HISTORY

OF THE

CAMERONS

WITH

GENEALOGIES OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF THE NAME.

BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, M.J.I.

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF THE MACDONALDS AND LORDS OF THE ISLES;" "THE
HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS;" "THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS;" "THE
HISTORY OF THE MATHESONS;" "THE HISTORY OF THE CHISHOLMS;"

"THE PROPHECIES OF THE BRAHAN SEER;" "THE HISTORICAL

TALES AND LEGENDS OF THE HIGHLANDS;" "THE
HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES;"

"THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE ISLE

OF SKYE;" ETC., ETC.

Pro Rege et Patria.

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ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., SCOT.,
EDITOR OF THE "CELTIC MAGAZINE"; AUTHOR OF
"THE HISTORY AND GENEALOGIES OF THE CLAN
MACKENZIE"; "THE HISTORY OF THE MACDONALDS
AND LORDS OF THE ISLES"; "THE HISTORY OF THE
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THE HIGHLANDS"; "THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES"; "THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE
ISLE OF SKYE IN 1882-83"; ETC., ETC.

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PREFACE.

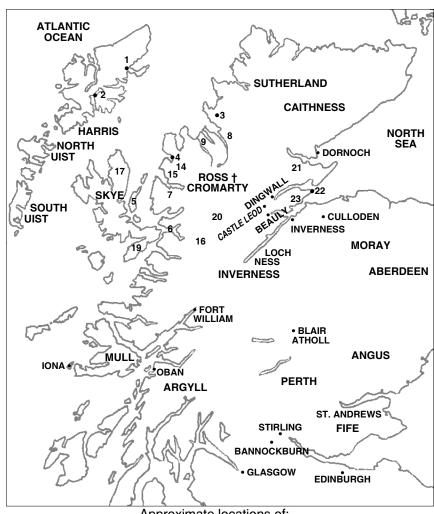


The completion of the *History of the Camerons* brings me to the end of another task, in a similar field to that traversed in my *History of the Mackenzies*, my *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, and, on a more limited scale, in my *History of the Mathesons*. The present work, no doubt, like its predecessors, contains errors, and not a few blemishes of execution and style; but, when the materials available are taken into consideration, these defects will be readily condoned by those who best understand the difficulties that had to be overcome, and by those who know how very little help could be afforded even by the heads of the leading families of the clan, however willing they may have been to give it.

The portion of the book devoted to the career of General Sir Allan Cameron of Erracht, K.C.B., has been re-written from a series of articles, on that distinguished soldier, that appeared, anonymously, in the first volume of the *Celtic Magazine*; and for the sketch of Colonel John Cameron of Fassiefern, distinguished in the same field, I am mainly indebted to the account of his life, by the Rev. Archibald Clerk, LL.D., of Kilmallie; to whom I am also under obligation for the valuable papers from which are taken the interesting Appendices at the end of the volume. My thanks are also due to Mrs. Mary Mackellar, the well-known Gaelic bard, and a few others for valuable genealogical notes, and other information.

The Index, which, I have no doubt, will be much appreciated by those consulting the book, is the unaided work of my eldest boy, Hector Rose Mackenzie, who has already shown a very considerable and intelligent interest in the History, Traditions, and Folk-Lore of the Highlands.

Inverness, August, 1884



Approximate locations of:

- 1: Stornoway. 2: Loch Seaforth. 3: Coigeach (Coigach).
 - 4: Gairloch. 5: Raasay. 6: Eilean Donan Castle.
- 7: Shieldaig. 8: Inverlael. 9: Gruinard. 10: Letterewe.
 - 11: Dundonnel. 12: Mellon Charles. 13: Sand.
 - 14: Flowerdale. 15: Shieldaig Forest. 16: Kintail.
- 17: Trotterish. 18: Vaternish. 19: Sleat. 20: Strathconon Forest.
 - 21: Tain. 22: Cromarty. 23: Fortrose.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

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ORIGIN.

IN AN OLD Manuscript history of this family, printed in The Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel the author says – "The Camerons have a tradition among them that they were originally descended of a younger son of the Royal Family of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of King Fergus II., anno 404. He was called Cameron from his crooked nose, as that word imports. But it is more probable that they were of the aborigines of the ancient Scots or Caledonians that first planted the country." Skene quotes this family Manuscript in his Highlanders of Scotland, and agrees with its author that the clan came originally from the ancient inhabitants of the district of Lochaber. He says: - "With this last conclusion I am fully disposed to agree, but John Major has placed the matter beyond a doubt, for in mentioning on one occasion the Clan Chattan and the Clan Cameron, he says, 'Hae tribus sunt consanguineae'. They, therefore, formed a part of the extensive tribe of Moray, and followed the chief of that race until the tribe became broken up, in consequence of the Success of the Mackintoshes in the conflict on the North Inch of Perth, in 1396," after which the Camerons separated themselves from the main stem, and assumed a position of independence. Major further says that "these

two tribes are of the same stock, and followed one head of their race as chief". Gregory, who agrees with these authorities, says that the Camerons, as far back as he could trace, had their seat in Lochaber, and appeared to have been first connected with the Macdonalds of Islay, in the reign of Robert Bruce, from whom Angus Og of Isla had a grant of Lochaber "There is reason to believe," he continues, "that the Clan Cameron and Clan Chattan had a common origin, and for some time followed one chief." They have, however, been separated, according to this author, ever since the middle of the fourteenth century, if not from an earlier date.

