

# The Celtic Magazine.

CONDUCTED BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A. Scot.

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No. CXXI.

NOVEMBER, 1885.

VOL. XI.

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## THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

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To write the history of one of our leading Highland clans is a more arduous task than most readers of the *Celtic Magazine* are likely to realise, but the reception accorded to the histories of the Mackenzies, of the Macdonalds, and of the Camerons, written and published by us during the last six years, and the valuable aid extended to us by members of these families, and by those possessing information concerning the clans whose histories have already appeared, have emboldened us to begin a history of the ancient family of Macleod, in the full expectation and confidence that similar aid will be extended to us in our present task. We would, however, call attention to the fact that in a few instances, parties interested have not supplied us, until it was too late, with genealogical and other interesting family information which it was impossible to obtain from other sources, and it may be well to warn those interested in the history and genealogies of the Clan Macleod and its connexions against similar oversight, so that they may not, when the work is completed, have to complain, as some Mackenzies, Macdonalds, and Camerons have done, that their names or families have been overlooked and left out of the genealogical portion of the histories of their respective clans.

Having said so much, to obviate disappointment later on, and



respectfully asking the aid of everyone who is able to give any information—historical or genealogical—which will help us to produce a work worthy of this ancient clan, we proceed to discuss the various views as to the origin of the family and name.

It is not intended to give here a consecutive, complete history, but, first, as in the case of the other families already named, such an account as may prove interesting to the general reader, and at the same time enable us to procure additional information from the various sources, which, as on previous occasions, are sure to be opened up, or placed within our reach as we proceed.

#### ORIGIN OF THE CLAN.

The generally received theory in the case of the Macleods, as in that of most of the other Highland clans, is that they are of foreign origin—descended from the early Norwegian kings of the Isle of Man. This descent, said to have based on the *Chronicle of Man*, was universally acknowledged, until Skene, in his *Highlanders of Scotland*, declared against it, stating that, though few origins have been more strenuously supported than the alleged Norwegian origin of the Macleods, there is “not the vestige of authority” for it. The *Chronicle of Man*, which has been so repeatedly quoted by various genealogists in support of the assertion that the Macleods are descended from the Norwegian Kings of Man, is absolutely silent on the point, and no evidence whatever is available from that source, though quoted so often as an authority on the subject. Skene says that “it is a singular circumstance that that record is nevertheless destitute of the slightest hint of any such origin, or even of any passage which could be assumed as a ground for such an idea.” And he further says, that the tradition of Norwegian descent does not “appear to be very old, for in a manuscript genealogy of the Macleods, written in the latter part of the sixteenth century, there is not a trace of such a descent,” but, on the contrary, he maintains, they are deduced from one common ancestor with the Campbells, and “were certainly a part of the ancient inhabitants of the earldom of Garmoran.”\* Leod, the eponymus of the Clan, we are told,

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\* *Highlanders of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 273.



cannot be placed earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.\* Having so far given the opinion of the learned and high authority, Dr. Skene, we shall now state at length the Norwegian origin, claimed by the family themselves, and universally acknowledged by all the genealogists, up to within the last half century. It is as follows :—

A certain Godfred Crovan, son of Harold the Black, of the Royal Family of Denmark, was appointed King of Man and the Western Isles of Scotland, by Harold, the Imperious, and, accompanied by a fleet and an army, he came and took possession of his kingdom in 1066, the superiority still remaining with the reigning Norwegian Kings. This Godfred, who reigned for sixteen years, died in the Island of Islay, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, Lagman, in 1103, succeeded his father. The second son, Harold, raised a rebellion against Lagman, by whom he was defeated and taken prisoner, his eyes put out, and otherwise treated in the most barbarous manner. Lagman, for this cruel conduct towards his brother, was seized with remorse. He then renounced his Kingdom, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he died, having only ruled for seven years. His brother, Harold, also died without issue, when the Island Kingdom fell to Godfred's third son, Olave or Olaus, then a minor. The government of the Kingdom, during this minority, was entrusted to Donald Mac-Tade, an Irish nobleman sent over to the people by Murchad O'Brien, King of Ireland, at their request, who behaved in such a tyrannical fashion, by oppressing his subjects, that after two years he was expelled, when he fled to Ireland; and Olaus, having by this time come of age, took charge of the government himself. He married Elfrica, daughter of the Lord of Galloway, at the time one of the most powerful nobles in Scotland. By his wife, Olave or Olaus, the Red, had one son, Godfred the Black, his heir. He also had three natural sons. Of several daughters, one, Ragnhildis, about 1140, became the wife of Somerled, Thane of Argyle and of the Isles, and progenitrix of all the Macdonalds, Macdougalls, and several other historical families in the Western Highlands and Isles. According to the *Chronicle of Man*, this marriage was the cause of the fall of the Norwegian Kingdom of the Isles, and was the

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\* *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. III., p. 340.



foundation of the title of Kings and Lords of the Isles, afterwards assumed, and long maintained, by Somerled's descendants. Olave the Red is said to have been a good Prince, and to have entered into friendly leagues with the Kings of Scotland and Ireland. After reigning in comparative peace for about forty years, he was, in 1154, assassinated by his nephews, the sons of his illegitimate brother Harold, who claimed half his Kingdom of the Isles. His son, Godfred the Black, was at the time in Norway, but, hearing of his father's death, he hastened to the Isles, where he was received by the people with great rejoicings as their lawful King. Having executed the murderers of his father, he proceeded to Ireland to share in the wars then going on in that Kingdom. Returning to the Isle of Man, he became so tyrannical that the nobles rebelled against his rule, and by the instrumentality of one of his nobles (Thorfinn), Dougall, the son of Somerled of the Isles, and Godfred's nephew, was proclaimed King of the Isles. After a fierce engagement between Godfred and Somerled, the Southern Isles (south of Ardnamurchan and Kintyre) were ceded to the latter; Godfred retaining the Isle of Man and the Northern Isles for himself.\* Two years later Godfred was virtually driven out of Man, when he went to Norway and never returned. He died about 1187, leaving an only lawful son (Olave the Black), then only ten years old. The nobles of Man appointed his natural brother, Reginald, a very brave man, as their governor, during Olave's minority, but he soon usurped the crown for himself, and kept possession of it for thirty-eight years, giving his brother,

OLAVE THE BLACK, the legitimate heir, the Island of Lewis for his maintenance. He, however, afterwards succeeded, by the aid of Paul, Sheriff of Skye, in repossessing himself of the Norwegian Kingdom of Man and the Isles, about 1226. He died about 1237, having been thrice married; first, to a daughter of one of the leading families of Kintyre, by whom he had three sons—Harold, Reginald, and Magnus, all of whom successively reigned as Kings of Man. But Magnus of Norway, and Superior of the Isles, having surrendered the Island Kingdom to Alexander II. of

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\* For a full account of these proceedings see Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, pp. 17-34.



Scotland, and Magnus of Man having died at the Castle of Ross, in 1266, without issue, the Island Kingdom came to an end. Olave the Red had no issue by his second marriage; but having married, thirdly, Christina, daughter of Farquhar, Earl of Ross, he had, by her, three sons—

1. LEOD, OR LOYD, PROGENITOR OF THE MACLEODS.

2. Guin, from whom the Clan Gunn of Sutherland and Caithness, and

3. Leandruis, of whom Clan Leandruis, or Gillanders.

When Olave the Red, last King of Man, died, his eldest son, LEOD, who was the fifth of the Royal line of the Norwegian Kings of Man, in direct descent, was under age. He was brought up and fostered in the house of Paul, son of Boke, Sheriff of Skye, otherwise designated as "Paul Balkason, Lord of Skye," a man "of the greatest power and authority of any in those parts, who had been a constant friend of his father's in all his dangers and distresses," and by whose assistance his father, as already stated, recovered his kingdom. Leod "flourished in the reign of King Alexander III., and got from said Paul the lands of the Herries, &c.; and from his grandfather, the Earl of Ross, a part of the Barony of Glenelg, and he and his posterity have ever since been promiscuously designed by the title of Herries [Harris], Glenelg, Dunvegan, and of that Ilk."\* Leod married a daughter of MacRaid Armuinn, a Danish knight, who had his seat where Dunvegan now stands, and with her he received the lands of Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and part of Troternish, in the Isle of Skye. There are some families of the name of MacRaid still living on the Macleod estates, and we know one or two others elsewhere who came originally from that district.

Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh, the famous Macleod poetess, refers to the traditional Norwegian and Royal origin of the race in her famous "*Cronan*," where she says, on the recovery of young Macleod from a serious illness:—

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\* *Douglas's Baronage*, p. 375. "Among the documents found in the King's Treasury, at Edinburgh, in 1282, there was one entitled, 'Charter of Glenhelk,' which belonged to the Isle of Man. In 1292 the lands of Glenelg appear to have been included in the Sheriffdom of Skye, erected by King John Balliol."—*Origines Parochiales Scotiae*.



“ *Sliochd Ollaghair nan Iann,  
Thogadh sroilltean ri crann,  
Nuair a thoisich iad ann,  
Cha bu lionsgaradh gann,  
Fir a b’ thirinneach bann,  
Priseil an dream.  
Rioghal gun chall còrach.*”\*

In the *Lord of the Isles*, Sir Walter Scott refers to the same origin, where some of the characteristics of “Stout Dunvegan’s knight” and his Norse descent are thus referred to:—

“Torquil’s rude thought and stubborn will  
Smack of the wild Norwegian still.”

By MacRaid’s daughter, the heiress of Dunvegan, Leod had issue—

1. Tormod, ancestor of the Macleods of Harris and Glenelg, now represented by the Macleods of Dunvegan, and known among the Highlanders to this day as “*Sìol Thormoid*.”

2. Torquil, progenitor of the Macleods of Lewis, Waternish, in Skye, Assynt, and Gairloch, on the Mainland, and of Raasay. The Macleods of Lewis are still spoken of in Gaelic as “*Sìol Thorcuil*,” and the cadet family of Raasay as “*Clann Mhic Gille Chaluim*,” to indicate their descent from Malcolm Garve, son of Malcolm, eighth Baron of the Lewis.

Each of the sons, Tormod and Torquil, was a *Mac Leod*, or son of Leod, whence the name of the family.

