregnancy, and went to Rheims, thence (after dropping by the way two of her three maid-servants) to other places, and finally to Paris, which she reached within less than a week of her confinement, travelling by the common stage-coach. With a single female attendant, that is to say, this high-born and delicately-bred lady, fifty years and two months old, when within a few days of a first accouchement, and one which nature would surely surround with unusual fears, as on it hung unusual expectations—such a lady avowedly at such a time took such a journey, and that, too, latterly in a jingling French *diligence*! The fact was never denied. It was not want of means that led to this unparalleled proceeding, though the plea was advanced. The bank-books at Rheims, by showing Sir John Stewart to have received there ample funds, disproved such an allegation. How was this strange journey, then, accounted for? By the desire, it was averred, of Lady Jane to have the best obstetric advice, Aix-la-Chapelle and Rheims being condemned as having only inferior doctors. No such inferiority existed; but, unfortunately for this plea, Lady Jane resorted to none of that high Parisian skill which she had sought at such risk. An old army-surgeon named La Marre (said Sir John Stewart) was employed to aid the lady; and this La Marre, in place of being a man of the first standing in his profession in Paris, was a stranger, it seems, accidentally residing there, and of address unknown. “He was an old acquaintance, and to be found walking every day in the public gardens.” This formed all that Sir John Stewart knew of the best accoucheur which Paris could furnish for Lady Jane, after all her perilous travel to find one. On inquiry, no person rightly suiting the account given of La Marre could ever be found.

The books of two hotel-keepers, for July 1748, refer to the Stewart party. One entry names them distinctly, and another indicates them by their number (three) and by description—these being supported by the oaths of the keepers. If these records be correct, Lady Jane could not be delivered on the 10th of July at the house of a Madame Le Brun, as averred—for she was not brought to bed, it is to be noticed, at either of the two respectable hotels mentioned. At the first she went to, the people never even guessed or heard of her being in

the family way ; and at the second she appeared with one living infant—or, rather, one was brought to her after her arrival by her husband, along with a nurse whose breasts showed no milk, but whose shoulder showed the brand of a thief. As in the case of La Marre, no fit likeness of a Madame Le Brun, or Mrs Brown (a name remarkable for its commonness), could be found in any of the minute police or tax lists of Paris, when inquiry was finally made. The accouchement being once over, Sir John Stewart and Mrs Hewit (sole vouchers for all these transactions), being beside Lady Jane, might have been expected to hasten and notify this grand event, big with the fate of the Douglas house, to all its friends and well-wishers. They not only said not a word on the subject for twelve entire days, but letters written by them during these twelve days mention no such event, as the truth-telling post-marks durably witnessed. When they did write, moreover, they dated, not from Paris but Rheims, leaving it to be believed that Lady Jane had lain in there on the 10th of July. Twin-children constituted the reported offspring, but, when Sir John Stewart and his lady returned to Rheims, at the close of July, they brought but one child, Archibald. Where was Sholto? He had been left behind, it was said, under the care of the invisible La Marre; but, where he was nursed or lodged, none of the witnesses could distinctly tell. However, in November, 1749, after nearly a twelvemonth and a half had passed, Sir John and Lady Jane again set off to Paris, with the same confidential Mrs Hewit, to fetch home Sholto; and, with a child of seemingly correspondent age, to Rheims they duly returned. Thus had the pair their twin-children to present to all the world, as announced.

Another strange circumstance here calls for notice. On inquiry after a number of years, distinct proofs were found, even at the eleventh hour, of the *enlèvement*, or carrying off, of a male child in July 1748, and of another in or about November 1749, the respective ages of whom corresponded exactly with those of Archibald and Sholto. A gentleman, a lady, and a woman-attendant were the *enleveurs*, and won their end by large promises, and by engaging faithfully, also, to return with the children, which they never did. Such doings were and are rare in Paris, being partly rendered so by the well-endowed hospitals for foundlings (*Enfants Trouvés*).

Lady Jane and her husband treated these children tenderly, and as their own, on returning to Britain in 1749; and through life they continued the same line of conduct. Being in great distress from the stoppage of her pension, and her husband being imprisoned for debt, Lady Jane, through the compassion of George III., received an annuity of £300. This was but a drop in the bucket to the wants of Sir John Stewart; and his lady went down with the twins (in 1752) to Scotland, to try to move the compassion of the Duke of Douglas. His Grace proved obdurate; and, the chief source of his obduracy being well known, the best friends of Lady Jane urged her to gather the proper evidence, and authenticate the birth of the boys, while it must yet be easy. To most of these parties she usually answered haughtily, that she would give no proofs to those who doubted her word. She nevertheless did privately seek proofs, and obtained them from her husband. After her death in 1753, a packet was found in her repositories, consisting of letters relative to the children, purporting to come from the surgeon-accoucheur, Monsieur La Marre. Those letters were produced in evidence in the law-plea, during the life of Sir John Stewart, and were vouched for as authentic. In fact, they seemed the very corner-stones of the cause of Archibald Stewart in its early stages. Before the life of Sir John Stewart came to a close, however, he was forced to admit these said letters to be of his own manufacture; and the most that he could say for himself was, that he had really received some such letters, though since lost. The matter came thus to rest on his own mere word.

Upon the depositions and averments of Sir John Stewart, the case of Archibald Stewart, his presumed son, mainly rested. The only other important witness was Mrs Hewit, whose story, in most of the essential particulars, corroborated that of Sir John. By these two persons alone was testimony borne to the leading circumstance of a delivery, and, in brief, to all the material points.

Other witnesses merely spoke of signs of pregnancy—evidence contradicted by just as many parties who saw none. If actually visible, such appearances might be simulated, and would of course have been simulated, presuming fraud to have been intended. The principal remaining fact, tending to establish an authentic birth, consisted in the habit-and-repute acknowledgment of the twins by Sir John and Lady Jane, and the constant affection shown to them. Supposing these children not to have been theirs, however, it would have required very hard hearts to have otherwise treated them, after their loss of all other parents. On the same principle might perhaps be explained the perseverance of Sir John Stewart and Mrs Hewit to the end in their story. Retraction might seem to them to involve a more grievous sin, as well as injury to the youth yet living, than that committed and past recall—even if no regard had been felt as to *post-mortem* reputation. On these grounds it appears at least possible to understand why a fraud, which had proved utterly fruitless to its concoctors, might be kept up by them to the last. The proceeding had a grave and momentous effect. There can be little doubt that the persistence, to the eleventh hour, of his sister and her husband finally moved the Duke of Douglas to own a nephew; and there can be as little doubt that the same persistence, with the acknowledgment of his Grace, went far to gain for the youth his cause. Men naturally said, “Be this young man what he may, the duke, the chief party concerned, has owned him as his nephew and heir to the Douglas estates. His birth may be doubtful, but all parties in a criminal court are allowed the benefit of a doubt, and the civil law should not be more exacting.”