Alexander Mackintosh-Shaw, in his recently published History of the Mackintoshes, makes a sturdy attempt to upset the authorities here quoted, founding his argument mainly on a difference between the original edition of Major, printed at Paris in 1521, and the Edinburgh edition of 1740. It appears to us, that the ingenious argument used, tends rather to weaken than strengthen the position taken up by this author, and in his "Postscript," written in reply to Skene's views, as set forth in Vol. III., Celtic Scotland, he considerably modifies what, in the body of his work, he contended for. In the postscript he says: – "I have no wish to deny the *bossibility* that the two clans were connected in their remote origin; all I say is, that no sufficient evidence of such connection has yet appeared, and, therefore, that no writer is justified in affirming the connection as a fact." Compare this with what he writes at p. 129 of the same work, where he says that the original reading of Major, and the considerations suggested by it, "afford very strong evidence that the statements of Mr. Skene as to the community of stock of Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron ... are in reality unfounded". Skene too has somewhat modified the opinion published by him, in 1837, in his Highlanders of Scotland. In that work he maintained that the famous combat on the North Inch of Perth was fought between the Mackintoshes and the Macphersons, whereas in his later work, *Celtic Scotland*, he comes to the conclusion that the combatants were the Mackintoshes and the Camerons. Thus all the leading authorities are now at one on this long-contested point.

Skene's later conclusions on the subject are important. In his recent work he informs us that when the Royal forces attacked Alexander, Lord of the Isles, in 1429, and defeated him in Lochaber, the two tribes who deserted him and went over to the Royalists were, according to Bower, the "Clan Katan and Clan Cameron"; which Maurice Buchanan gives them, "more correctly, as the Clan de Guyllequhatan and Clan Cameron". On Palm Sunday, being the 20th of March following, the Clan Chattan attacked the Clan Cameron when assembled in a church, to which they set fire, "and nearly destroyed the whole clan". Though it would seem from these statements that all the Camerons and Mackintoshes deserted the Lord of the Isles on that occasion, it is clear that this was not the case, for, after his restoration to liberty, the Hebridean chief in 1443, granted a charter to Malcolm Mackintosh, of the lands of Keppoch, and, in 1447, conferred upon him the office of Bailie of the Lordship of Lochaber. Ample evidence is forthcoming that the Camerons were by no means totally destroyed, as stated by the chroniclers. "It would thus appear," says Skene, "that a part only of these two clans had deserted the Lord of the Isles in 1429, and a part adhered to him; that the conflict on Palm Sunday was between the former part of these clans, and that the leaders of those who adhered to the Lord of the Isles, became afterwards recognised as captains of the respective clans. It further appears that there was, within no distant time after the conflict on the North Inch of Perth, a bitter feud between the two clans who had deserted the Lord of the Isles, and there are indications that this was merely the renewal of an older quarrel, for both clans undoubtedly contested the right to the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig in Lochaber, to which William Mackintosh received a charter from the Lord of the Isles in 1336, while they unquestionably afterwards formed a part of the territory possessed by the Camerons. By the later historians, one of the clans who fought on the North Inch of Perth, and who were termed by the earlier chroniclers Clan Qwhele, are identified with the Clan Chattan, and that this identification is well founded, so far as regards that part of the clan which adhered to the Royal cause, while that in the part of the Clan Cameron who followed the same course, and were nearly entirely destroyed on Palm Sunday, we may recognise their opponents the Clan Kay, is not without much probability." This is most likely; and the fact that Skene has found it necessary to depart so far from his earlier theory gives it greater weight, and renders it on the whole pretty conclusive.

The Clan Chattan of modern times who followed Mackintosh as Captain of the clan, consisted of sixteen septs, but the original Clan Chattan was formed of the Clan Mhuirich, or Macphersons, the Clan Daibhidh or Davidsons, "who were called the Old Clan Chattan," and six others, who came under the protection of the clan, namely, the Macgillivrays, the Macbeans, the Clan MhicGovies, the Clan Tarrel, the Clan Cheann-Duibh, and the Sliochd-Gow-chruim or Smiths. The Clan MhicGovies were a branch of the Camerons, while the Smiths were the descendants of the famous *gobha* or smith who took the place of the missing man at Perth in 1396.

On the other hand, the Camerons at that period consisted of four branches or septs, known "as the Clan Gillanfhaigh or Gillonie, or Camerons of Invermalie and Strone; the Clan Soirlie, or Camerons of Glenevis; the Clan Mhic Mhartain, or Macmartins of Letterfinlay; and the Camerons of Lochiel. The latter were the sept whose head became Captain of Clan Cameron and adhered to the Lord of the Isles, while the three former represented the part of the clan who seceded from him in 1429. Besides these, there were dependent septs, the chief of which were the Clan Mhic Gilveil or Macmillans, and these were believed to be of the race of Clan Chattan. The connection between the two clans is thus apparent. Now there are preserved

genealogies of both clans in their earlier forms, written not long after the year 1429. One is termed the 'genealogy of the Clan an Toisig, that is the Clan Gillechattan,' and it gives it in two separate lines. The first represented the older Mackintoshes. The second is deduced from Gillechattan Mor, the eponymus of the clan. His great grandson Muireach, from whom the Clan Mhuirich takes its name, had a son Domnall or Donald, called 'an Caimgilla,' and this word when aspirated would form the name Kevil or Quhevil. The chief seat of this branch of the clan can also be ascertained, for Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, confirms a charter granted by William, Earl of Ross, in 1338, of the lands of Dalnafert and Kinrorayth or Kinrara, under reservation of one acre of ground near the Stychan of the town of Dalnavert, where was situated the manor of the late Seavth, son of Ferchard, and we find a 'Tsead, son of Ferguhar,' in the genealogy at the same period. Moreover, the grandson of this Seayth was Disiab or Shaw, who thus was contemporary with the Shaw who fought in 1396.