Before proceeding with the History in connection with either of the two leading families of this great House, it may be well to dispose, so far as we can, of their respective claims to be head of the Clan, for the seniority and the Chiefship have been at various times disputed and claimed by the descendants of the two brothers, TORMOD and TORQUIL respectively, and it may be considered doubtful, and difficult to prove, which of them was the eldest son of LEOD; though it is now almost universally admitted that Tormod was the elder of the two, and that, therefore, his male representative, the present Macleod of Dunvegan, is rightfully designated Macleod of Macleod, and Chief of the Clan.

It has always been claimed by the Macleods of Harris, Glenelg, and Dunvegan—(1), that Tormod got the greater portion of his father’s estates; (2), that, in several Royal Charters, and other

\* Mackenzie’s *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*.



authentic documents, where the heads of the families are mentioned, the representatives of Tormod, usually styled Macleods of Harris, are always named and inserted before the representatives of the Macleods of Lewis; and (3), that, though the representatives of Tormod have changed their armorial bearings, there is sufficient proof that they formerly carried the paternal arms of the family.

On the other hand, the representatives of the family of Lewis have maintained—(1), that the descendants of Torquil, their progenitor, succeeded his father in the Island of Lewis, which, they say, was the paternal estate of the Clan; (2), that the representatives of Torquil always carried in their armorial bearings the arms of the Kings of Man and the Isles, their paternal ancestors; and (3), that it has been the unvaried tradition of the Lewis Macleods, that Torquil was the eldest son, and that this is confirmed by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon, King at Arms, and by Buchanan's History of the Origin of the Clans, published in 1723.

Referring to these counter claims for precedence, Skene says that "from the earliest period in which the Macleods are mentioned in history, they have been divided into the great families of Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, and Macleod of Lewis, and these families have for a long time disputed as to which of them the rights of Chief belong. As occurs in the somewhat parallel case of the Macneils, this dispute appears to have arisen from the possessions of the Macleods having necessarily been so little connected together, and from both families being nearly of equal power and consequence; but, from the few data which have remained to guide us on this point, there seems every reason to think that Macleod of Glenelg, or Harris, was of old the proper Chief of the Clan. Macleod of Harris," he continues, "was originally invariably designated 'de Glenelg,' and Glenelg was certainly the first and chief possession of the Clan. In various charters of the fifteenth century, to which the head of both families happen to be witnesses, Macleod de Glenelg always appears before that of Lewis, and, finally, the possessions of the Lewis family formed no part of the original possessions of the Clan, for the Charter of the family of Lewis is one by King David



II. to Torquil Macleod, of the barony of Assynt. And it is certain," Mr. Skene sums up, "that Torquil obtained this barony by marriage with Margaret Macnicol, the heiress of the lands, and in that Charter he is not designated 'de Lewis,' *nor has he any designation whatever.* These facts," he declares, "seem conclusive, that the claim of Macleod of Harris to be Chief of the Clan is well founded, and that the marriage of a younger son to the heiress of Assynt and Lewis, gave rise to the family of Lewis, who were the oldest cadets of the Clan, and who soon came to rival the family of the Chief in power and extent of territory." The first charter of any lands to the family was granted by David II., to Malcolm, son of Tormod Macleod, son of Leod, about 1343, and the obligation contained in it is to the effect that Macleod is to keep a twenty-six-oared galley at all times for the use of the King.\*

Referring to lands acquired by the family in the Isle of Skye, now the only estates in their possession, Skene also says that they acquired these lands by marriage with the daughter of MacRaild, one of the Norwegian nobles of the Isles, and he maintains that it is from this connection, and from the succession which was secured by it, that first probably arose the tradition of the Macleods being originally descended from the Norwegian Kings of the Isles; and he holds, as already stated, that they were originally of pure native descent, and belonging to the ancient inhabitants of the Celtic Earldom of Garmoran. The original possessions of the Macleods of Harris and Glenelg were always held of the Crown, while those of the family of Lewis were held as vassals of the Earl of Ross and Lords of the Isles. At first the Harris family held that island under the MacRuaries of Garmoran; and, later on, when the North Isles passed into the house of Islay, they held Harris, as their neighbours and namesakes did Lewis, from the Lords of the Isles; and they also held their lands in Skye, comprising at that time fully two-thirds of the Island, as vassals of the Lordship of the Isles. The armorial bearings of the two families were quite different from an early period—that of Harris being a Castle, and that of Lewis a burning Mountain.

*(To be continued.)*

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\* "About the year 1343, King David II. granted to Malcolm, the son of Turmode Macclode, two-thirds of the tenement of Glenelg, namely, eight darachs and five pennylands, for the service of a ship of 26 oars when required."—*Origines Parochiales Scotiae.*



# THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

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*(Continued.)*

II. TORMOD MACLEOD, eldest son and male representative of Leod, son of Olave the Black, King of Man, as we have seen, succeeded to two-thirds of the lands of Glenelg (the other third being the property of Hugh Fraser, Lord of Lovat), and afterwards to Harris, and the lands, already described, in the Isle of Skye. The lands of Glenelg were held of the Crown, while his other possessions were held of the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles before the forfeiture of that family, as appears from a charter in which these facts are narrated, and by which the lands are granted by James IV. to Alexander Macleod, on condition of his holding in readiness, for the King's service, one ship of twenty-six oars and two galleys of sixteen. The Macleods must have occupied a prominent position long prior to this date, for a charter, granted by Donald of the Isles, grandson of the great Somerled, and styling himself King of the Isles, to Lord John Bisset, and dated at his Castle of Dingwall on the 19th of January, 1245, is witnessed by his "most beloved cousines and counsellors," Macleod of Lewis, and Macleod of Harris. The lands of Glenelg were granted between 1307 and 1314 by King Robert the Bruce to Thomas Randolph, as part of the Earldom of Moray, from which it may be in-



ferred, notwithstanding that Douglas says he was "a faithful and loyal subject," Macleod was opposed to Bruce in his successful efforts against the attempts of the English, under Edward the First, to subdue Scotland at that time, and whose prowess culminated so brilliantly for the Scottish nation on the glorious field of Bannockburn, on the 24th of June, 1314, and it is instructive to find in this connection that the Macleods are not mentioned by the earlier historians among those clans said to have been present at the Battle of Bannockburn. We are told in the "Anecdotes of Olave the Black, King of Man," that Olave went to Norway to complain to Haco, the King, of the great hostilities carried on at the time by the Scotch in the Western Isles, and that he was supplied with a fleet of twenty ships. "When Ottar Snackoll, Paul Bolka, and Ungi, Paul's son, heard this, then sailed they southward before Skye, and found in Westerford (said to be Loch Bracadale), Thorkel Thormodson. And they fought with him, and Thorkel fell there, and two of his sons. But his son, Tormod, came off in this manner; he leapt into a boat, which floated there by its ship, and it with him was wrecked on Skotland." Tormod Macleod was succeeded by his son.

III. MALCOLM MACLEOD, of Glenelg and Harris. We have already seen that about 1343 King David Bruce granted him a charter of the greater portion of the lands of Glenelg\* lands which he and his successors always held of the Crown† This charter, from King David II., *Dilecto et fidele nostro Malcolmo filio Tormodi Macleod, pro homagio et servitio suo, duas partes tenementi de Glenelg, viz., octo davatas, et quinque denariatas terræ, cum pertinentiis, infra vicecomitatum de Inverness. Faciendo nobis et hæredibus nostris prædictus Malcolmus, et hæredes sui, servitium unius navis triginta et sex remorum, quoties super hoc per nos fuerint requisiti, prout facere tenebantur tempore patris nostri, etc.* This charter is not dated, but all the authorities agree that it was granted in or about the year 1343.

Malcolm had three sons—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. Tormod, progenitor of several families in Harris, one of

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\* Robertson's Index, and Origines Parochiales Scotiæ.

† Gregory's Western Isles, p. 37.



whom possessed the Island of Bernera, in the Sound, "before Sir Norman got it from the family as his patrimony."\*

3. Murdo, ancestor of the Macleods of Gesto, of whom in their proper place, when we come to treat of the branch families of the Clan.

Malcolm, on his death, was succeeded by his eldest son and heir.

IV. JOHN MACLEOD, who was designed both of Glenelg and Harris. He was head of the Clan in the reign of Robert II.—1370-1390—and died shortly after the accession of Robert III., who ascended the throne in the latter year.

John married and had issue, two sons and one daughter—

1. Malcolm, who died before his father, unmarried, and
2. William, who, on the death of his brother, Malcolm, became his father's heir.
3. A daughter, who married Lachlan Maclean of Duart.

He was succeeded at his death by his only surviving son,

V. WILLIAM MACLEOD, who, having been educated for the Church, was known as *Uilleam Cleireach*, or William the Clerk. While a youth, he appears to have received some lasting insult in the Fraser country, and, soon after he succeeded to the Macleod estates, he made a raid into the Aird, and carried away a great number of cattle, with which he proceeded to Skye, where he had them all slaughtered in Harlosh, at a place to this day called "Bun a Sgeamhaidh," or the place of the offals. On another occasion his lands were invaded by the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles, who carried away a great spoil, but Macleod came upon them unawares, by a clever stratagem, close to Loch Sligachan, where he completely routed them, and got possession of the stolen cattle, which were divided among his followers at a rock still called *Craggan an Fheannaidh*, or the Rock of the Skinning, to indicate where the cattle were slaughtered.

Tormod married a daughter of John Maclean of Lochbuy, Mull, and by her had,

1. John, his heir and successor.

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\* *Douglas's Baronage*, p. 375.



2. Tormod, from whom a sept called *Clann Mac-Mhic Uilleam*, the Macleods of Borline, and *Clann Mac-Mhic-Alastair Ruaidh*, of whom the Macleods of Balliemore, St. Kilda, and several other minor families were descended.
3. George, who went to France, and settled in the Province of Lorraine, where many of his descendants acquired property, and where, we are informed, not a few of his posterity are living at the present day.

William did not inherit the property long, he having died a few years after his father, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.