The great difficulties surrounding this case have now been stated. But the able lawyers on the successful side explained away many unpromising circumstances with wonderful skill. The distance of time that had elapsed, the failing memory of Sir John Stewart, and even his singularities and defects of character, were all turned to full account. The peculiar position of the claimant, too, who at least could be no party to fraud, received its due attention; so that the British peers did only what most men would have done, in allowing the will of the Duke of Douglas to take its course.

Soon after the favourable and final decision of the House of Peers had been made known, Mr Stewart, who took the name of Douglas, was wedded (A.D. 1771) to a daughter of the Duke of Montrose. He received from George III., in 1796, the title of LORD DOUGLAS, borne subsequently by three of his sons in succession. The male line of the first baron becomes extinct, failing issue of the present holder of the peerage. Whether the male heirs of the house (the Hamiltons), or the female descendants of the first Lord Douglas, inherit the estates, is a point probably dependent on the terms of the will of the Duke of Douglas. It would be singular if the Hamilton-Douglasses obtained, after all, this heritage!

Among the ennobled branches of the Douglas family yet flourishing in the world, are those of Queensberry, Morton, and Selkirk. The Queensberry house sprung from William, a natural son of the second Earl of Douglas and Mar, to whom fell the old Mar barony of Drumlanrig, in Dumfries-shire. For eight generations the Douglasses of this line rose not above the knightly rank, and were called the Gudemen of Drumlanrig. In 1628, Sir William Douglas was created Viscount Drumlanrig, and in 1633, EARL OF QUEENSBERRY. His grandson made a great figure in Scottish affairs, and rose successively to the dignities of MARQUIS and DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY (A.D. 1682–1685). He obtained a peerage, as EARL OF MARCH, for his second son, and his eldest became the second Duke of Queensberry, being also raised to the honour of DUKE OF DOVER in England—an honour conferred on only two other Scottish houses, those of Hamilton and Argyle. The second Duke of Queensberry will ever be memorable in history as the minister who carried the Treaty of Union betwixt England and Scotland. One of his younger sons was created EARL OF SOLWAY—a title now extinguished. The eldest son became third Duke, and, at his decease, was succeeded by William, third Earl of March, as fourth Duke, in 1778. The celebrity of this nobleman was great in his day—greater than it was honourable.

Numberless anecdotes have been told of his feats on the turf, and in the sporting world generally, his Grace having been, it is said, one of the few men who ever contrived to make gambling really and largely profitable. His vast fortune enabled him to pursue pleasure so systematically in all its forms, as to make his name a bye-word in the world. Dying at the age of eighty-six (A.D. 1810), his Grace left the title of Queensberry to be conjoined with that of Buccleuch, in consequence of the descent of the latter house from a daughter of the second duke, and in virtue of an entail. A large share of the estates went with the ducal title. The Marquisate of Queensberry descended to the male heirs, the Douglasses of Kelhead, Baronets, from whom springs the present and second Marquis of Queensberry of that line. The March earldom fell to the Earl of Wemyss as representing a sister of the first peer, and carried with it the large March estate in Tweeddale.

The Morton family of Douglasses are said to be derived from Andrew, a second son of Archibald, second from Theobald the Fleming. They come thus of the pure stock of the Black Douglasses. James, eighth from Andrew, was honoured by James II. (A.D. 1457) with the title of EARL of MORTON and Lord of Dalkeith, the latter rich barony forming the centre of his power and possessions. He was followed in his titles by his son and grandson, but the last of these, having no male issue, disposed his honours to his son-in-law, James Douglas of Pittendreich, of the line of the Red Douglasses of Angus. This James Douglas, becoming fourth Earl of Morton, made his name only too memorable in the days of Queen Mary. His acts as Regent of Scotland, and as a statesman generally, are detailed at length in history. Of a dark, stern, and acquisitive character, he had yet great counterbalancing qualities. The earl died by the Maiden—the species of guillotine which he himself is reported to have introduced—as having been art and part in the murder of Darnley. He owned that he had been informed of the intent to commit that murder, but declared that he had refused to take any share therein. He did not disclose the guilty purpose, he said, because the disclosure would have cost him his life, and done no good. The execution of the fourth Earl of Morton took place in 1581. He left no heirs, and, after brief tenures by two other claimants, the title reverted to the male representative of the original stock, Sir William Douglas of Lochleven, whose sires had held the custodianship of the castle of that name for three hundred years. From the said William, fifth earl, the line has been continued in unbroken male order down to the present time, when George Sholto, seventeenth peer, enjoys the dignities and estates. The Morton family are thus to be held as pure descendants of the Black Douglasses. The lords of Buccleuch acquired the Dalkeith barony from the Morton house in 1642.

Of the Selkirk family, who have reverted from the Hamilton to their proper Douglas name, little requires to be said. Lord William Douglas, son of the Marquis of Douglas, having wedded Anne, duchess of Hamilton in her own right, and having been created EARL of SELKIRK in 1646, obtained leave to convey that title to his younger son, Charles. It fell afterwards to the next brother, John, who conjoined with it his own title of EARL of RUGLEN, but which last honour went, through a female, to the Earl of March (last Duke of Queensberry). The Selkirk title, however, descended to a third and still younger branch of the ducal house of Hamilton-Douglas, represented at this day by Dunbar James Douglas, sixth Earl of Selkirk. From Lord William Douglas (created Duke of Hamilton for life), and Anne, duchess of Hamilton, sprung yet another junior son, George, ennobled as EARL of ORKNEY in 1696, and renowned as a soldier under William III., Queen Anne, and George I. By heiresses, the Orkney title first fell to O'Briens, and then to Fitzmaurices, in the male line. Thomas John Hamilton Fitzmaurice is the present holder of the dignity.