With regard to the Clan Cameron, the invariable tradition is, that the head of the Macgillonies or Macgillanaigh led the clan who fought with the Clan Chattan during the long feud between them, and the old Genealogy terms the Camerons Clan Maelanfhaigh, or the race of the servant of the prophet, and deduces them from a common ancestor, the Clan Maelanfhaigh and the Clan Camshron, and as the epithet 'an Caimgilla,' when aspirated, would become 'Kevil,' so the word 'Fhaigh' in its aspirated form would be represented by the 'Hay' of the chroniclers. John Major probably gives the clue to the whole transaction, when he tells us that 'these two clans' - the Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron, which, as we have seen, had a certain connection through their dependent septs - 'were of one blood, having but little in lordships, but following one head of their race as principal, with their kinsman and dependents'. He is apparently describing their position before these dissensions broke out between them, and his description refers us back to the period when the two clans formed one tribe, possessing the district of Lochaber as their Tuath or country, where the lands in dispute – Glenlui and Locharkaig – were probably the official demesne of the 'old Toisech, or head of the tribe'."* The ancient and common origin of the Mackintoshes and Camerons in that of the old Clan Chattan *will*, it is thought, be now admitted by all whose theories as to the origin of their own families will not be upset or seriously affected by the acknowledgment

The original possessions of the Camerons were confined to the portion of Lochaber lying on the east side of the Loch and River of Lochy, held of the Lord of the Isles as superior. The more modern possessions of the clan – Lochiel and Locharkaig – lying on the west side of these waters, were at an earlier period granted by the Island lord to Macdonald of Clanranald, by whose descendants they were for many generations inhabited. Skene holds that, as the Clan Cameron is one of those whose chief bore the somewhat doubtful title of Captain, a strong suspicion exists that the Cameron chiefs were of a different branch from the older family, and had, in common with the other families among whom the title of Captain is found, been the oldest cadet, and in that capacity had superseded the elder branch at a period when the latter became reduced in position and circumstances.

The traditionary origin of the Camerons proper, clearly points to the ancient chiefs of the clan, for, continues the same author, "while they are unquestionably of native origin, their tradition derives them from a certain Cambro, a Dane, who is said to have acquired his property with the chiefship of the clan, by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Macmartin of Letterfinlay. The extraordinary identity of all these traditionary tales, wherever the title of Captain is used, leaves little room to doubt that in this case the Macmartins were the old chiefs of the clan, and the Lochiel family were the oldest cadets, whose after-position at the head of the clan gave them the title of Captain of

* Celtic Scotland, Vol. III., pp. 313-318.

the Clan Cameron. There is reason to think that, on the acquisition of the Captainship of the Clan Chattan, in 1396, by the Mackintoshes, the Macmartins adhered to the successful faction, while the great body of the clan, with the Camerons of Lochiel, declared themselves independent, and thus the Lochiel family gained that position which they have ever since retained."* It is supposed that another circumstance - the desertion of the Lord of the Isles by the clan at Inverlochy in 1431 – helped to raise the leader of the Lochiel Camerons to the chiefship of the whole clan, at a time when the Macmartins, after the victory of the Lord of the Isles, were furiously attacked, and their leader driven to exile in Ireland, while his followers had to take refuge in the more mountainous parts of the Cameron country. The Macmartins were afterwards unable to assume their former position at the head of their house, and Cameron of Lochiel, the oldest cadet of the family, assumed the chiefship of the whole clan, with the title of Captain, and was placed at their head. The leader who is said to have first taken up this distinguished position was the renowned Donald Dubh, from whom the Cameron chiefs take their patronymic of "Mac Dhomh'uill Duibh," and of whom in his proper place.†

* Highlanders of Scotland Vol., II., pp. 194, 95.

† The following is a curious traditional account of how the Camerons first came to Lochaher, and of the origin of their name.

The first man who was called by the name of Cameron, was much renowned for his feats in arms, and his prodigious strength; a monument of which is still remaining near Achnacarry, the seat of Lochiel; namely, a large stone, of upwards of 500 lb. weight, which he could hoist from the ground with a straight arm, and toss it with as much ease, as a man does a cricket-bat; a plough-share he could bend round his leg like a garter; and the strongest ropes were no more in his hands than twine-thread. In short, he seems to have been a second Samson with this difference only, that our Cameron seems not to have been so easily inveigled by the women as the Jew was, nor did his strength lie in his hair.

"This man of might was so conscious of his strength and prowess that he thought no man upon earth was a match for him, and accordingly entered the lists with the most famous champions of that age, nor was he afraid to challenge the most renowned of them. In one of their combats, it seems, his antagonist handled him very roughly, and with a violent blow of his fist set his nose awry for the encounter was accidental, and consequently both were unarmed; for had they fought with swords, he might have hewed it quite off, but this blunt blow only set it on one side; yet so, as that it could never be recovered to its right position.

According to the Manuscript of 1450, which begins the genealogy of the MacGillonie Camerons with Ewen, son of this Donald Dubh, the descent of the early family

From this accident he was always afterwards called Cameron, or, the Knight of the Wry Nose, as that word imports in the Highland language.