VI. JOHN MACLEOD, whose name is mentioned in a charter granted to his grandson, William Macleod, by James IV. in 1498, where the grantee is described as Alexander Macleod, "the son and heir of William *John* Maklodesoun of Dunbeggane," that is, the son and heir of William, John Macleod's son of Dunvegan. John was a man of great stature and strength, undaunted courage and resolution. He was among the Western chiefs who accompanied Donald of the Isles, and fought with him at the Battle of Harlaw in 1411, in the main body of the Highland army. Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat "*Seannachaidh*," informs us that "Macdonald set his men in order as follows:—He commanded himself the main battle, where he kept most of the Islanders, and with the Macleods, John of Harris and John of the Isles."\* John married a daughter of Douglas, by whom he had issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.
2. Tormod, from whom the Macleods of Meidle, long extinct in the male line. From this Tormod were also descended the Macleods of Drynoch, Balmeanach; a sept known as "*Sliochd Ian Mhic Leoid*," and several others.
3. Margaret, who married Roderick Macleod of the Lewis, with issue.

John Macleod died in the Island of Pabba, in Harris, early in the reign of James II., when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

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\* Quoted in Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, p. 68, from the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.



VII. William Macleod, who is named, with Roderick of the Lewis, as witness to a charter granted by John, Earl of Ross, to his brother Hugh, and dated the 28th of June, 1449. The two Chiefs are described as *Willielmus Macleod de Glenelg, et Rodericus Macleod de Lewes*. He fought, at the head of his clan, with this John, Earl of Ross, against his bastard son, Angus Og, and was killed in a naval engagement which took place between them at the Bloody Bay, in the Sound of Mull, near Tobermory, where Angus defeated his father, and got himself fully established in possession of the leadership and territories of the Clan. The heir of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis was also mortally wounded at this battle, and he afterwards died of his wounds, on his way north, at Dunvegan,\* without issue.

In a charter under the great seal, by John of Isla, Lord of the Isles, dated the 22nd of December, 1478, in favour of *Alexander Leslie de Wardes*, we find, among the witnesses, along with Colin Earl of Argyle, Lachlan Maclean of Duart, and Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, the names of William Macleod of Glenelg and Harris, and Torquil Macleod of Lewis; and in both the charters William's name is placed first in order. He was a renowned and brave warrior, and when slain at the engagement of the Bloody Bay, in 1480, he was very advanced in years.

In 1460, William Macleod of Harris accompanied Hugh of Sleat and "the young gentlemen of the Isles" in a raid to Orkney, fully described in Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, pp. 151-152. Trouterness was at this time held of the Lords of the Isles by the Macleods of Harris, and in 1498 "King James IV. granted in heritage to Alexander M'Cloide, the son and heir of the deceased William John Maklodesone of Dunbeggane, two *unciates* of the lands of Trouternes, together with the bailiary of the whole lands of Trouternes, lying in Skye in the Lordship of the Isles, which had been forfeited by Lord John of the Isles, for service of ward, relief, and marriage, with the maintenance of a ship of 26 oars, and two ships of 16 oars, both in peace and in war, for the use of the King or

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\* Hugh Macdonald's Manuscript History of the Macdonalds. See also Gregory's *Western Isles*, p. 73.



his lieutenants, reserving to the King the nests of falcons within the lands, and all the other usual services.”\*

William married a daughter of John Maclean of Lochbuy, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor, and
2. A daughter, who married Lachlan Maclean of Duart. He was succeeded by his only son.

VIII. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, known among the Highlanders as “Alastair Crottach,” or the Humpbacked. In 1498, he, with Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, paid homage to James IV. at the Royal Castle of Campbellton, in Kintyre, when the King granted him a charter as “Alexander Makloid, the son and heir of William John Maklodesoun of Dunbegane,” of six *unciates* of Duirinish and other lands, forfeited by John, Lord of the Isles, of whom they were held by his father, William Macleod, for the same service as the lands of Troternish.† Another charter is quoted in Douglas’s *Baronage*, dated the 15th of June in the same year, in the following terms:—*Dilecto et fido nostro Alexandro Macleod, filio et hæredi quondam Willielmi, Johannis Macleod soun de Dunvegan, terrarum de Ardmannach in Herage de Lewes‡ et cum omnibus minutis insulis ad dictum Ardmannach pertinen. terrarum de Dunynys, terrarum de Meginish, terrarum de Bracadale, terræ de Lindale, terrarum de Trotterness, cum officio balivatus totarum et integrarum prædict. terrarum de Trotterness in Skye, que fuerent quond. Willielmi Macleod hæreditarie, etc., etc.*, “which lands,” Douglas says, “were held of the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles before their forfeiture, but afterwards of the Crownward, for holding in readiness one ship of 26 oars, and two of 16, for the King’s service, when required, reserving also to the King and his successors the airies or nests of falcons within the same bounds.” The same writer says that “he afterwards got a charter from James V., *Alexandro Macleod de Dunvegane terrarum baroniæ de Glenelg cum molendinis, etc.*, in Inverness-shire, dated the 13th of February, 1539.” The year at that date ended in

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\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 351., Vol. II., Part I.

† *Register of the Great Seal*, Book xiii., No. 305.

‡ Ardmanach of Lewis is the older name for what we now call Harris. The date of this charter is also given in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*.



April, so that this is probably the charter referred to in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, as granted in 1540. This charter was soon after revoked.

In 1504, Alexander Macleod of Harris was in constant communication, and strict friendly alliance with the King, for the good government of the Isles, and Macvicar, an envoy from Macleod to the King, remained at Court for three weeks at that period; and when nearly all the Western chiefs had joined Donald Dubh of the Isles in his efforts to gain the Island lordship, powerfully aided, among the rest, by Torquil Macleod of the Lewis; who was, in 1506, solemnly forfeited in Parliament, he having refused to surrender and take his trial for high treason for his share in that rebellion, and of which he is described by Tytler as "the great head." All this time Macleod of Harris remained quite loyal to the Crown, but when Sir Donald of Lochalsh broke out in rebellion after the Battle of Flodden, at the head of the Western chiefs, Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan joined his followers, and we find him, with Lachlan Maclean of Duart, who had previously possessed himself of the Royal Castle of Cairnburgh, seizing the Castle of Dunskaich in Sleat, and, immediately afterwards, Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh was proclaimed Lord of the Isles.

In 1514, Macleod of Harris and Macleod of Lewis were both exempted from the remission and terms of surrender, offered to the less prominent and violent followers of Sir Donald of Lochalsh. Alexander is again on record in 1515. In 1517 he, with the Earl of Argyll and several other chiefs, presented petitions to the Privy Council, making certain offers and suggestions in connection with the affairs of Sir Donald Gallda, the principal one of which was to advocate the suppression of Sir Donald and his rebellious followers, of which Macleod himself was one of the most prominent a few years before. Macleod and Maclean of Duart, finding Sir Donald of Lochalsh had disappointed them, in every respect, and refused to follow their advice, became disgusted and resolved to apprehend him, and to deliver him up to the Regent. Donald, however, discovered the plot, and escaped, but they made his two brothers prisoners, and offered them up to palliate their own rebellious proceedings. This appears from their petitions to the Regent and the



Privy Council at the time, recorded in the Books of Council xxix., folio 211. In the same year, he, and about a hundred others, received permission, under the Privy Seal of King James V., to pass to any place within the Kingdom of Scotland during the period between the 6th of January and the 15th of March. On the last-named day, in the same year, he and his friends obtained a remission for the part they took in assisting Sir Donald of Lochalsh in his treasonable doings with Alexander Lord Hume, on giving hostages for their good and loyal behaviour in future; but he demanded, in addition, a heritable grant of the lands of Troternish. This was refused, but he was permitted to continue in these lands a King's tenant as formerly.

In 1528 serious disturbances broke out in the Isles in consequence of certain titles granted by the Earl of Angus, who had possession of James V. in his youth, having been declared null and void by the King, on gaining his freedom from the Earl; and it was at the same time provided that in future no lands should be bestowed in the West Highlands and Isles without the advice of the Privy Council and of the Earl of Argyll, then the King's Lieutenant in the West. During this disturbance it was considered a suitable opportunity for opening up an old feud which existed between the Macleods of Dunvegan and the Macdonalds of Sleat respecting the lands and Bailliary of Troternish, in the north end of the Isle of Skye. To understand the feud between these families properly it will be necessary to go back a little on what has been already said. Gregory puts the facts very clearly, and we cannot do better than give the substance of what he says:—By a charter under the Great Seal, in August, 1498, the office of Bailliary, with two *unciates* of the lands of Troternish, was confirmed to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, as formerly held by him under the Lord of the Isles, and then in the hands of the Crown, by the forfeiture of that nobleman. Two months later, another charter passed under the Great Seal, granting the same office, and eight merks of the lands, to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, on precisely similar grounds. Both charters seemed to have been rendered null by the general revocation in 1498, or 1499. In 1505 the eighty merks lands of Troternish were let, by the Commissioners of the Crown, for three years, to



Ranald Bane Allanson of Moydert. In 1510, Archibald Dubh, Captain of the Macdonalds of Sleat, was acting as Baillie of Troternish, and a letter was directed under the Privy Seal to the tenants in his favour. Ranald Bane of Moydert was executed at Perth in 1513; and Archibald Dubh was soon afterwards killed by his nephews, the sons of his murdered brothers. Macleod of Dunvegan, who was principal crown tenant of Troternish for some time before 1517, had his lease continued from that year until the majority of James V. Under the government of the Earl of Angus, Dunvegan obtained also an heritable grant of the lands of Sleat and North Uist; and thus became additionally exposed to the hostility of the Macdonalds of Sleat. The latter chief sought the assistance of his uterine brother, John MacTorquil Macleod (son of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, and nephew of Malcolm, the then Lord of Lewis), a man like himself, without legal inheritance of any kind, to expel Macleod of Dunvegan and his clan from Troternish. In this way they were successful, and also in preventing him from putting in force his charter to the lands of Sleat and North Uist. Troternish was again occupied by the Macdonalds of Sleat; and John MacTorquil, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded him by the death of his uncle, and the minority of the son of the latter, and aided by Donald Gruamach and his followers, seized the whole barony of Lewis, which, with the command of the Siol Torquil, he held during his life.

In 1538, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan had been repeatedly summoned before Parliament, but he refused to appear. In 1538, he and John Macleod of Lewis are found among nine of the Island Chiefs who had sent in offers of submission in connection with a new rebellion headed by Alexander Macdonald of Isla. They were promised protection against Argyll, who led a strong force against them, on condition that they should go to Edinburgh and meet the King there, or anywhere else, where he might be holding his Court, before the 20th of the following June, and remain there as long as they were required to do so; and when they left Court for their homes they were to have protection for twenty-one days, that they might return to their respective residences without molestation from any quarter.