Nearly all the noble families of the name of Douglas have now been mentioned. The Hamilton honours have been borne by eight dukes of the Douglas line (paternally); and the present duke may rightly be held as chief of his illustrious paternal house. The heir-apparent to the conjoined Scottish, English, and French ducal titles of HAMILTON, BRANDON, and CHATELHERAULT, is



Clan Scott

the sole son of the present peer, **WILLIAM ALEXANDER ANTHONY ARCHIBALD, MARQUIS OF DOUGLAS**, who, by his marriage with the Princess Marie of Baden, has had issue a son, the **EARL OF ANGUS**. The old family titles are thus fully kept in remembrance by the descendants of the Red Douglasses. Besides the recent union with royalty mentioned, the blood of Douglas and Hamilton received no stain from admixture with that of Beckford, the famous author of "Vathek" having been maternal grandsire to the Marquis of Douglas. The male representation of the Hamiltons is understood to rest with the Marquis of Abercorn.

Another Douglas peerage deserves a word, as, though it is now extinct, readers will find it occurring in the accounts of the battle of Sherriffmuir, A.D. 1715. The eldest son of the first Marquis of Douglas was twice married, and obtained in 1651 the title of Earl of Ormond, with remainder to his eldest son by his second wife. The said son duly succeeded, but his title was changed in 1661 to that of **EARL OF FORFAR**. His heir, the second earl, acted as envoy to Prussia in the reign of George I., and afterwards served as a brigadier-general during the Mar rising. A severe wound in the knee at Sherriffmuir cut him off after a month's suffering, and his title became extinct.

It has been mentioned that Douglas of Glenbervie had been created a baronet of the United Kingdom in 1831. Two other parties of the Douglas name hold the same titular rank, namely, Sir Howard Douglas of Carr (date of creation 1777), and Sir George H. S. Douglas of Springwood Park (date 1786). Many families of landed gentry, as the house of Cavers, and others, testified early to the once extended power of the Douglasses in the Lowlands of Scotland, and numbers exist in evidence thereof still.

ARMS OF THE DOUGLASSES.

Argent, a man's heart, gules, (ensigned with an imperial crown, proper and on a chief, azure, three mullets of the first.)

SUPPORTERS. On the dexter side, a savage; on the sinister, a stag.

CREST. On a cap of maintenance, a salamander in flames.

MOTTO. *Jamais arriere* (Never behind).



THE SCOTTS.

This notice, as far as concerns the proper subject of Tartans or Clans, might as well have been headed Kers or Elliots, Johnstones or Maxwells. All were tartanless Lowlanders alike; and it is only as being one of the strongest of this class of Scottish septs that a place is here given to the SCOTTS. The Leslies and Douglasses in other days at least held possessions (such as the Ross and Mar earldoms) as well as vassals in the north of Scotland; and Tartans of a particular kind have really been manufactured as theirs for a considerable number of years. But the Scotts are, and have ever been, essentially Lowland Marchmen or Borderers—hard-riding moss-troopers *par excellence*, to whom the kilt would have been a garb alike imperfect and inconvenient. Buff-coats, plet-sleeves, jacks, jack-boots, and such like articles, best suited the border reivers. Each race, it is obvious, adapted itself to circumstances. In war, or in the chase, the Gael was essentially a foot-man, and his grand object was to keep his person as much as possible unencumbered, the fleet foot with him being all in all. His endless mountain-steeps permitted not of equestrian expeditions; and to this hour it remains plain that the native Gaelic breed of the horse had never been cultivated. The use of the philabeg establishes the same fact indirectly but clearly; and indeed we hear not of the heroes of Ossian ever taking to the saddle. Certainly they are spoken of as "car-borne;" and the circumstance (it may be remarked in passing) seems to us to leave to the believers in Ossian no resource, save that of planting the scenes of his events

and descriptions to a great extent in the low-country. *There* some kinds of cars were undoubtedly used, as we learn from Tacitus; though even as to that point Sir Walter Scott makes his Antiquary (partly his *eidolon*) drily remark that he could never see "what sort of chariots could be driven anywhere in Scotland but on good turnpike roads." Whatever was done in the Lowlands, however, the hills and the horses must have changed greatly, if car-driving ever flourished in the proper Highlands. The position of the Scotts in the comparatively level lands of the borders did not mould them into charioteers, but it made them horsemen, or, to use their own emphatic words, moss-troopers or rough-riders. Each race, as observed, accommodated itself to its position; and the Highlander and Lowlander could scarcely by possibility have endured any community in respect of their principal garments. A man heavily clad in steel would have made as poor a figure in speeling the braes of the north, as a party in kilts would have done in the rough-riding of the southern mosses.