"Our hero was now arrived at the 35th year of his age, and had given many signal proofs of his valour, so that his name became terrible all over the country. But having little or no paternal estate, he began to think it highly necessary for him to join himself to some great and powerful family, the better to enable him to distinguish himself more eminently, than it was possible for him to do as a single man, without friends or relations, or at least such as were of little or no account. He had spent his life in the shire of Dumbarton; but as he had no family or inheritance to encumber him, he resolved to try his fortune in the world, and to go in search of a wife. He set out accordingly, and happened to light on that part of the country where Lochiel's estate now lies. Here he informed himself of the character and circumstances of the chief who resided there, and understood that he was a man of a large estate, had a great number of friends and dependents, and withal had a fair and excellent young lady to his daughter. This was a foundation sufficient for our wry-nose knight to build his hopes and future expectations upon. He soon made himself known to the gentleman, whose name was MacTavish, Baron of Straborgig; [?MacMartin, Baron of Letterfinlay] to whom having given an account of himself and his business (for his fame was there before) he was kindly welcomed, and treated with all she civilities imaginable. In short, a bargain was soon struck for the daughter, who was as well pleased as the father with the offer of a husband so much to her liking; for strength of body, vigorous and sinewy limbs, and undaunted courage, were, in those days, the best qualifications to recommend a man to the affections of a lady.

The Baron of Straborgig was the more willing to marry his daughter to our knight, because by this alliance he should get a brave, bold man to head his people against the clan of MacDonalds of Glengarry, who bordering on the Lochiel estate, there were frequent bickerings and skirmishes between the two clans; for in those days all quarrels and disputes were decided by the strength of the arm, and the edge of the sword. Our knight, whose courage never flinched in the greatest dangers, led on his men boldly, and fought many bloody encounters with the MacDonalds whose chief he challenged to single combat; but MacDonald knowing his antagonist was superior to him in strength, refused, but fought it out with him in a pitched battle, in which however he was worsted, and great numbers of his people slain; and finding himself much weakened, and his clan greatly diminished since the Knight of the Wry-nose became his enemy, he proposed a compromise between the two families; which was agreed to, and the chiefs on both sides met (each attended with a numerous retinue, to prevent surprise) in a certain meadow that lay, as it were, between both estates, and which both laid a claim to. Here the matters in difference were solemnly and amicably debated; and at length the parties came to this conclusion: That MacDonald should, for him and his heirs, for ever renounce all his claim and pretence of right to such a certain district, containing about 500 acres of land, with all the royalties, privileges, and prerogatives thereunto belonging and appertaining, the contending for which had occasioned innumerable feuds and quarrels, and the effusion of a great deal of innocent blood; this he solemnly assigned and made over to the Knight of the Wry-nose, and his heirs for ever. This is the story which the Highland Bards have recorded of this great progenitor of the Camerons; and these are the means, they tell us, by which he got possession of an estate worth £100 a year." - Life of Dr. Archibald Cameron: London, 1753.

chiefs extends back from Donald's son in the following order: - "Ewen, son of Donald Dubh, son of Allan Millony, of Paul, son of Gillepatrick, son of Gillemartan, son of Paul, son of Millony, son of Gilleroth,* from whom descended the Clan Cameron and Clan Millony; son of Gillemartan Og, son of Gilleniorgan, son of Gillemartan Mor, son of Gilleewen, son of Gillepaul, son of Eacada, son of Gartnaid, son of Digail, son of Poulacin, son of Art, son of Angus Mor, son of Erc, son of Telt."†. This genealogy clearly refers to the "Maelanfhaigh" or Macgillonie branch of the family, and it begins with Ewen, second son of Donald Dubh, who thus appears to be the progenitor of the Macgillonie or Camerons of Strone; while Allan, the eldest son, succeeded his father Donald, and carried on the Lochiel-Cameron line of succession, which we shall now proceed to trace from its source, so far as possible with the materials at our command.

The name Cameron in ancient times was variously written, in such forms as Cameron, Cambron, Cambrun. The first of which we find any trace is,

I. ANGUS,

Who married Marion, daughter of Kenneth, thane of Lochaber, and sister of Bancho, a fact which amply proves that Angus was a person of rank and dignity, even at that early period; for Bancho, in addition to his position as a Royal Prince, was governor of one of the largest Provinces in the Kingdom, Lochaber being said to comprehend, at that time, all the lands between the River Spey and the Western Sea. Angus is alleged to have been instrumental saving Fleance, the son of Bancho, his own lady's nephew from the cruelty of Macbeth, and to have been

^{*} Skene says in a foot-note, Vol. III., *Celtic Scotland*, p. 480, "This is the Gilleroth mentioned by Fordun in 1222 as a follower of Macohecan in his insurrection, along with whom he witnesses a charter as Gilleroth, son of Gillemartan".