Argyll, however, died during this year, and nothing was done. After various negotiations, the Western Chiefs were reinstated in their lands. In May, 1539, Troternish was again invaded and laid waste by Donald Gorme of Sleat and his allies. The Macleods of Lewis and Macleod of Dunvegan complained to the Privy Council of their conduct. Donald Gorme was killed shortly after in Kintail, and several of his accomplices received remissions for this raid into Troternish and other offences, in 1541. Tradition relates that the allies followed the Macleods of Lewis to Skaebost, where a battle was fought at a place called *Achnafala* (the field of blood), and that several heads cut off in the fray floated by the River Snizort into the yair at the mouth of the river, and therefore still called *Coire-nan-Ceann*, the yair of the heads. Mackenzie of Kintail aided the Macleods against the Macdonalds of Sleat on this occasion in Troternish, and hence the raid of the Macdonalds to Kintail, where their Chief lost his life while laying siege to the Castle of Eileandonain.

In 1540 the King headed an expedition by sea to the Western Isles in person. After visiting Sutherland, and other parts of the Northern coasts of Scotland, he proceeded to the Lewis, where Roderick Macleod, with his leading kinsmen, were compelled to join the Royal fleet and accompany the King in his further progress. On their arrival on the West Coast of Skye, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan and several of the leading men of his clan were seized, obliged to go on board, and to accompany his Majesty in the fleet. Nearly all the Western Chiefs were similarly treated, but some of them were soon after set at liberty, on giving hostages for their future good behaviour; while the more turbulent were kept in confinement until after the death of James, in 1542. In 1540, Alexander and twenty-three others received a remission from James V. for the assistance given by them to David Hume, Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, and their accomplices, described as "the King's rebels." In 1545, Macleod of Dunvegan and Roderick Macleod of the Lewis were members of the Council of Donald Dubh, who had been proclaimed Lord of the Isles for the second time. In the same year, after the death of Donald Dubh, the Macleods of Dunvegan disputed the title of the Macdonalds of Sleat to their lands. In 1545, the



Macleods of Dunvegan and of the Lewis, along with the Macleans and some of the lesser clans, opposed the claims of James Macdonald of Isla, on the death of Donald Dubh, to the Lordship of the Isles, and they soon effected a reconciliation with the Regent. In the same year we also find him, Roderick Macleod of the Lewis, and forty other persons, receiving permission, under the Privy Seal of Queen Mary, to go to the Regent and Lords of Council on business, from the 17th of August to the 1st of November.

We find Alexander repeatedly on record in connection with his lands of Glenelg, which, as appears from a charter referred to below, he granted to his eldest son on his marriage. In 1553, one-third of the two-thirds of the lands of Glenelg, which belonged in heritage to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, were appraised to Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat for the sum of £800 Scots recovered by him, and in defect of movable goods. In 1535 the other two-thirds of the same lands were appraised in favour of the same Hugh for the sum of 2400 merks Scots as part payment of £4085 10s. 8d. contained in letters of the King, under reversion to Alexander Macleod, on payment of these sums and expenses within seven years. In 1536, King James V. granted to the same Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, the dues of the lands of Glenelg, which were in the King's hands by reason of the nonentry of the heir of the deceased William Macleod. In 1540, the lands and barony of Glenelg, with the castle, mills, and fishings, were resigned by Lord Fraser, and were then granted by King James V. to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan. In 1541, the same King granted to William Macleod, the son and apparent heir of Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, and to Agnes Fraser, his wife, the lands of Arrocardich, Scallasaigbeg, Scallasaigmore, Knockfin, Pitalman, Easter Mill, Wester Mill, Lusaw, Nachtane, Wester Corrary, and Inchkennell, in the lordship of Glenelg, which Alexander Macleod had resigned. In the same year the lands of Easter and Wester Lyndale were resigned in the same way, and granted to the same parties, as were also extensive lands in Bracadale, extending in all to £20.\* In 1547, Queen Mary granted Archibald, Earl of Argyll, the ward of all the lands that belonged to the

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\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae.*



*deceased* Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan. He was a man of great force of character and activity in peace and war. He built one of the towers of Dunvegan Castle, still standing, and repaired the old Cathedral of Rodel, in South Harris, where he was afterwards buried, on his death, at an advanced age, in 1547. His tomb, which we have recently seen, during a visit to the old Church of St. Clements, now called Rodel Cathedral, is in good preservation. It is elaborately sculptured with curious devices, and bears, so far as we could make out, the following Latin inscription :—

“ *Hic locutus Alexander filius Vilmi MacClod dno. de Dunvegan, anno dni., M.CCCCC.XXVIII.*”

Mr. Seton, in a foot-note to *St. Kilda, Past and Present*, 1878, p. 36, says, “Sir Walter Scott makes the date of the inscription a hundred years older than it really is—viz., M.CCCC., instead of M.CCCCC.XXVIII. In a heel-ball rubbing which I took at Rodel last July *five* C’s are quite apparent.” When we visited the Cathedral in May, 1885, the *five* C’s were quite legible, without any markings, but this date must be erroneous; for it is quite clear that Alexander lived until 1547, and we are rather disposed to think that the second X in the inscription was originally an L, and that it should read M.CCCCC.XLVIII.; or it may be that the sculpture is of a much later date, when the actual year of Alexander’s death would not be accurately known by those who erected it.

Alexander has been charged with the atrocious massacre of the Macdonalds in the Cave of Eigg, but it will be shown by-and-by that the horrible deed did not take place for at least ten years after Alastair Crottach’s death.

Alexander Macleod married a daughter of Allan Cameron, XII. of Lochiel, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.
2. Donald, who, after various difficulties and negotiations with the guardians of William’s only daughter, Mary, which will be fully detailed in the proper place, succeeded his brother in the estates of the family, as well as head of the Clan.
3. Tormod, who succeeded his brother Donald.



4. A daughter, who married James, second son of Donald Macdonald, IV. of Sleat, with issue—John, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Kingsburgh, and another son, Donald. She married, secondly, Allan Macdonald, XV. of Clanranald, with issue, one of whom, Donald, carried on the representation of the family. Allan's ill-treatment of this lady became the cause of a fierce feud between his family and that of Dunvegan, which was carried on for many years, and of which an account will appear later on. On the death of her second husband, she married, for the third time, another Macdonald of the family of Keppoch, also with issue.
5. Another daughter married Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, with issue.

Alexander Crottach Macleod died, as already stated, at an advanced age, in 1547, and was buried in the Church of Rodel. In the arms upon his tomb, which are still to be seen, is a lymphad or galley, the ancient armorial bearings of his predecessors.\* He was succeeded by his eldest son.

*(To be continued.)*



# THE HISTORY OF THE MACLEODS.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

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(Continued.)

IX. WILLIAM MACLEOD of Harris and Dunvegan, succeeded Alexander. We have already seen that, in 1541, on the resignation of his father, certain lands were granted to William as heir-apparent upon the occasion of his marriage with Agnes Fraser, daughter of Hugh Fraser, fourth Lord of Lovat. He was served heir in special to his father; and, in virtue of a precept from chancery, he was, on the 15th of May, 1548, infeft in the whole of the family estates, except Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, in which latter he had been infefted during the life of his father. The ancient hereditary estates of the family, namely, Harris, Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and Glenelg, had descended to William under a destination to the heirs whomsoever, of his father, making this extensive property a *female* fief, while at the same time he was a vassal of the Crown, under a different destination, in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, which made these a *male* fief. At this time, Troternish, the ownership of which was constantly in dispute, frequently changed masters, and though the legal rights to Sleat and North Uist were then undoubtedly vested in William Macleod, these lands were occupied by the Macdonalds. When William Macleod died in 1552-3 without male issue, the two properties vested in him by different destinations were separated; that which was a female fief going to his only child, Mary, then an infant; the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, being a male fief, going to his brother and heir male, Donald, second son of Alastair *Crottach*, who at the same time seized the other portions of the family estates to the prejudice of his niece,

MARY MACLEOD, whose history in this connection must now be noticed at considerable length. In 1552-3, James, Earl of



Arran, Regent of Scotland, made a gift to George, Earl of Huntly, of the ward, non-entry, relief, and marriage of this wealthy heiress, in terms of the following document. We have modernised the orthography:—

“A letter made to George, Earl of Huntly, Lord Gordon and Badenoch, etc., Chancellor to our Sovereign Lady, his heirs, and assigns, one or more, the gift of the ward and non-entries, maills, ferms, profits, and duties of all and sundry the lands underwritten. That is to say, the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, Troternish; the lands of Sleat and North Uist; the lands of Duirinish, the lands of Bracadale, the lands of Minginish, the lands of Glenelg, and all other lands and annual rents which pertained to umquhile William Macleod of Dunvegan, with the castles, towers, fortalices, mills, multures, woods, fishings, “annexis connexis,” both property and tenantry, with tenants, tenancies, service of free-tenants, advocacy, donation, and gift of patronage of the kirks, benefices, and chaplainaries of all and sundry the fore-named lands and their pertinents, if any be, of all years and terms bygone, and that the same has been in our Sovereign Lady’s hands or her predecessors thereof by reason of non-entries or ward since the decease of the said umquhile William, or any others his predecessor’s last lawful possessors thereof, immediate tenants to our Sovereign Lady, or her predecessors of the same, and such-like of all years and terms to come; aye and while the lawful entry of the righteous heir or heirs thereto, being of lawful age, with the relief thereof, when it shall happen, together with the marriage of [Mary] Macleod [daughter] and heir of the said umquhile William, and failing of [her], by decease, unmarried, the marriage of any other heir or heirs, male or female, that shall happen to succeed to the said umquhile William, or to any others his predecessors in the lands and heritage foresaid, with all profits of the said marriage, with power, etc. At Edinburgh, the 11th day of February the year of God 1552 years.—Per signaturam.”\*

The Queen Regent, among the other punishments inflicted by her on the Earl of Huntly for his negligence in the pursuit of John Moydertach of Clanranald, after the battle of Blar-nan-leine, compelled him to relinquish this grant of the wardship and marriage of Mary Macleod; but Huntly attempted, while in disfavour in 1555, to dispose of the grant to the Earl of Argyll, who agreed to pay him twelve hundred merks, five hundred of which were to be paid at

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\* Register of the Privy Seal, vol. 25, fol. 27.



the following Michaelmas, within Saint Anthony's Aisle, in the Kirk of St. Giles, Edinburgh, and the remainder was to be paid on Saint Andrew's day, good security being in the meantime provided for the full implement of the bargain. The document was witnessed by Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis; John, Earl of Sutherland, and several others, and subscribed by the Earls of Argyll and Huntly.\* This transaction was, however, never carried out, for the Queen Regent, disapproving of Argyll's support of the Protestants at the time, compelled Huntly to divest himself of his interest in the heiress by a special deed of assignation to the Queen Regent herself. She afterwards bestowed the prize upon James Macdonald of Isla, who, though married to Agnes Campbell, the Earl's sister, took part against Argyll, in order to secure possession of the wealthy heiress of Dunvegan. The document is dated the 27th day of June, 1559, and declares that the assignation is made to James Macdonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, his heirs and assigns, "and that for certane greit soumes of money" paid and delivered by him.