Notwithstanding some silly traditions to the contrary, it seems more than probable that the name of SCOTT was simply derived from the national name, and that some visiter or visiters to foreign countries received and perpetuated it under the form of "le Scot," according to a common custom. It may even have been bestowed by the Angles merely. Various Scotts are mentioned during the twelfth century, and two particular families become finally noted—that of Balwearie in Fife, which produced the famous wizard Michael Scott, and that of BUCCLEUCH, the chief family of the name. The Buccleuchs were first styled of Murdieston in Lanarkshire, which estate Sir Walter, sixth baron, exchanged for Branhholm in Roxburghshire, expressly because the latter was infested by English thieves. A dry remark of the Scott chief on the quality of the "Cumberland cattle" has been recorded, and explains the true object of the exchange. Sir Walter Scott commenced a system of reprisals on the English, which his successors long pursued. The family of Branhholm and Buccleuch (in Selkirkshire) by degrees became the strongest in the border-counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, their chief rivals being the Kers. They played important public parts in the reigns of the Jameses, and were repeatedly wardens of the marches. While acting in this capacity, Sir Walter, thirteenth baron, broke into Carlisle Castle, and rescued Kinmont Willie, a follower of his own, whom he thought unjustly detained. Queen Elizabeth, in great wrath, compelled him to be sent to her, and asked him how he dared to undertake such an enterprise. "What is it, madam, that a man dares not do?" said the bold baron. The answer rather pleased the proud Tudor princess:—"With ten thousand such men," she said to those around, "our brother of Scotland might shake the firmest throne in Europe." The same Sir Walter was created LORD SCOTT OF BUCCLEUCH, in 1608, by James VI. His son obtained the further dignity of EARL OF BUCCLEUCH in 1610, and left a son, the second earl, whose marriage was productive of but two daughters. The eldest married a Harden Scott (created Earl of Tarras for life), but died young and childless, when her sister Anne succeeded, at the age of ten, to the vast estates of her house. An heiress of this description could not escape the notice of Charles II., and he did the young Countess of Buccleuch the honour of selecting her as a match for his favourite natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. Accordingly in 1663, when the bride had reached the age of twelve, the marriage took place, and Monmouth was at the same time created DUKE OF BUCCLEUCH in Scotland. The unhappy fate of this nobleman is matter of history. Though he had neglected his wife, and had given her place in his affections to others, she forsook him not in his last hours, but vainly tried to save him from the scaffold. He was executed in 1685. The widowed Duchess of Buccleuch lived to the great age of eighty-one, and, though wedded a second time to a simple baron, Lord Cornwallis, she to her dying day maintained the style of a princess. Her younger son by Monmouth became EARL OF DELORAINÉ, a title which expired only in 1807, and her grandson by her eldest son succeeded as second Duke of Buccleuch. By Lady Jane Douglas, daughter of the second Duke of Queensberry, he had a son who predeceased his sire; and a grandson, Henry, suc-

ceeded as third duke. He married the only daughter of the Duke of Montagu. Two great inheritances fell through these marriages to the family, those, namely, of Queensberry and Montagu—the latter being devised to the second son of Duke Henry, Lord Henry James Scott, who became LORD MONTAGU (A.D. 1798) by virtue of an entail. The title has since fallen to the ground. Charles-William, the eldest son, became fourth Duke of Buccleuch in 1812, and died in 1819, when WALTER FRANCIS MONTAGU SCOTT DOUGLAS, born in 1806, succeeded as fifth Duke of Buccleuch, and seventh Duke of Queensberry. By Lady Charlotte Anne Thynne, the Duke has had a number of children, the eldest WILLIAM HENRY WALTER, EARL of DALKEITH, born 1831, being heir-apparent to the family honours and domains.

It is needless to remark that the Duke of Buccleuch, as descended from Monmouth, is a Stewart in the male line. The direct masculine chieftainship of the Scotts must therefore lie with other branches, and among these the family of HARDEN stands prominent. This family, which Sir Walter Scott, a scion thereof, held to be an offshoot of the Buccleuch Scotts in the twelfth or thirteenth century, ranked scarcely second to that house as powerful Border-barons. Their device and motto—a crescent moon with the words, “The moon will refill her horns,” indicates audaciously their custom of living by night-forays or cattle-lifting. These men to Falstaff’s mind, “Diana’s foresters, minions of the moon,” were wont to sit still and live jollily till they had consumed their plunder, usually cattle, when they coolly took to the saddle anew, and committed fresh depredations. On one occasion, Auld Wat of Harden, a famous member of the family, found before him, on uncovering a dish at table, nothing but a *pair of spurs*—a gentle hint from his lady that it was time to take again to the road. The sons of this old knight of Harden founded various landed families of respectability, as those of Gala, Sinton, Wooll, Raeburn (of which Sir Walter Scott was a direct cadet), and others. The main line was continued by the eldest son; and, through a marriage ultimately with Lady Diana Hume, daughter of the last Earl of Marchmont, the family acquired claims to the Barony of Polwarth, which were recognised by the House of Peers in 1835. The claim hung curiously on a Latin phrase. The title had been bestowed on the first holder, thence to descend “to his male heirs and their heirs” (*haeredibus suis masculis et haeredibus suis*). Though one would say that “male” was almost certainly meant to apply to the last “heirs” as well as the first, yet the non-repetition of the word made Harden a peer. His son, HENRY FRANCIS, is the second and present LORD POLWARTH.

Though we are not aware that a female heiress ever interposed to mar the claims of the Harden line and its branches to the masculine chieftainship of the Scotts, yet, in the “Life of Sir Walter Scott,” it is hinted by his biographer that that honour not improbably rests with Lord Napier, who is, on the paternal side, the representative of the Scotts of Thirlestaine in Selkirkshire. His ancestor married the heiress of the Napiers in 1699, and founded the existing noble family of the name. The Thirlestaine Scotts do not seem to be traceable to the Buccleuch stem, but are early found as a strong and independent family of Eskdale and the Forest, noted, like all the Scotts, as hardy Border-barons. When James V. wished to enter England, and to his deep chagrin was deserted by all his nobles, John Scott of Thirlestaine joined him with seventy mounted followers, and received from the grateful king a new motto for his shield, “Ready, ay Ready,” still borne by his descendants. The present holder of the Napier title is FRANCIS, ninth LORD NAPIER.

The Napiers have certainly conducted themselves, of late years, as if they had in their veins the true blood of the hard-riding Scotts of the Borders. Britain hath now in its service two Napiers, a soldier and a sailor, and both named Sir Charles, to whom stour and strife seem as the breath of life, and whose characters have a rugged, oak-like strength, rare in these days of cap and plume, and assuredly calculated to recall the Braxholms and Hardens of old. One of these heroes, Sir Charles-James Napier, a grandson of the fifth Lord Napier, and so a Scott paternally, has fought all his life, beginning with

the Peninsular war, and ending with India, where he even now (in 1850) is commander-in-chief. His greatest feat was the conquest of Scinde. The naval Sir Charles, again, a man of singularly similar character, won the title of a Count by his deeds as admiral to Don Pedro of Portugal—thus nearing a goal which he had vowed to attain in his mere school-days. "I shall die a duke!" the bold boy would tell his mates. Sir Charles, among many other daring exploits, stormed and captured St Jean D'Acre, long deemed impregnable. Both of these Napiers carry bluntness and bluffness to the point of eccentricity, but yet are officers as skillful as brave. Again, Sir William F. Napier, brother to Sir Charles-James, is famous alike as a wielder of the sword and the pen, having chronicled to immortality the Spanish campaigns of the great captain of the age. His work will rank in military studies with those of Cæsar and Polybius. Yet others of the Napier-Scotts have of late years done noble service to their country. Such men are indeed worthy of their bold Border sires, and not unworthy of the inventor of logarithms, their great ancestor maternally.