 $[\]dagger$ Translated by Skene, and printed with the Gaelic original in *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 480.

rewarded and highly esteemed on that account. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. GILLESPICK OR ARCHIBALD,

Who joined the loyalists and assisted in the restoration of Malcolm Ceanmore in 1057. For this service he was, according to the family historian, raised with many others to the dignity of a "Lord Baron," on the 25th of April in that year; but such dignities it seems were not hereditary in Scotland in those days, but ended with the lives of those on whom they were conferred, though, in many cases, they were renewed to their sons. This does not appear to have happened in the case of the Camerons, and the dignity died with its first possessor. He was succeeded by his eldest son,*

III. JOHN CAMERON,

Said to have lived in the reign of King David I., but nothing further is known regarding him. He was succeeded by his son,

IV. ROBERT CAMERON.

In a donation to the Monastery of Cambuskenneth, before 1200, in the reign of William the Lyon, Henry, Archdean of Dunkeld; Alexander, Sheriff of Stirling; Henry de Lamberton; and this Robert "Cambron," are found witnesses. He died early in the reign of Alexander II., leaving issue –

- 1. John, his heir and successor.
- 2. Robert de Cambron, whose name is mentioned with that of his brother in the Chartulary of Scoon in 1239, and is said by some, but, we think, erroneously, to have been the progenitor of the Camerons of Strone.
- 3. Hugo, or Hugh, or Ewen de Cambron, mentioned in the Chartulary of Arbroath in 1219, of whose posterity nothing is known.

^{*} He is said to have had a second son, Angus, who had a son, Martin, from whom the Macmartins of Letterfinlay sprung. This, however, is not consistent with what has been already stated.

Robert Cameron was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. SIR JOHN DE CAMERON,

Who, as John de Cambrun, is witness to a donation in favour of the Religious House at Scoon in 1234, with Walter, son of Alan, Lord High Steward and Justiciar of Scotland; Walter Cumin, Earl of Menteith; Adam de Logan, John de Haya, and his own brother, Robert de Cambrun. He is also mentioned in connection with some marches, in the Diocese of Aberdeen, in 1233; and in 1250 he is found designed "Johannes de Cambrun, Miles," etc. He had two sons –

- 1. Robert, his heir and successor.
- 2. John, mentioned in Pryme's Collections, in 1296. He is alleged to have been progenitor of the Camerons of Glenevis, though others maintain, with more probability, that they were originally Macdonalds. Sir John died in the reign of Alexander II., and was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. SIR ROBERT DE CAMERON,

One of those who made their submission to Edward I. of England. He is twice mentioned in Pryme's collections, first as dominus Robertus de Cambrun, Miles, and afterwards, in 1296, Robertus de Cambrun, Chevalier. He was succeeded by his son,

VII. JOHN DE CAMERON,

Who made a great figure in the reign of King Robert Bruce, whose time the clan appears to have been numerous in Lochaber. He was one of the Highland chiefs who signed famous letter to the Pope by the Scottish Nobility in 1320, in which they plead for the king's title to the Scottish Crown and for the Independence of Scotland. He was succeeded by his son,

VIII. JOHN DE CAMERON,

Also known as "John Ochtery". He joined David II. with a considerable body of his followers, whom he commanded in the third Division of the Scots army, at the battle of Hallidon Hill, on the 15th of July, 1333. He continued in the king's service until the English were expelled from the kingdom, and the king firmly settled in the government of Scotland.*

He married Ellen de Montealto, or Mouat,† with issue-

IX. ALLAN CAMERON,

Commonly known among his countrymen as "Allan MacOchtery," which some writers have rendered "Allan MacUchtred". This does not, however, appear to have any meaning, for no such name as Uchtred turns up before or after, so far as we can find, in the whole Genealogy of the clan. A much more likely origin will be found in the suggestion that the name means Allan "MacOchdamh Triath," or Allan son of the Eighth chief According to the family Genealogy given here, and in the *Baronage*, where two Johns are given in succession immediately before this Allan,

* The only chiefs prior to this period named in the Family MS. are the first two and the last, Angus, Gillespick, and John. The others are given in Wood's edition of Douglas's Baronage, where at this point two Johns are given in succession. The acts ascribed to the two Johns of Douglas's Baronage are ascribed to one John in the Family Ms. We have followed the former. It is, however, quite impossible to secure certainty on a genealogical question so remote in the case of any of our Highland clans. Referring to these discrepancies, the Editor of the "Memoirs" says that he "has been informed by one of the highest authorities on these subjects, that the earlier generations contained in Douglas's Baronage, when not fabulous, were not of the Locheill family, but belonged to the family of Camerons of Balligarnoch, in Perthshire, and that the founder of the Locheill branch was Donald Dubh MacAllan," the sixth chief, according to the Memoirs. "It ought, however, to be observed," he continues, "that although the author evidently labours under the impression that the first were of the Locheill branch, yet he merely asserts that they were the principal men of the name of Cameron of whom he could find any mention in history." A John Cameron is mentioned in a document, dated 10th of March, 1233, printed by Mr. Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, p. 24 of his *Invernessiana*, and, at p.44 of the same work, Robert de Chambroun de Balgligernaucht (?Baligarny) is mentioned in a document, dated the 16th of December, 1292, by which the king grants him a pension of 50 merks, payable by the burgesses of Inverness.

† The Earl of Mar, about 1357, granted a charter, witnessed by Sir John le Grant, to John Cameron. conveying to him and Ellen de Montealto, or Mouat, his wife, in free marriage, certain lands in Strathdon. – *Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, Vol. IV., p. 158. Also, *The Chiefs of Grant*, by William Fraser, LL.D., 1883, Vol. I., p. 42.

such a designation would be strictly accurate. Its value will at once be seen by those who understand Gaelic; and it certainly supports the Genealogy which gives two chiefs named John. Allan's reign was of a most turbulent character. In his time began the feuds between the Camerons and the Mackintoshes, which continued more or less inveterate for many generations after, and were only finally settled towards the end of the seventeenth century.