William Macleod, who, as we have seen, died without male issue, was succeeded, as chief of the clan, and nominal proprietor of the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, by his next brother,

X. DONALD MACLEOD, and he seized, apparently with the full consent of the clan, the lands of Dunvegan, Glenelg, and the others which then legally belonged to his niece, Mary Macleod. He was not, however, permitted to remain long in possession, for he was soon after assassinated by John Og Macleod of Minginish, at Kingsburgh, in Troternish. His murderer, John Og Macleod, who, failing Donald's only remaining brother, Tormod, would have become himself heir to the chiefship and the family estates legally vested in his brother, Donald. To succeed to this position was undoubtedly the object of the young assassin; for at the same time that he murdered Donald, he was doing all he could to get at his brother, Tormod, then attending the Glasgow University, with the object of assassinating him also, and clearing

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\* *General Register of Deeds*, vol. i., p. 230. Recorded on the 18th of November, 1555.



the way for his own succession. It, however, appears that John Og was able to keep possession of the estates of the heiress and of Dunvegan Castle until his death in 1599. On the death of Donald,

XI. TORMOD MACLEOD succeeded him in all his legal rights, and, as head of the clan. Gregory so well describes the relationships of parties at this period that we cannot do better than quote him at length, afterwards giving the documents on which he founds, but does not print. He says—In this reign (Queen Mary's), the Earl of Argyll contrived to extend his influence to the North Isles, and over two of the most powerful tribes in that quarter, the Clan-Donald of Skye and North Uist, and the Clan-Leod of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg. The mode in which this object was attained is so characteristic of the policy of the house of Argyll that it seems to merit some detail in reference to the rapid increase of the power of that noble family.

William Macleod of Harris, chief of the "Siol Tormoid," was the undisputed proprietor of the estates of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, under a particular destination, which, on his death in 1553, caused these extensive possessions to descend to his daughter and heiress, Mary. He was, at the same time, nominal proprietor of Sleat, Troternish, and North Uist, the possession of which, we have seen, the Siol Tormoid had unsuccessfully disputed with the Clan-Donald. On the death of William Macleod, his claim to the last-mentioned was inherited by his brother and heir male, Donald. The Siol Tormoid was now placed in a position which, though quite intelligible on the principle of feudal law, was totally opposed to the Celtic customs that still prevailed, to a great extent, throughout the Highlands and Isles. A female and a minor was the legal proprietrix of the ancient possessions of the tribe, which, by her marriage, might be conveyed to another and a hostile family; while her uncle, the natural leader of the clan, according to ancient custom, was left without any means to keep up the dignity of a chief, or to support the clan against its enemies. His claims on the estates possessed by the Clan-Donald were worse than nugatory, as they threatened to involve him in a feud with that powerful and warlike tribe, in case he should take any steps to enforce them. In these circumstances, Donald Macleod seized, apparently with the consent of his clan, the



estates which legally belonged to his niece, the heiress; and thus, in practice, the feudal law was made to yield to ancient and inveterate custom. Donald did not enjoy these estates long, being murdered in Trouterness by a relation of his own, John Og Macleod, who, failing Tormod, the only remaining brother of Donald, would have become the heir male of the family. John Og next plotted the destruction of Tormod, who was at the time a student in the University of Glasgow; but in this he was foiled by the interposition of the Earl of Argyll. He contrived, notwithstanding, to retain possession of the estates of the heiress, and of the command of the clan, till his death in 1559. In the meantime, the feudal rights of the wardship, relief, and marriage of the heiress of Harris, were eagerly sought after by various powerful individuals. They were first bestowed, in 1553, by the Regent Arran, upon the Earl of Huntly, who afterwards proposed to sell his interest in the heiress and her property, to the fourth Earl of Argyll, for a large sum of money. But Huntly, having fallen into disgrace with the Queen Regent, as formerly mentioned, was compelled to relinquish his bargain with Argyll, and to resign into her hands the claims he had acquired from Arran to the guardianship of Mary Macleod. The Regent, while endeavouring in 1559, to secure the assistance of James Macdonald of Isla against the Protestants, of whom the fifth Earl of Argyll was one of the principal leaders, committed the feudal guardianship of the young heiress to that chief. In 1562, we find that the person of the young lady had, by some accident, come into the custody of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who, having refused to give her up to her lawful guardian, James Macdonald, was at length compelled to deliver her to Queen Mary, with whom she remained for some years as a maid of honour, being no doubt one of the Queen's celebrated *Maries*. Macdonald seems now to have made over his claims to Argyll, who finally exercised the right of guardianship, by giving Mary Macleod in marriage to his kinsman, Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck. But previous to the marriage, the Earl, sensible of the difficulty which would attend any attempt to put an individual of his clan in possession of the territories of the Siol Tormoid, even although he had the law in his favour, entered into the following arrangements, the most judicious that



could be devised for making the most of his position at the time. His first agreement was with Tormod Macleod, who had been for some years in actual possession of Harris and the other estates of the Lewis, and had already given to the Earl (for the good offices of the latter) his bond of service for himself and his clan. It was arranged that Macleod should renounce, in favour of Argyll, all claim he had to the lands of the Clan-Donald; that he should likewise pay the sum of one thousand merks towards the dowry of his niece. Argyll, on the other hand, engaged to procure from Mary Macleod, and any husband she might marry, a complete surrender of her title to the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg; and to obtain for Tormod a crown charter of that estate. His next agreement was with Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat; and in consideration of that chief paying five hundred merks towards the dowry of Mary Macleod, and of his likewise giving his bond of service for himself and his clan to Argyll, the latter engaged to make him his vassal in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, to which the Macdonalds had at present no legal claim. Argyll's agreement with Tormod Macleod was actually carried into effect; but circumstances seem to have interfered with the final completion of his contract with Macdonald. It is evident, however, that, although in the case of the Siol Tormoid, at this time, ancient custom prevented the feudal law of succession from being carried into effect in its full extent, yet the Earl of Argyll did not surrender his legal claims without indemnifying himself amply for the sacrifice.\*

The following is the contract, modernised in orthography, entered into between the Earl of Argyll and Norman Macleod, with consent of his guardian, Hector Maclean of Duart, in 1559-60 and referred to by Gregory:—

“At Dunoon, the first day of March, the year of God 1559 years: It is accorded, agreed, and finally accorded, betwixt a noble and potent Lord Archibald, Earl of Argyll, on the one part, and Tormod Macleod, son to [umquhile] Alexander Macleod of the Harris, as principal in this contract, and Hector Maclean of Duart as principal favourer and tutor to the said Tormod, on the other part, in manner, form, and effect, as after follows: That is to say,

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\* *Western Highlands and Isles*, pp. 203-207



forasmuch as the said Earl has redeemed and obtained the said Tormod out of the captivity and enemies' hands, wherein he was with the Frenchmen; yet the said Earl obliges him to fortify, help, and set forward the said Tormod to win and enjoy the heritage and rooms that pertained to his father and brother of Harris, with the pertinents Tewedes [?] and Glenelg, and all other bounds whereof they have old title of heritage in special, and shall be a good lord and master to the said Tormod in all his actions and just causes; and to the effect that the same may come the better forward, has delivered the said Tormod to the said Hector to be helped and fortified; for the which cause the said Tormod, by these presents, gives and grants his bond of manrent, his faithful and true service, with all his kin and friends, and his heirs and successors of the Harris, to the said Earl, his heirs and successors, of Argyll, perpetually; also shall not marry but with the advice of the said Earl, whose counsel he shall take in marrying a wife; and being established in his rooms of the Harris and Tewedess, shall pay the value or estimation of the avail of the ward and marriage of the Harris and the labours and travels of the said Earl to him and to the said Hector, to be divided as the said Earl thinks cause betwixt him and the said Hector Maclean; and in case the said Tormod fail in any part of the premisses, he is content to be counted unworthy to enjoy the room of a gentleman for ever in Scotland, but to be perpetually defamed; and also the said Hector to be perpetual enemy to him, dissolving the bond of kindness that is betwixt their houses, in all times to come; and also the said Tormod not to pass to the North Isles, but with the advice and licence of the said Earl at his passage there; and in case his friends come to him, that they ratify and approve this bond, before his departing to the North."

The reference to Tormod being captive with Frenchmen, is explained by the probability of his having been captured by some of the French Auxiliaries, who, during the Regency of Queen Mary of Guise, were employed in maintaining the internal peace of Scotland.

At Edinburgh, on the 21st May, 1562, in presence of the Queen and Lord of the Privy Council, appeared Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, "who being commanded by letters and also by writings direct from the Queen's Grace, to exhibit, produce, and present before Her Highness, Mary Macleod, daughter and heir of umquhile William Macleod of Harris, conform to the letters and charges direct thereupon; and declared that James Macdonald



had an action depending before the Lords of Session against him for deliverance of the said Mary to him, and that therefore he could not goodly deliver her; notwithstanding the which, the Queen's Majesty ordained the said Kenneth to deliver the said Mary to Her Highness, and granted that he should incur no skaith therethrough at the hands of the said James, or any others, notwithstanding any title or action they had against him therefor. And the said Kenneth, knowing his dutiful obedience to the Queen's Majesty, and that the Queen had ordained him to deliver the said Mary to Her Highness in manner foresaid, he on no wise could disobey; and therefore delivered the said Mary to the Queen's Majesty, conform to her ordinance foresaid." For some years after this, Mary Macleod was a member of the Queen's household, as appears conclusively from several entries in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland in 1562 and again in 1564-5.