There exist many old families of gentry of the Scott name. Though spread widely over Britain, they are most numerous in the southern lowlands of Scotland, and spring chiefly from the Harden line, the Buccleuch stem having given off few male branches, save in very early times. The Balwearie Scotts are held to be now represented by Sir William Scott of Ancrum, Baronet.

It was before observed, that, as far as the subject of tartans is concerned, we might with nearly as much propriety have given a notice of any other Border family. The Scotts have merely been chosen as one of the most powerful, though the Kers, Elliotts, Armstrongs, Homes, Pringles, Johnstones, Maxwells, Jardines, Kennedies, and the like, were no trifling septs in their day and generation. But neither by them, nor by such great inland houses as the Hamiltons and Hays, were Tartans ever worn, assuredly. As little were they ever worn, in all likelihood, by those southern houses, such as the Maclellans, Macullochs, Macdoualls, and others which really bear traces of Celtic descent, though incorporated completely with the surrounding Anglo-Saxon race from remote periods. Galloway itself apparently took its name from the Galls or strangers from the Irish coasts and Man; and it is certain that the Somerled tribes of that origin held Galloway and Man, while possessors of the western isles. As they would naturally hold parts of the intervening line of coasts, also, the Ayrshire Kennedies may not improbably take their name from the Gaelic Kenneth, a Lowland version being merely used. But, be all this as it may, neither they nor any of the people south of the Forth and Clyde can be shown to have ever habitually adopted the Highland dress, either in respect of form or materials.

The best of all authorities, perhaps, either ancient or modern, enables us to speak pointedly on this subject, as far as concerns the Scotts and other Lowland borderers. Sir Walter Scott, strongly as he felt the kilt-fever at the time of George IV.'s visit in 1822, had far too much good sense and sound knowledge to assume to himself either philabeg or trews of many colours, or to dictate any such attire to his border kin and friends. He knew well that the good *grey plaid*, or "maud," black and white in its hues, formed the only tartan ever known or used by the Scottish Lowlanders. All that he did was to vary slightly the sett from the simple and small alternate squares of equal size, adopting the arrangement given in the plate, and which, in honour of him, may be called the Scott Tartan. The draughtboard pattern, however, is that of the true Lowland tartan, if such a term may be used. Any tartan articles, beyond such trifles as scarfs or screens for ladies' necks were, to all appearance, of rare occurrence in southern Scotland, until our Paisley and Glasgow factories began to approach their present eminence, and to scatter their produce far and wide over the lands. Allan Ramsay mentions a tartan-plaid of many hues in his "Gentle Shepherd;" but he wrote in the eighteenth century, and his

description goes far to prove the article one of uncommon value. In works of the seventeenth century, the word "tartan" is found to occur but very rarely; and, where it does it occur, it seems as often to apply to the grey "plaiden" as to any thing else. In the sixteenth century, again, Lowland writers use the word tartan still more unfrequently. No doubt, they knew the term, and applied it at times to parti-coloured worsted stuffs, wrought with something like Highland regularity; but half-a-dozen scattered allusions cannot establish it as a fact, that the tartan was ever in general use as a casual article of Lowland attire—much less that it was systematically used as a full dress, and by distinct tribes in distinct forms. In the Lowlands at least, and partly (as already stated) for local reasons, the stuffs sent from the venerable hand-loom of our sires were more distinguished by utility than by variegated beauty of dyes; and it was not until our manufacturing towns obtained the splendid aids of machinery, that *the decorative* became a grand feature in our manufacturing labours, often even throwing into the shade *the useful*, though, for the most part, the two have been successfully combined. Now-a-days, every admixture and arrangement of colours which the human fancy has been able to invent, or which ingenious instruments, such as the kaleidoscope, could suggest, have been applied to the adornment of all manner of stuffs, and by all manner of processes, until the varieties of tartans have become as multitudinous as the possible combinations of the hues of the rainbow. This changed state of things has affected the whole country; and it was to ascertain and establish the genuine and oldest setts of the proper tartans of the Highland Clans, before the influx of such variations rendered it impossible, that the present work was undertaken. The Highland chiefs themselves have of late thrown the most serious obstacles in the way, seeing that they have been too ready to adopt changes at the mere dictation of fancy, with the view of improving, no doubt, the look of their family setts. They have introduced, besides, clan sets, and setts for the chiefs, and hunting setts, and drawing-room setts, until the real fundamental and primitive article is in danger of being lost to sight wholly. The present attempt has, therefore, only been made in time, if, indeed, not somewhat late in the day. The best authorities at command have been referred to, it may be observed, in the prosecution of this task. Above all, however, reliance has been placed on the setts of Clan-Tartans worked at, and procured from Bannockburn, where one firm (that of Messrs William Wilson & Son) has carried on the trade of tartan-weaving for more than half a century. The kindness of the heads of this firm furnished a sound pediment or basis for the present work. Specimens of nearly all the setts required were supplied by them most liberally, the oldest patterns, in every case, being those selected, excepting where satisfactory reasons could be given for preferring the more new. Thus samples of Tartans, such as had in many instances been ordered by the chiefs or gentry of the respective septs, and which had been ordered, moreover, before innovations had crept in to any great extent, lay before the Editor of the present work at its outset. Comparisons with a number of other authorities, led, on a few occasions, to these others being followed, on due consideration of the circumstances. But it generally proved that all men well acquainted with the subject of the tartan manufacture and of the Clan varieties, bowed implicitly to the Bannockburn standard. Often was it found, also, that *improved and more beautiful* setts had been recently adopted by clansmen of various names. These innovations have been uniformly and systematically overlooked and avoided. The object in view was, to place on record the oldest known setts of the Tartans of the Highland Clans of Scotland, as well as to give to the Clansmen their several family histories. If the work has any value it is, and must be, as strictly carrying out this principle or design.