There are various versions current, mostly traditional. of the origin of the long-continued and bitter feuds between these two powerful families. One will be found in the Celtic Magazine, Vol. V., pp. 284-86, contributed by the late Patrick Macgregor, M.A., Toronto, a native of Badenoch, well acquainted with the folk-lore of the district. Others are more or less known, but the following is the most recent, and probably the most accurate. – By the marriage of Eva, only child of Dougal Dall MacGilleCattan, chief of the ancient Clan Chattan, to Angus, sixth chief of Mackintosh, in 1291, when he obtained with her, if not the headship of the clan (a question still hotly disputed), at least the lands of her father, comprising those of Glenlui and Loch Arkaig, in Lochaber, The Mackintoshes, however, do not appear to have possessed these lands at this period for any length of time, for Angus, who is said to have lived in Glenlui with his wife for a few years after his marriage, is soon an exile from his home, he having had to flee from the Lord of Isla, to Badenoch. The lands, thus becoming vacant, were occupied by the Camerons, who continued in them for some years without disturbance.

William Mackintosh, the son of Angus and Eva, on attaining his majority, demanded the lands in question, and, according to one of the Mackintosh MSS., obtained, in 1337, John of Isla, a right to the lands of Glenlui and Loch Arkaig. This right being disputed by the Camerons, Mackintosh appealed to the sword, and a great battle was at Drumlui, in which the Mackintoshes defeated the Camerons under Donald Alin Mhic Evin Mhic Evin. This engagement was followed by others, each clan alternately

carrying the war into its opponent's country, harrying each other's lands and lifting cattle, until we finally arrive at the famous battle of Invernahavon, referred to by Mr. Mackintosh-Shaw as follows: - In 1370, according to the Mackintosh MSS. – or, as others have it, sixteen years later – the Camerons, to the number of about four hundred; made a raid into Badenoch, and were returning home with the booty they had acquired, when they were overtaken at Invernahavon by a body of the Clan Chattan led by Mackintosh in person. Although outnumbering their opponents, the Clan Chattan well-nigh experienced a signal defeat in the engagement which took place, owing to a dispute such as that which in after years contributed largely to the disaster at Culloden – a dispute as to precedence. Mackintosh was accompanied by Macpherson, head of the Clan Mhuirich, and MacDhaibhidh or Davidson of Invernahavon, with their respective septs; and between these two chieftains a difference arose as to which of them should have command of the right wing, the post of honour. It is said that Macpherson claimed it as being the male representative of the old chiefs of the clan, while Davidson contended that, by the custom of the clans, the honour should be his, as being the oldest cadet, the representative of the oldest surviving branch. Taking the literal application of the custom, Davidson's claim was perhaps justifiable; but the case was peculiar, inasmuch as Macpherson, his senior in the clan, did not hold the actual position of chief. As neither party would give way, the dispute was referred to Mackintosh, who decided in favour of Davidson, thus unfortunately offending the Clan Mhuirich, who withdrew in disgust. By awarding the command to either chieftain, Mackintosh would doubtless have given offence to the other; but his decision against the claims of Macpherson, besides being somewhat unjust, was highly imprudent, as the Macphersons were more numerous than the Mackintoshes and the Davidsons together, and without them Mackintosh's force was inferior to that of the Camerons. The battle resulted in the total defeat of the Mackintoshes and Davidsons, the latter being almost entirely cut off. But the honour of Clan Chattan was redeemed by the Macphersons, who, generously forgetting for the time the slight that had been put upon them, and, remembering only that those who had offended them were their brother-clansmen and in distress, attacked the Camerons with such vigour that they soon changed their victory into defeat and put them to flight. The fugitives are said to have taken their flight towards Drumouchter. skirting the end of Loch-Ericht, and then turning westwards in the direction of the River Treig, according to the Rev. L. Shaw, the leader of the Camerons was Charles MacGilony, who was killed; but this is contrary to the tradition of the locality, which states that "MacDhomhnuil Duibh," the chief, commanded in person.* Charles MacGilony figures prominently in this tradition as an important man among the Camerons, and a famous archer!

The author of *The Memoirs of Lochiel* gives the Mackintosh version of the battle. He questions their title to the disputed lands in Lochaber, and says that the Camerons considered their title so good that they fought for it "from generation to generation almost to the utter ruine of both familys". He then proceeds: - "If the Camerons had any other right to the estate in question but simple possession. I know not. All I can say of the matter is, that very few, especially in these parts, could allege a better at that time. The Mackintoshes, however, pretend that, besides the story of the marriage, they had a charter or patent to those lands from the Lord of the Isles in Anno 1337, and that it was confirmed by King David II. in February, 1359. But the Camerons, it would seem, had regard to these rights; for, in 1370, they invaded the Mackintoshes, and having carried away a great booty of cattle, and such other goods as fell in their way, they were pursued and overtaken at a

^{*} Domhnull Dubh was not born for years after the date of this battle, and, of course his son nor himself could have been present on this occasion.