The following contract, between Argyll and Tormod Macleod, appears to be supplementary to that dated 1559-60, and already quoted:—

"At Edinburgh, the twenty-fourth day of February, the year of God, 1566, it is appointed, agreed, and finally ended, betwixt one right noble and mighty Lord Archibald, Earl of Argyll, for himself and having the right of the ward and relief of all lands which pertained to umquhile William Macleod of Dunvegan with the marriage of Mary Macleod, only daughter and apparent heir to the said umquhile William, and also accepting the burden upon him for her on that one part: And Tormod Macleod, brother and heir male and of tailzie to the said umquhile William, and also heir male to umquhile Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, his father, of the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, on the other part in manner following: That is to say: Forasmuch as the said noble Lord, having the right to the gift of the ward, relief, and marriage foresaid, shall do his diligence to obtain the said Mary Macleod to be heritably infest as heir to the said umquhile William, her father, and failing thereof as heir to the said umquhile Alexander, his goodsir, of all lands untailzied contained in the charter made to the said umquhile Alexander by our Sovereign Lord that last deceased, viz:—the Lands of Glenelg, Minginish, Bracadale, Lyndale, Duirinish, Harris, and Hirta [St. Kilda], if the old charter and seisins may be had, and failing thereof shall do diligence to get to the said Mary, of our said Sovereign and her successors, a new



infestment, with charter and precept of seisin, with supplying of all faults, of lands untaillied specified in the charter granted by our said Sovereign's umquhile father to the said umquhile Alexander of before, and the said Mary being heritably infest therein [he] shall cause her, with consent of her curators or spouse, if she any shall happen to have for the time, infest again in the most sure manner, the said Tormod and his heirs heritable in the said whole untaillied lands to be holden of our said sovereign and her successors either by resignation or confirmation, as he shall think most expedient, and please to devise, after the form of her said infestment; and also the said noble Lord, as having the right to the ward, relief, and marriage foresaid, shall provide the said Mary Macleod of a husband and party agreeable to her estate; and so being married, [he] shall cause her, with consent and assent of her said future spouse, ratify and approve the said infestment to be given to the said Tormod of the said untaillied lands; and also the said Earl shall at the time of the said ratification discharge the said Tormod and his heirs of all mails, ferms, profits, and duties of the said untaillied lands of all years and terms bygone intromitted with by him during the time of the said ward; which infestment being past and ended upon the said Earl's expenses, in manner foresaid, the said Tormod shall incontinent thereafter make himself to be heritably infest in all lands and annual rents contained in the charter tailzie of his said umquhile father as heir of tailzie to him; and immediately thereafter shall infest the said noble Lord and his heirs therein heritably to be holden of our said Sovereign and her successors either by resignation or confirmation at the option of the said Earl as freely as the said umquhile Alexander, his father, held the same of before; the said Earl obtaining our sovereign or her successor's consent thereto; and also the said Tormod shall content, pay, and deliver to the said Mary and her said spouse future, the sum of one thousand pounds money in contentation of his part of the tocher; and, further, the said Tormod shall renounce all right, kindness, title, interest and possession, together with the by-run profits, mails and duties which he had, has, or may claim to the said tailzied lands or bailliary thereof, for him, his heirs, and successors forever, and shall pretend no right thereto in times coming for any cause by-gone; and also the said Tormod, being infest as said is, shall deliver to the said noble Lord all old evidents which he has or may have of any of the lands tailzied above written made to any of his predecessors of before." [Then follows the usual clause agreeing to the registration of the deed, etc.]

By a contract dated the third day of March, 1566-7, Archi-



bald, fifth Earl of Argyll, undertakes to obtain for Donald Macdonald of Sleat heritable infeftment in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, to be held of himself on payment by Macdonald to him of one thousand merks Scots, and five hundred merks towards the dowry of Mary Macleod. Macdonald was also to give his bond of manrent to Argyll "in the best and straitest form that the said Earl will devise," and he was "to fortify and assist" Tormod Macleod "in his causes and defenses lawful and honest in time coming when he shall be required thereto by the said noble Earl." It would appear from this that the Macdonalds of Sleat were afterwards left in undisputed possession of the lands in question, otherwise this bond of friendship would have been an absurdity.

In 1572, James VI. granted Mary Macleod a charter, dated 15th of September in that year, of all the paternal estates of the family, including part of the lands and the bailliary of Troternish,\* but the inclusion of the latter is supposed to be merely a clerical error.

In 1573, the heiress of Macleod married Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck, a kinsman of the Earl of Argyll, when it was proposed to convey all the lands described in the charter of the previous year to her uncle, Tormod Macleod, by a Charter of Sale, as appears from an unsigned and undated Charter of Sale preserved in the Dunvegan Charter Chest, and quoted in the "Transactions of the Iona Club." This mode was found beset with some legal difficulties, however, and Tormod was finally infeft and seised in all the lands named in the Royal Charter in 1572 in favour of his niece, upon a Charter of Resignation under the Great Seal, dated 4th of February, 1579-80, and proceeding upon the resignation of Mary Macleod, with consent of her husband, Duncan Campbell, heir-apparent of Auchinbreck, in favour of her uncle, Tormod Macleod, who was infeft in the whole family estates in July following.

*(To be continued.)*



IT was towards the close of Tormod's rule, in 1577, that the massacre of the Macdonalds of Eigg, the most cold-blooded and atrocious act in the Highland history, was perpetrated by the Macleods. Dr. Skene publishes a document in the appendix to the third volume of *Celtic Scotland*, by which the date of the massacre of Eigg is fixed. This document is entitled a "Description of the Isles of Scotland," and Dr. Skene says that it "must have been written between 1577 and 1595, as the former date is mentioned in connection with the cruel slaughter of the inhabitants of Eigg by the Macleods, and John Stewart of Appin, who died in 1595, is mentioned as alive at the time it was written. It has all the appearance of an official report, and was probably intended for the use of James the Sixth, who was then preparing to attempt the improvement of the Isles, and increase the Royal revenue from them." This sufficiently fixes the date of the document. The following is the reference in it to the Island of Eigg—

"Eg is an Ile verie fertile and commodious for all kind of bestiall and corns, speciallie aittis, for eftir everie boll of aittis sawing in the same ony yeir will grow 10 or 12 bollis agane. It is 30 merk land, and it pertains to the Clan Rannald, and will raise 60 men to the weiris. It is five mile lang and three mile braid. Thair is mony coves under the earth in this Ile, quhilk the cuntrie folks uses as strengthis, hiding thame and thair geir thairintill; quhairthrow it hapenit that in March, anno 1577, weiris and inmitie betwix the said Clan Renald and McCloyd Herreik, the people, with ane callit Angus John McMudzartsonne,\* their capitaine, fled to ane of the saidis coves, taking with thame thair wives, bairnis, and geir, quhairof McCloyd Herreik being advertisit landed with ane great armie in the said Ile, and came to the cove, and pat fire thairto, and smorit [smothered] the

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\* This Angus was fourth son of the brave John Moydartach, Chief of Clanranald.  
See Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds*, p. 402.



hail people thairin, to the number of 395 persones, men, wyfe, and bairnis."

This, we think, will finally settle the date and the authors of this unparalleled atrocity.

The following description of it, by Professor Jameson, is from the *New Statistical Account for Inverness-shire*, under the "Parish of Small Isles," pp. 146-148. Professor Jameson writes :—

"A party of the Macleods having landed upon the small island of Eilean Chastel, behaved so outrageously to the women who were there tending cattle, that their friends instantly pursued and put several of them to death. This so enraged the clan of Macleod, that they determined to take revenge, by ravaging the Isle, and putting to death the murderers of their brothers. The Islanders, sensible of their weakness, prepared to shelter themselves upon the first appearance of an enemy. Soon afterwards a number of boats were seen approaching the Isle; when the trembling inhabitants retired in despair to this cave, their only refuge. The Macleods soon landed and traversed the whole Island; but as they could discover no human being, they concluded that the Macdonalds had made their escape to the Mainland, or to some of the adjacent islands. Disappointed and enraged, they were about to leave Eigg to return to Skye, when, unfortunately, one of the horde observed the mark of footsteps on the snow; and thus they were enabled to discover the cave where the wretched inhabitants had taken refuge. Shrieks of despair were interrupted for a little by a proposal of the Macleods that, if the murderers were given up to punishment, the other lives should be spared. This was only a cruel aggravation of their sufferings, as the Macleods were the aggressors. Connected, as the Macdonalds were, by the dearest ties, they were determined to perish together rather than to give up one of their number. The Macleods, with the most savage barbarity, instantly kindled great fires at the mouth of the cave, which soon suffocated the whole of the miserable inhabitants.

"One often listens even to such a tale, as to the description of a battle, without much interest; but the view of the scene never fails to awaken a keener sympathy—the circumstances are brought nearer to the mind, and seem to be passing before us. We stood on the very ground where this tragedy was acted, and felt our sensibility increased by the sequestered and dreary place in which the deed was done. But even this interest was faint when compared to that we felt when, after creeping a considerable way



through a low and narrow entrance, half-covered with brushwood, we found ourselves at last within a large and gloomy cave, the extent and height of which we could not distinguish, and perceived the gleams of the lights we carried reflected from the bones and skulls of the unhappy Macdonalds. The force with which the truth and all the circumstances of this dreadful tale struck at this moment upon our minds, and the strange variety of sensations excited by an event so extraordinary, it is not easy to find words to express.

“The entrance of the cave is low and narrow for about 12 feet, the breadth 14 feet, and in length it extends inwards nearly 213 feet. The air was damp and raw. Our lights struck faintly on the black sides of the cave, without dispelling that deep and solemn gloom which harmonized so well with the melancholy story. The projecting masses of rock were dimly illuminated, while the skulls and scattered bones caught a strong light. Our figures, too, touched with the pale flame, showed the features, or an outstretched arm, while the parts of the body removed from the light were lost in the gloom. The whole scene was admirably adapted for the canvas; but it would require a very rare talent in the painter who should attempt it.”