It is undeniable that the subject of Clan-Tartans is now interesting chiefly from associations, and becomes of less and less general moment daily. At the risk, perhaps, of offending Celtic prejudices, the opinion has been before distinctly expressed in this work, that the epoch of the wars of Montrose, Dundee, Mar, and Prince Charles—in short, the century preceding 1745—witnessed and led to a

clearer settlement of distinct Sept-Tartans than had prevailed before. The production of some rare old portrait or scrap of a chieftain's plaid—and even such things, if producible at all, are not producible, we believe, of an antiquity above that mentioned—would in no way unsettle this belief, since the mere chiefs probably wore distinguishing ornaments from time immemorial. It is a custom which goes back to the time of tattooing and skin-dyeing. The regular discrimination of entire clans from one another, by the use of the favourite colours of the chiefs, is the matter now under consideration, and only became the practice at a much later period. It may even have been partly suggested by the uniforms of the common southern soldiery with whom the Gael came in contact in the earliest Stewart wars. The *sìdier dhu* (soldiers of the Black Watch) gave also a good lesson in point of Tartan uniforms. The pride of the chiefs would also render the attire of their respective followers a first consideration, when called on to join large regular armies, of dress and habits comparatively civilised. More nicety was needed than while foraying among their own hills. But it is needless to dwell further on the date of the systematic use of distinctive Clan-Tartans, as the subject has already been touched on in the Introduction.

The causes which led to the use of Clan-Tartans are fast disappearing. Gaudily coloured attire certainly succeeded to the paint which Cæsar saw on the bodies of some of the Celts, and which seems to have gained a name for the northern Picts. Long afterwards, each man probably pleased himself in his dyes; but his dress finally, at a still later era, was turned to the same purposes which the military uniform serves, and the great reason thereof was assuredly the long prevalence in our land of civil wars and dissensions. In such intestine feuds alone could the custom of wearing Clan-Tartan be a source of pride, distinction, or utility; so that civilisation, in ending domestic wars, has reduced the Tartan to the position of a mere subject for the gratification of the fancy, stripping it even of that slight semblance of value which it had as a military garb. It is even vanishing from our standing army; and, as far as yet employed there, it is as a mere regimental distinction, not as any proof that the wearer is a Highland clansman. In short, on the power of associations, as well as, be it admitted, on its romantic beauty as a dress, the interest of the Tartan is left in time to come to depend. That that interest may not wholly die away, is devoutly to be hoped; since the remembrance of the garb of old Gaul may often hereafter touch the chord of benevolence in many a heart, that might respond equally to no other appeal. And civilisation, in doing its work of change on the attire of the Highlander, has necessarily affected himself deeply, and in many respects, for the moment, unfortunately. No longer bred, grown, fed, and clothed by and for a chief, who was wont to exact in payment nothing but the devotion of his arm and life, the course of innovation has left the common Gael without lands for culture or hills for pasture, without the woods for hunting, or even the sea-beach for fishing. Legal rights and writs he seldom possessed, and they have become things indispensable. What is still worse, his defective training has left him but partly capable of even turning his native soil to its best account, if allowed to do so as master or as man. Strangers of higher intelligence have too often stepped in to extract from the land its full advantages. He has not even the consoling sympathy of his chiefs, since most of them have been swept away by the same tide, and, where they still rule, they are forced to obey the time, and follow in the wake of change. But there are elements in the character of the Scottish Celts distinguishing them strikingly from those of Ireland and France, and giving ultimate promise of happy results. All of them display the peculiar idealism of the Celtic mind, but the imaginativeness of the Irish and French is gay, that of the Scottish Gael grave, and to a remarkable degree. Even the Irishman's memorials of his saints, not omitting St Patrick, form but a record of ridiculous jests—very different things, indeed, from the strains of Ossian, which at least are true indexes to the tone of thought of the Scottish Gaelic people. This gravity of temperament renders them incomparably better subjects for the operations of civilisation than their brethren of Ireland. Habits of reflectiveness pave the way to all mental improvement, and they have such habits. Over

all the passing troubles, then, which the irresistible progress of change has inflicted on the Highlands of Scotland, the great body of its native population may assuredly be expected to rise superior in time, and to become sharers in the advantages of the cultivated days in store for the world. Though the Tartan may give way, in actual life, to the Broad Cloth, the Clans of the Highlands of Scotland, under happier auspices than formerly, may long dwell in the land of their sires, a contented and flourishing people.

From an extended intermixture of the Gaelic with the Anglo-Saxon race, mainly, can such a happy termination to the troubled annals of the former people be anticipated. There are yet not a few respectable parties in the world, who deny that there exists, or can exist, anything like a fundamental and wide-spread distinction betwixt one and another race of mankind, in point of intellect and temperament. They admit individuals to differ, but not whole races. The histories, however, of the CELTS and the GOTHS—under which latter radical name the Scandinavian and Teutonic (or Germanic) tribes are all indicated—tell such a tale plainly and unmistakeably to all who will look on the matter without prepossession. Differences exist, sufficiently powerful to have constantly affected the condition and welfare of both races, ever since human beings commenced to write authentic records of themselves. The Celts once undoubtedly occupied a vast portion of the known and civilised globe, and, in particular, nearly all Europe. They do so no longer. Still powerful and numerous, they are not now, as they were, the leaders among mankind. It has usually been held that they exterminated or pushed out of the continent of Europe a previous race of human occupants; and of these the Fins and Laps, now dwelling on the shores of the Arctic Seas, are regarded by some as the only relics, though other authorities view them as merely Celts in the rudest condition. Physically considered, these Fins and Laps are a very inferior race, being stunted and dwarfish exceedingly; while, with respect to mind, they cannot be said to have ever risen much above the station of occasionally ingenious barbarians. They indeed owe to their neighbours of another race almost all the culture which they do possess. These circumstances are mentioned, principally because they throw some light on the laws of progress to which human society appears to be subjected. The Celts passed over Europe seemingly in the form of a great wave of population from the east, or the Asiatic borders of Europe and Africa, the common cradle of the human family; and, exactly as they are said to have supplanted a previous race, they themselves were invaded in due time by a fresh and equally vast billow of population, also from the east, and by them, in turn, were driven to the wall. The Gothic people are here alluded to, of whom the Scandinavian Goths of northern Europe, and the Teutonic (or Germanic) Goths of central and western Europe, constitute, and have ever constituted, the two main sections. The influx into Europe of this race, doubtless, began at an early period; though, during the entire epoch of Grecian greatness, one so memorable in the annals of the world, and even throughout the republican period of Roman greatness, the proper Gothic nations continued little known to authentic history. Intelligence and learning were then to a large extent confined to the shores of the Mediterranean—showing strikingly (among other facts) how deep is the influence of free Oceanic intercourse at all times on human societies. Primitively, the Greeks are held to have been a branch of the European Celts; but by their maritime communications with Asia and Africa, and particularly with Egypt—the true and especial nursery of civilisation and knowledge—they rose at an early date to a pitch of intelligence, far surpassing that of any of the more removed or central Celts of either Asia or Europe. On the civilisation of the Græco-Celts, also, rested mainly that of the Roman Celts, whose founders, leaving fable aside, seem to have been a colony of the Greeks. These two renowned nations, the Greeks and Romans, conquered all the other nations, also Celtic, within the range of their arms, under the conduct of their Alexanders and Cæsars, warriors of imperishable names. What was the real result, however, of their numberless victories, followed, in many cases, by cen-