 $[\]P he$ History of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by Alexander Mackintosh-Shaw.

place called Invernahavon, by Lachlan, then Laird of Macintosh, who was routed, and who had a whole branch of his clan, called the Clan Day, cut off to a man. That unhappy tribe paid dear for the honour they had in being preferred that day to the van of the battle, in opposition to the Macphersons, who claimed it, and so resented the injury which they thought was done them, that they would not engage at all. But Mackintosh, having something of a poetical genius, composed certain ridiculous rhymes, which he gave out were made in derision of their [the Macphersons] cowardice by the Camerons, and thereby irritated them to such a degree of fury against them, that they returned next morning, attacked and defeated them, while they were buried in sleep and security after their late victory."*

This sanguinary conflict must have made a deep impression on those engaged in it, and it may fairly be assumed, when the state of society at that remote period is taken into account, that the old enmity and the feuds between the Camerons and the Mackintoshes would be largely intensified, and become the cause of great slaughter, plunder, and annoyance, throughout a considerable portion of the Central and Western Highlands. This state of affairs naturally led up to the famous combat on the North

* This version of the cause that roused the Macphersons to action is given *in extenso* in *Cuairtear nan Gleann*, Vol. III., p.331. Donald Mackintosh, in his Collection of Gaelic Proverbs, published in 1785, explaining one of the well-known proverbs to which the combat on the Inch of Perth gave rise, says –

"Mackintosh, being irritated and disappointed by this behaviour of the Macphersons, on the night following, sent his own bard to the camp of the Macphersons, as if he had come from the Camerons to provoke them to fight, which he accomplished by repeating the following satirical lines: –

'Tha luchd na foille air an tom, Is am BaIg-shuileach donn na dhraip; Cha b' e bhur cairdeas ruinn a bh'ann Ach bhur lamb a bhi tais.'

i.e. – The false party are on the field, beholding the chief in danger; it was not your love to us that made you abstain from fighting, but merely your own cowardice'.

"This reproach so stung Macpherson that, calling up his men, he attacked the Camerons that came night in their camp, and made a dreadful slaughter of them, pursued them to the foot of Binn-imhais, and killed their chief, Charles Macgilony, at a place called Coire Thearlaich, *i.e.*, Charles's Valley."

Inch at Perth, where, there is little difficulty now in concluding, the Camerons and the Mackintoshes were the contending parties.*

Allan married a daughter of Drummond of Stobhall, ancestor of the Earls of Perth and Melfort, whose sister, Annabella, was Queen of Robert III., and mother to James I. By her he had three sons –

- 1. Ewen, who succeeded his father.
- 2. Donald, who succeeded his brother Ewen, and was afterwards known as the famous Donald Dubh,
- 3. John, Archbishop of Glasgow, described as "a gentleman of great learning and a profound statesman". He was Chancellor of Scotland and First Minister of James I. "The offices of honour and trust that his wise and learned sovereign was pleased to confer upon him," says Drummond, "are sufficient testimonies of his genius and character, for as he was a prince of the greatest abilities of any in that age, so he directed all his views to the civilising of his country, and to the improvement of religion, learning and arts; and as he was a great judge of men, he employed none but such as answered his ends of government. All this, though there were no other documents extant, as indeed there are many, makes it surprising that Buchanan, the most polite and elegant of all modern writers, should brand this prelate with a character the most vicious and odious that ever stained the mitre. He calls him a wretch so abandoned to his insatiable avarice that he oppressed and pillaged his tenants and vassals by all the barbarous ways of injustice and extortion; and he adds that the Divine vengeance overtook him in a manner fitter to be repeated by John Knox and his disciples, than by a historian of his rank and character." There is a tradition that he once visited Lochaber, when, with Lochiel, he called upon young John Cameron, who then had charge of Callart. John pleased his visitors so well that the Bishop suggested to

^{*} For an exhaustive, and, in our opinion, conclusive discussion of this point, see *The Clan Battle at Perth*, in 1396, by Alexander Mackintosh-Shaw: printed for private circulation, 1874.

Lochiel that the lands should be granted to him who, then, only had charge of them. The chief, his brother, agreed, but next morning on viewing the lands again, he seems to have regretted his generous act of the previous day, for he was overheard to say, "Call orts an diugh, Alein," "You have a loss to-day, Allan;" and the property, it is alleged, has ever since been called "Call-orts," or Callort, from that expression of regret.

Alexander Nisbet, in a very rare work, gives the following particulars of him. It will be seen that he erroneously states that he was descended from the Camerons of Perthshire: - "The Seal of John, Bishop of Glasgow, had the image of St. Mungo standing in a portico of the church, and below his feet the shield of arms of that prelate, charged with three bars, to shew he was of the name of Cameron, which was also timbred with a Mitre, and at the sides of the shield were two salmons with rings in their mouths; and the legend round the seal, Sigillum Joannis Episcopi Glasguen. [Fig. 10. Plate 2.] And the same arms are cut in stone with a salmon below the shield, which are to be seen on the vestry of the church of Glasgow, which that Bishop built. He was descended of the Camerons of Perthshire, being educated to the Church, and put into orders, and for his learning preferred to be Provost of the Collegiat Church of Lincluden, and being qualified for a higher employment, was immediately upon the return of King James I. made Secretary to that prince, and keeper of the Privy Seal; in which station, having, no doubt, served that prince with great fidelity, in 1425, he promoted him to the Episcopal see of Glasgow, and to be Lord Chancellor of Scotland, in which high offices he continued till the death of the king, anno 1437, which he himself survived nine years, and was a great benefactor to the Church of Glasgow. He died anno 1446. Mr. George Buchanan, and Bishop Spotiswood copying from Buchanan, say, that Bishop Cameron made a very fearful exit, and endeavours

^{*} This plate is shown opposite p. 88 of the work quoted from.