According to the Skye tradition of this story, it is related that the Macleods, having shown some disrespect towards the Eigg women, were seized by the Macdonalds, bound hand and foot, and set adrift in their own boat, which was carried by wind and tide to the entrance of Loch-Dunvegan, and there picked up by Macleod himself, as he was returning in his galley from Orkney. Then followed the expedition to Eigg, with the terrible result already narrated.

It is said that the sanguinary engagement between the Macdonalds and Macleods at Waternish took place shortly after the Eigg massacre, but it is impossible now to fix the date quite accurately, and it is more than probable that the Battle of Waternish took place between the Sleat Macdonalds, who held North Uist, and the Siol Torquil or Lewis Macleods, who occupied Waternish, than between those who were parties to the massacre of Eigg.

A number of the Macleods, we are told, were assembled in the Church at Trumpan, when a party of the Macdonalds suddenly surrounded and set fire to the building, destroying all the unfortunate inmates except one young woman, who escaped



through a narrow window, as the tradition states, with the loss of one of her breasts, which was torn off as she dragged herself through the opening still to be seen in the old ruin of the church. The boats of the enemy had, however, been observed by the people in other parts of the country, and before long the Macdonalds were attacked by a body of infuriated Macleods, who exacted a terrible revenge for the burning of their church and kinsfolk. The bodies of the slain Macdonalds were ranged in line beneath a stone wall near the battle-field, and the wall was then overturned upon them. Hence the battle was called *Blar-milleadh-garaidh*,—the battle of the destruction of the dyke. The author of the *Statistical Account* says that there are indistinct accounts preserved of another battle fought by these hostile clans, known as Blar Bhaternish, the Battle of Waternish. The Macleods were just about to give up the contest when the celebrated Fairy Flag of their chief was unfurled, which immediately caused the enemies to see triple the real number of Macleods opposed to them. The Macdonalds, on seeing this sudden and mysterious augmentation of their foes, became panic-stricken, and were completely routed.

Tormod Macleod is described as “a man of remarkable fortitude and resolution, of great integrity and honour,” and as one who always adhered to the interest of Queen Mary.

He married, first, Giles, daughter of Hector Maclean of Duart by his first wife, Lady Janet Campbell, daughter of Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll, with issue—

1. William, his heir and successor.
2. Roderick, who succeeded his brother William, was known as Rory Mor, and was knighted by James VI.
3. Alexander of Minginish, and of whom the families of Ferinlea, Oze, and others were descended.
4. Margaret, who, as his second wife, married Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, without issue, he having been first married to the heiress of John MacTorquil Macleod of Lewis, with issue.
5. A daughter, who married Torquil Macleod of Lewis, and secondly, Ranald Macdonald, first of Benbecula, whose descendants, on the failure in 1725 of the direct line



in the person of Ranald, XIII. Chief of Clanranald, succeeded as heads of that family.

Tormod Macleod married, secondly, a daughter of the Earl of Argyll, by whom he had issue—

6. Florence, who married Lachlan Maclean of Coll, with issue. He died in March, 1584, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XII. WILLIAM MACLEOD, who was served heir to his father, Tormod, on the 31st of July, 1585, and on a precept from Chancery, was infest in all the ancient estates of the family, in November of the same year. In September he was requested by James VI. to go and assist Lachlan Maclean of Duart, whose lands had been invaded by Angus Macdonald of Islay. The Macleans were also assisted on this occasion by the Macneills of Barra, the Mackinnons of Skye, and the Mac-Quarries; while the Macdonalds were supported by the Macleods of Lewis, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, the Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan, the Macneills of Gigha, the Macallisters of Iona, and Macfies of Colonsay. The history of this feud is already so well known to the readers of the *Celtic Magazine*\* that it is quite unnecessary to write of it here at any length. The King at last interfered—using the chiefs of the Clan Campbell, who had charge of the seventh Earl during his minority, as intermediatories—with the result that Angus Macdonald of Islay agreed to liberate Maclean, who had become his prisoner, on being promised a remission for his own crimes, and on eight hostages of high rank being placed in his hands by Maclean for the performance of conditions which the Chief of Duart had been obliged to sign to secure his release. The hostages were given, and among them we find Alexander Macleod of Minginish, youngest brother of William Macleod of Dunvegan, and of his more distinguished successor, *Ruairidh Mor* of that ilk.

These hostages were afterwards ordered to be given up to the young Earl of Argyll or his guardians, for conveyance by them to the King himself, to be kept where he should appoint, until a final settlement was arranged of all the matters in dispute

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\* See also Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, pp. 189 to 196.



between the Macdonalds of Islay and the Macleans of Duart. These and their followers, as well as their principal supporters—Chief and people—were charged to keep the peace and abstain from all gatherings and conventions, so as not to hinder or disturb the King in his efforts to bring about a settlement of the disputes between them.

The Earl of Huntly, then his Majesty's Lieutenant in the North, was addressed by the King in a letter written with his own hand, dated at Edinburgh, 20th of April, 1587, in which His Majesty says:—"We have no doubt but the cruelties and disorders in the Isles these years bygone have greatly moved you, whereanent we intend, God willing, to take some special pains ourself, as well there as in the Borders, where we have been lately occupied." After having stated that he had communicated with the Earl in the preceding October on the same subject, the King proceeds:—"Always fearing that the Islesmen within the bounds of your Lieutenancy shall press to make some rising and gathering, before conveniently we may put order to the matters standing in controversy in the West Isles, we desire you effectuously that with all goodly diligence you send to Donald Gorm's son, Macleod of the Lewis, Macleod of the Harris, the Clan-Ranald, and others being of power in these parts, willing and commanding them to contain themselves in quietness, and that they forbear to make any convention or gatherings, to the hinder and disturbance of our good deliberation, for we have written effectuously to Angus Macdonald, and have spoken with Maclean, being here, for the same effect. And so, not doubting but you will do what in you lies, that all things remain quiet and in good order within the bounds of your charge, as you will do us special acceptable service, commit you in the protection of Almighty God."\*

Shortly after, an Act was passed by which it was made imperative on all landlords and chiefs of clans to find securities for large amounts, proportionate to their wealth and the number of their followers, for the good behaviour of all their vassals. If, after having found the stipulated sureties, any of these chiefs failed in making immediate reparation for all injuries inflicted by any of their subordinates, for whom they were made to answer,

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\* *Invernessiana*, by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, M.P., pp. 245-6.



the aggrieved persons could proceed at law against the securities for the amount of the damage. The Superior was in that case not only to reimburse his cautioner, but had, in addition, to pay a large fine to the Crown. At the same time, many excellent provisions were made by this Act, usually known as the "General Band" for the more regular and easier administration of justice in the Western Isles.

William Macleod entered into a bond of manrent with Lachlan Mackintosh of Mackintosh, whose daughter he had married, in the following terms :—

Be it kenned to all, me, William Macleod of Dunvegan, to become bound and obliged. Like as by the tenor hereof, I bind and oblige me, my heirs, leally and truly, by the faith and truth in my body, to take, efauld, and true part, assist, maintain, and defend, and concur with Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, Captain and Chief of the Clan Chattan, and his heirs, in all and sundrie their actions, causes, quarrels, debates, and invasion of any person or persons whatever, indirectly used or intended contrary to the said Lachlan and his heirs in all time coming, from the day and date hereof, so that I, the said William Macleod, and my heirs, shall be sufficiently and duly premonished and advertised by the said Lachlan Mackintosh and his foresaids, to the effect foresaid, and shall give faithful and true counsel to him and his heirs, by and attour concurrence, and take efauld part with him and his heirs (as said is) in all their just causes and actions as said is. And sicklike I shall not hide, obscure, nor conceal, by any colour or engine, directly or indirectly, any skaith, displeasure, nor harm, meant or concert, in contrar the said Lachlan Mackintosh and his foresaids by any whatsomever person or persons, the same coming to the knowledge and ears of me, the said William Macleod and my heirs, but immediately after trial thereof in all our best manner, with all expedition and haste, shall advertize, report, and make foreseen the said Lachlan Mackintosh and his heirs thereof. As also to concur, assist, maintain, defend, and take faithful part with them against all mortals (the King's Majesty excepted allenary). And this my bond to stand firm and stable in all time coming after the day and date hereof. In witness of the whilk, I have subscribed these presents with my hand, in manner under written, at Culloden, the 15th day of January, 1588, before witness.

(Signed) WILLIAM M'LEOYD  
offe Dunvegane.

He married Janet, daughter of Lachlan Mackintosh, XVI.



of Mackintosh, by his wife Agnes, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, X. of Kintail, without issue. He died in October, 1590, when he was succeeded by his next brother, the famous Ruairidh Mor, afterwards knighted by James VI., and of whom in our next.

*(To be continued.)*



SIR RODERICK MACLEOD, known as "Ruaridh Mor," so called, "not so much from his size, or stature of his body—which was not remarkably large—as from the strength of his parts," was perhaps the most distinguished Highland chief of his time. For the greater part of his reign he was at feud, and fought several engagements with the Macdonalds of Sleat. Roderick was not infeft in the whole of the family estates until 1596, which was done in September of that year on a precept from Chancery, though his brother, William, died, as we have seen, in 1590. In 1594, Roderick accompanied Donald Gorm Mor Macdonald of Sleat to the North of Ireland to assist Red Hugh O'Donnell, at the time in rebellion against the Government of Queen Elizabeth. The Skye Chiefs had 500 each of their clansmen under their command on this occasion. They crossed in their own galleys, and on their arrival at Loch-Foyle, they were met by O'Donnell, and entertained there for three days and three nights. Macleod then led his men in person to assist the Chief of the Irish Branch of the Siol Cuinn, but Donald Gorm returned home, leaving his men under the command of his brother. Roderick Macleod got into trouble with the Scottish Court in connection with this raid to



Ireland against the English Government, and other acts, for next year he was charged by the Privy Council, on the application of Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, to desist from rendering any aid to the Irish under Red Hugh; and Gregory informs us that about 1596 he and Donald Macdonell of Glengarry, usually styled Donald "MacAngus," made their submission, and were received into favour.