turies of rule over the vanquished? To France, Spain, and many other countries, they gave permanently their languages, literatures, and arts; and the consequences were unquestionably so far beneficial, as also ineffaceable. But they did not and could not change the characters of the people whom they conquered. Celts there only met and mingled with Celts. The intrinsic peculiarities of intellect and disposition—or, in other words, of head and heart—which seem to have distinguished the race in common from time immemorial, remained unaltered. IDEALISM was the grand characteristic of the Greek and Roman Celts; and IDEALISM was that of the Celts of France, Britain, and most of the lands subdued by the Alexanders and Cæsars. Now, if we reflect calmly on the real influence of the Grecian and Roman conquests, we shall find, that, vast as these were, they affected almost wholly and solely the IMAGINATIVE ARTS—poetry, sculpture, and painting chiefly. Undoubtedly, the mere communication of a well-defined alphabet—of the gift of writing and recording—was of consummate consequence, being the sole and true ladder by which man ascended to civilisation in any shape; but, in bestowing this boon, the Græco-Roman gave not with it the true improving power—what has been called the faculty of INDUSTRIALISM. They themselves had it not, and could not impart it to others. Genius and bravery they possessed in a high degree; they could sing and they could fight; but they derived not from nature the propensity to use their knowledge as to extract from the earth the means of existence continuously and peacefully. The Celtic families of mankind have been great conquerors in their time, for the love of war is a pendant to the ideal faculty in man, chiefly; but they have never been much more, in almost any case, than the paviours of true civilisation. From the days of Alexander to those of Napoleon, their movements, and the effects of their movements, have been the same. They have battled, and have left upon the scenes of action the traces of their own peculiar spirit and intelligence. But war and conquest are of transitory influence. Man invariably finds it necessary to fall back on the art of peace for his permanent maintenance and well-being. For the real introducers of these arts into Europe, in a durable form, we must look to the Greeks of the Greeks and Romans, or the GOTHs.

The fundamental race of the Goths—divided into Scandinavians and Teutons in northern and western Europe (Norsemen and Germans)—and bearing countless subsidiary names, as those of Norwegians, Danes, Saxons, Angles, Saxons, and others—this vast family of mankind (in whose blood the Vandalian tribes of central and eastern Europe also shared largely) brought a new element of action into the civilised world. They had their full share of the fighting spirit originally, as all rude tribes have, when they poured like a torrent on Celtic Europe; and, in the first instance, it was by fierce and unsparring exterminations that they gained the ascendancy. But free amalgamations with the relics of the former race followed; and then was founded a population, by whom the industrial arts began for the first time to be cultivated as the great business of human existence.

Doubtless, the Greek and Roman (as well as other) Celts had a certain share of the spirit of industry; but the conquering *animus* predominated in them, and it was left to their successors, of the Gotho-Teutonic races, to display the capabilities of permanent settlers or colonists. As such, they have altered the face of Europe, and indeed of the whole of the old world, wiping away almost every trace of former Celtic conquests, and founding many nations, from those inhabiting the British Isles at this day, to the dwellers in far Hindostan. They have peopled a new hemisphere within these three past centuries. Half of America is theirs; and they have begun their work of settlement in Australia, and countless isles of the Pacific Seas. Wherever they have gone, they have conquered as well as did the Celts; but, unlike the Celts, they have kept their conquests lastingly, because they conquered to colonise. Every great industrial invention has come from them—the compass, clocks, the steam-engine, the Press. Gunpowder is also their discovery—one probably destined, strange to say, to terminate wars among mankind. Free constitutions and parliaments

in the popular sense of these terms, are of Gotho-Teutonic origin; and from them came the great safeguard of right in communities, trial by jury. They were certainly the authors of the Reformation of religion, if, indeed, we should not ascribe to their influence on the old Roman state the very spread of Christianity itself among civilised mankind. But perhaps one of their greatest feats consisted in the change which they wrought on the condition of woman in the world. She was a serf to man under Celtic domination, as she still is among the nations of that blood in the East and elsewhere. The Gotho-Teutonic races first raised woman to her true and high place in human societies.

When we reflect on these striking facts, can we doubt that there must be deep-seated and intrinsic differences of mind and temperament existent among the leading families of mankind. It is impossible otherwise to explain, wherefore every one of the numerous conquests of the Celts have lasted for a time merely, and have left no permanent effects beyond the spreading simply of the imaginative arts; while, wherever the Gotho-Teutonic races have gone, they have durably founded great nations, living, and likely to live, by the arts of industry. If any individual words could mark the distinction betwixt Celts and Goths better than those of ideals and industrials, it would be the terms of conquerors and colonists. The New World exemplifies well what we would here say. The Romanised Celts of Spain, France, and Portugal went thither and conquered wherever they set the foot. But with conquest their powers and their work ceased. The Anglo-Saxons (Teutonic Goths) also went thither, and also conquered; but they colonised. At this hour, they have not only one of the greatest nations in the world to prove their qualities as colonisers, but all the relics of Celtic conquest have fallen, or are falling, one by one (as, for example, the Canadas and Texas), within the sphere of their influence and authority. It matters not whether England be directly interested. The Anglo-American race is essentially the English. The difference betwixt Celt and Goth, such as here pointed out, is evinced over the whole wide world. But another great truth must be kept in mind in judging of this subject. Wherever Goth and Celt have thoroughly amalgamated, *a race surpassing either singly has been the result of the union.* The one, when pure, is naturally too heavy in its industrialism, and the other too light in its idealism. The Normans—an admixture of Scandinavian Goths and Celts of Gaul originally, and afterwards of British Celts and Saxons—have left in their history a wondrous proof of the benefits of human intermixture. They have founded the great colonising and settling families of mankind. The share of the Celts in creating this nobility of character is far from being secondary. Their spirit serves as the stimulus to the conquest, while the Goth holds it when attained. Happy are those countries where such amalgamations have taken place! Let us trust, as already said, that the Celts of the Scottish Highlands will yet participate in all the benefits resulting from the union of race with race. In such a way, seemingly, has Heaven thought it good to work out the happiness of man on earth.