to give the world a very ill character of him; but 'tis with the greatest difficulty I can believe he was such a man as they represent him, in regard our excellent king James I. who was a very good judge of men, employed him immediately in his service and conferred the highest office in the State upon him, as well as the second place in the Church, which we may very reasonably suppose, from his long continuance in both, he filled with eminent efficiency; and the Cartulary of Glasgow, where there is a pretty exact account of the *obits* of the Bishops of that see, do not make mention of any such dismal end of the Bishop, as my friend Mr. Crawford informed me, upon his perusal of the obituary of the Metropolitan see of Glasgow, a more full account of which, and of Bishop Cameron, I have seen in a manuscript in his hands composed by himself, entitled, Reliquiae sancti Quintigerni."*

Some very definite and authentic information regarding the Bishop is also given in the Scotichronicon, where we are told that he was of the family of Lochiel, and that he was the first Official of Lothian, in 1422. He afterwards became Confessor and Secretary to the Earl of Douglas, who presented him to the Rectory of Cambuslang. He was Provost of Lincluden in 1424; and "Magistro Joanne Cameron" is "Secretario regis" in the same year. He is Keeper of the Great Seal on the 25th of February and 7th of March 1425, and also in 1425-6. On February the 25th and 15th of May "an. reg. 20" he is also Provost of Lincluden and Keeper of the Privy Seal, and so he is in 1436. He is also Provost of Lincluden, and Secretary in the twenty-first year of James I. In 1426, he was elected Bishop of Glasgow; and he is "electo et confirmato episcopo Glasguensi, et priv. sigilli custode," in 1426. He is also Bishop of this See, and Lord Chancellor, in the twentyfourth year of King James I.; in 1428, and in 1430. In 1429, he erected six churches, within his diocese, by consent of

^{*}An Essay on the Ancient and Modern Use of Armories, by Alexander Nisbet, Gent, Edinburgh: Printed by William Adams Junior, for Mr. James MacEuen, and sold at his shop opposite to the Cross-Well. Anno DOM. MDCCXVIII.

their respective Patrons, into Prebends, the title of which erection, as contained in the *Cart. Glasg.*, is thus stated – "Erectio sex ecclesiarum parochialum in prebendas ecclesiae Glasg, facta per Joannem Cameron episcopum Glasguensem". These six churches were, Cambuslang, Torbolton, Eaglesham, Luss, Kirkmaho, and Killearn. He also fixed particular offices to particular churches, such as the Rector of Cambuslang to be perpetual Chancellor of the Church of Glasgow, the Rector of Carnwarth to be Treasurer, the Rector of Kilbride to be Chantor, etc. In 1433, he was chosen one of the Delegates from the Church of Scotland to the Council of Basil: and he accordingly set out, with a safe-conduct from the king of England, accompanied by a retinue of no less than thirty persons. And, as the Truce with England was near a close on November 30, 1437, Mr. Rymer published another safe-conduct for Ambassadors from Scotland to come into England about a Prorogation of the Peace, and the first named in it is John, Bishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland. He was Bishop of Glasgow in 1439, in 1440, and Bishop and Chancellor "anno 3tio regis Jacobi II." He is mentioned in Charters of Donation and Confirmation of the Collegiate Church of Corstorphin, founded by the Knights Forrester, 1429-44. It is thus evident, from the clearest testimony, that he remained Chancellor for the first three years of the reign of King James II., contrary to what all our historians have written of him, and this affords a strong presumption that the story concerning his tragical end is untrue. After the bishop's removal from the office of Chancellor, being then freed from public business, he began to build the great tower at his Episcopal Palace in the City of Glasgow, where his Coat-Armorial is to be seen to this day, with Mitre, Crozier, and Badges. The author of Lives of the Officers of State, says that he also laid out a great deal of money in carrying on the building of the Vestry, which was begun by his predecessor, Bishop Lauder, where his Arms are also to be seen. "But for all the good things Bishop Cameron did, and, which is strange," adds this writer, "he is as little

beholden to the charity of our historians as any man in his time. The learned Mr. George Buchanan, and the Right Rev. Archbishop Spottiswood, from Mr. George, characterize the Bishop to have been a very worldly kind of man, and a great oppressor, especially of his vassals within the Bishopric. They tell us, moreover, that he made a very fearful exit at his country seat of Lochwood, five or six miles North-East of the City of Glasgow, on Christmas Eve of the year 1446;" and then our author says – "Indeed it is very hard for me, though I have no particular attachment to Bishop Cameron, to form such a bad opinion of the man from what good things I have seen done by him, and withal, considering how much he was favoured and employed by the best of princes – I mean king James II. – and for so long a time, too, in the first Office of the State, and in the second place in the Church, especially since good Mr. Buchanan brings no voucher to prove his assertion; only," he says, "it had been delivered by others, and constantly affirmed to be true, which amounts to be no more, in my humble opinion, than that he sets down the story upon no better authority than a mere hearsay."* This finding may now be held as conclusive. The following extract is from the Short Chronicle of the Reign of James II - "Ane thousand CCCCXLVI. thar decessit in the Castall of Glasgow. Master John Cameron, Bischope of Glasgow, upon Yule ewyne, that was Bischope XIX yer." No more need be said.

Allan is said to have died in the reign of Robert III. (1390-1406), when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. EWEN CAMERON,

In whose time the famous combat on the Inch of Perth, between thirty picked warriors of his own clan and thirty of the Clan Mackintosh, was fought. The author of the "Memoirs" states, in a footnote to his sketch of Allan

^{*} Ecclesiastical Chronicle for Scotland, by Dr. J. F. S. Gordon, Vol. II., pp. 498-500, 1867.