[The succeeding Arms, of course, refer to the noble family noticed in the series before the commencement of these concluding remarks. The Harden Scotts, as already observed, carry different Arms; and other families of the name adopt variations of these at pleasure, always keeping by the groundwork. Sir Walter Scott, who at once admired and despised such matters, followed the Harden motto and bearings. On the whole, the origin of Arms-bearing is curiously exemplified by the name of the Plantagenets. That house, the haughtiest in Europe in the days of chivalry, was contented—nay, was proud—to be named from the family-ensign of a *Broom*. The origin of the idea was, in much later days, shown by Van Tromp, who put a broom at the mast-heads of his Dutch vessels, to evince his intent of sweeping the English from the seas. His descendants probably carry the emblem to this day, as may the Partingtons, on equally elevated principles. The motto of the Harden Scotts suggests these ideas. *Reparabit cornua Phæbe* means simply, that, as soon as there occurred a good moonlight, the

Harden Scotts would go and steal—if not do much worse. But arms are greatly the work of our own later days. They now ornament coach-pannels, and testify to descent, without having any more serious purpose, if they had such even originally.]

ARMS OF THE SCOTTS.

Or, a bend, azure, charged with a star of six points, between two crescents of the field.
SUPPORTERS. Two female figures.

CREST. Upon a chapeau, gules, turned up ermine, a dragon passant, or, chained and gorged with a crown of the same.

MOTTO. *Amo* (I love).





BUCHANAN



MACINTOSH



LAMONT



MACNEIL



CAMPBELL



MACDOUGALD



MACLEOD



MACPHERSON



COLQUHOUN



DRUMMOND



MACINNES



MURRAY



CORDON



SINCLAIR



FERGUSON



OCILVIE



MONROE





MACKENZIE



MACRAE



MACKINNON



ROSS



MACNAB



SUTHERLAND



DAVIDSON



FRASER



GUNN



GRAHAM



DOUGLAS



LESLIE



SCOTT



OLD ARMS OF SCOTLAND

Lines attached to the Emblazoned Heraldic Manuscript

(Of date 1542)

OF SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT, LYON KING AT ARMS, BY ONE OF HIS SUCCESSORS IN OFFICE,
SIR JAMES BALFOUR OF KINNAIRD (1630).

Si spectare cupis preclara insignia Regum,
Illustre haroum sem. adim.ue genus
Et clarum, exardens quæ vexit ad a. thera virtus,
Et quibus hæc vitâ gloria maior erat,
Ut paucis sapias, hæc sunt insignia, quorum
Defensa invicto Scotia marte fuit,
Cum patriæ l. rtes animam effudere superbam:
Iam pro meritis sunt munimenta data.
Nob. hinc ut taceant animas, præ iuge nobis actis
Præsentiaque exemplis postea t. rba c. at.
Mira arte et varis, ut c. r. is, picta figuris,
Sicque enscena, no. v. r. a. t. i. b. l. i. s. c. i. b. l. i. s.

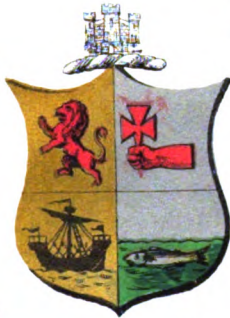
Wouldst thou behold the Essences of great Kings,
The breed of heroes and of angels—
Those, who for glory scorned earthly things,
Rose, ardent-would, to the divine abodes—
Note, hark ye, here the Symbols of the Land,
Who guarded Scotland in victorious bands,
And shed their proud blood for their native land,
Giving rich honors for their household shields,
Such, as might glorify the name of Land,
To seek the like, hark ye, in days to be,
With all their varied forms by art designed,
These figures, in rich colors, or set, stand at them see.



LINDSAY



MACQUARRIE



MACLAUCLAN



MACGREGOR



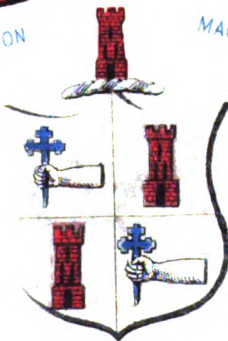
ROBERTSON



MACDONALD OF THE ISLES



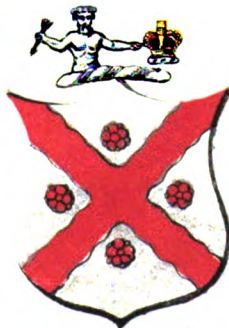
CAMERON



MACNAUGHTON



MACLEAN



MACFARLANE



URQUHART



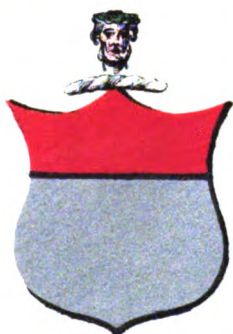
MACDUFF



GRANT



MACKAY



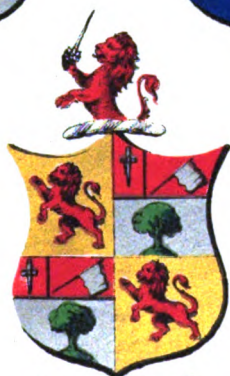
MENZIES



FORBES



MACLAURIN



FARQUHARSON



CHISHOLM