This year Macleod received, on the 18th of September, a charge from the King, commanding him to be at Islay, with all his followers, on the 20th of the same month—only two days after receipt of the Royal commands—under pains of treason and forfeiture. This was clearly impossible, and "Rodericus Macloid of the Herrie," as he styles himself, addressed a characteristic letter to James VI. Macleod addresses his reply:—

"To his Hynes Maiestie Soverane Lord, King and Maister," from Marvak, Harris, on the 22nd of September, 1596, and referring to the King's charge that he should be at Islay on the 20th, he says (the orthography being modernised)—"I take God and your Grace to witness if it was possible for me to have done the same; although my force had been together, and wind and weather had served me at every airt of the broken seas in the countries, and my men lie far asunder; and although the charge had been given to me the first of August, it had been little enough to have been at the day appointed, with my force. Sir, I beseech your Grace think not this to be an excuse. I will lay all this aside; and although I should be borne in a horse litter, I shall do my exact diligence to be at my Lord Crouner, where your Grace has commanded me, in all possible haste, as I shall answer to God and your Grace both, and whom your Grace or my Lord Crouner will command me in your Highness's name to pass on, either by sword or fire, I shall do the same, or any your Grace will command me to fight hand in hand in your Grace's sight, I shall prove my pith on him. Beseeching your Grace favourably to let not use me with letters of treason or traitory, I being in mind to serve your Grace under God as my native King and Master to the uttermost of my life. This voyage being ended, I will rejoice to be at your Grace, and to have your Grace's presence, and to serve and know your Grace as my only sovereign, king, lord, and master: looking for your Grace's answer, if need be, again with this bearer, to have your Grace's presents, and God bless your Grace."

In the following year, 1597, an Act of Parliament was passed,



in terms of which it was made imperative on all claiming rights to any lands in the Isles to produce their title deeds, before the Lords of Exchequer, upon the 15th of May, 1598. This was because "they neglected to pay their yearly rents" and "to perform the services due from their lands to the Crown," and in consequence of their having "made the Highlands and Isles, naturally so valuable from the fertility of the soil, and the richness of the fisheries, altogether unprofitable either to themselves or to their fellow-countrymen." The Island lords were further enjoined to find security for the regular payment of their rents to the Crown, and for the peaceable and orderly behaviour of themselves, and of those for whom, by law, they were bound to answer, particularly in regard to those desirous of trading in the Isles. Disobedience to any of the injunctions contained in the Act, and they were many, was made to infer absolute forfeiture of all titles, real or pretended, which any of the recusants might possess to lands in the Highlands and Isles. Taking into consideration both the loss of title deeds, which, in the unsettled state of the country, must have been a very common occurrence—and the difficulty which many even of the most powerful chiefs could not fail to experience in finding the requisite bail for their peaceable and orderly behaviour, as well as that of their vassals and tenants—it is evident, says Gregory, that this Act was prepared with a view to place at the disposal of the Crown, in a summary manner, many large tracts of land; affording thus an opportunity to the King to commence his favourite plans for the improvement of the Highlands and Isles.

No record has been kept of those who presented themselves on the 15th of May, 1598, but it is known that the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, as well as those of Macleod of Lewis, were declared to be at the disposal of the Crown, though it is undoubted that Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan and Harris held unexceptionable titles to the first three named. A company of Lowland adventurers, the principal of whom were the Duke of Lennox; Patrick, Commendator of Lindores; William, Commendator of Pittenweem; Sir James Anstruther, younger of that ilk; Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno; James Leirmonth of Balcolmly; James Spens of Wormestoun; John Forret of Fin-



gask; David Home, younger of Wedderburn; and Captain William Murray, received a grant of all the lands belonging to Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan and Harris, including those of Glenelg; but they were never able even to occupy them.

Roderick did not go forward to present his titles in terms of the Act of Parliament, and the forfeiture of his lands duly followed upon his refusal to comply. At the same time Macleod of Dunvegan, from his assisting Macleod of Lewis against Torquil Conanach and the Mackenzies,\* was on bad terms with Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, Tutor of Kintail, progenitor of the Mackenzies of Cromarty, then a member of the Scottish Privy Council, and otherwise possessing great power and influence. Macleod appears to have presented himself before the Council at this time, and Sir Roderick Mackenzie, knowing his haughty and proud temper, purposely insulted him by certain offensive remarks made to him before the other members, when, it is said, Macleod immediately struck the Tutor of Kintail and knocked him down in the Privy Council Chamber, an offence which was punishable by death. He, however, managed to effect his escape to the Isles.

In 1601 an inveterate quarrel broke out between Sir Roderick and Donald Gorm Mor Macdonald of Sleat, who had previously married Margaret Macleod, Sir Roderick's eldest sister, and who now, through jealousy or other cause, ill-treated, repudiated, and sent her away. Sir Roderick, having learned this, sent Macdonald a message to take the lady back, or the consequences, it was hinted, might become unpleasant. Instead of acceding to this request, Donald Gorm, on the contrary, set about procuring a legal divorce for Roderick's sister, in which he succeeded; when, without any delay, he married Mary, daughter of Colin Càrn Mackenzie, XI. of Kintail, and sister of Macleod's enemy, Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Tutor of Kintail. This added insult to injury, and Macleod at once determined to be revenged for the injustice done to his sister, and the insult offered to himself, his family, and clan, in her person, by Donald Gorm. He forthwith assembled his vassals and carried fire and sword into Macdonald's

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\* Full particulars of these feuds will be given when we come to write the portion of this work applicable to the Macleods of Lewis and Assynt.



lands of Troternish, venting his resentment upon every living thing that he came across. The Macdonalds, according to Gregory, in revenge, invaded Harris, which they laid waste, killing many of the inhabitants and carrying off their cattle. This retaliation roused the Macleods to make a foray upon Macdonald's estate of North Uist, and, accordingly, they sailed from Skye, their Chief at their head, towards that island; and, on arriving there, Rory Mor sent his kinsman, Donald Glas Macleod, with forty men to lay waste the land, and to bring off from the church of Kiltrynad the cattle and effects of the country people, which, on the alarm being given, had been placed there for safety. In the execution of these orders, Donald Glas was encountered by a celebrated warrior of the Clandonald, nearly related to their Chief, Donald MacIan Mhic Sheumais, who had only twelve men with him. The Macdonalds behaved with so much gallantry that they routed their opponents and rescued the cattle, Donald Glas and many of his men being killed. Sir Roderick Macleod, seeing the ill success of this detachment, and suspecting that a larger force was at hand, returned home meditating future vengeance. These incursions were carried on with so much inveteracy that both clans were brought to the brink of ruin; and many of the natives of the districts, thus devastated, were forced to sustain themselves by killing and eating their horses, dogs, and cats. At length, in 1601, while Macleod was absent seeking assistance from the Earl of Argyll, the Macdonalds invaded his lands in Skye, in considerable numbers, wishing to force on a battle. The Macleods, under Alexander of Minginish, brother of their Chief, took post on the shoulder of the Cuchullin Hills. After a fierce and obstinate combat, in which both parties fought with great bravery, the Macleods were overthrown. Their leader, with thirty of their choicest warriors, fell into the hands of the victors; and two of the Chief's immediate relations and many others were slain. The Privy Council now interfered to prevent further mischief. The Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Argyll, and all others, were prohibited from giving assistance to either of the contending parties; whilst the Chiefs themselves were ordered to disband their forces and to quit the island in the meantime. Macleod was enjoined to give himself up to the Earl of Argyll, and Macdonald to surrender to Huntly,



and both were strictly charged, under the penalty of treason, to remain with these noblemen till the controversy between them should be settled by the King and Council. A reconciliation was at length effected between them by the mediation of Angus Macdonald of Isla, Maclean of Coll, and other friends: after which the prisoners taken at "the battle of Benquhillin" were released; and ever after these clans refrained from open hostility, and submitted their disputes to the decision of the law.

Alexander Cameron, in his *Traditions of the Isle of Skye*, gives the local version, and says, that it was the Macleods, after having succeeded in raising the *creach* of the island, that had gathered their booty into the Church or Monastery of the Trinity at Carinish, and that they were feasting there on some of their plunder, "when Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais arrived with his twelve warriors, who fought with their bows, and arrows, and swords with such effect, that only two of the Macleods escaped to convey the news of their discomfiture to their Chief, who was with his galleys at Portnalong. Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais received a severe arrow wound in the action, from which he, however, soon recovered, and continued to distinguish himself as a warrior. The leader of the Macleods was slain by a Macdougall, named Donald *Mor MacNeil Mhic Iain*, at the sands named from that circumstance, *Oitir Mhic Dhomhnuil Ghlais*. The slain of the party were buried at the scene of the action, known as *Feithe-na-fola*, or the morass of blood, and their skulls were placed in the windows of the Church of the Trinity, where they were to be seen up to a recent date. Rory Mor, seeing the bad success of his clansmen, and suspecting that there were greater forces in the island, retired home, intending to return shortly with greater forces to avenge his loss." Cameron continues—"In about three weeks Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais was sufficiently recovered to proceed to Skye to report the affair at Carinish personally to his Chief, Donald Gorm Mor. He accordingly set sail in his galley with a befitting retinue, but when about half-way across the Minch, which separates North Uist and the other islands of the Outer Hebrides from Skye, a violent snow-storm with contrary wind arose, so that Donald was driven back, and had no recourse but to make for Rodil, in Harris, one of the seats of his enemy, Rory Mor. It



was dark when Donald and his company landed, and their arrival was known to no one at Rodil, with the exception of Macleod's page, Macrimmon, a native of Skye, to whom Donald stood in the relation of *goistidh*, or godfather. Rory Mor, as usual, had a number of the gentlemen of his clan waiting on and feasting with him at Rodil House. The severity of the storm made the Chief uneasy. He paced to and fro in his dining-hall, and, removing the panel from one of the apertures that served as windows, he peered into the darkness without, and shuddered as the blast blew in through the window a shower of snow. Hastily closing the aperture, he exclaimed, 'I could not refuse shelter to my greatest enemy, even Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais, on such a night.' Macrimmon immediately answers, 'I take you at your word, Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais is here.' Rory Mor was rather taken aback by the unexpected announcement, but, yielding to no man in hospitality, he at once requested that Donald and his company be shown in. The Macdonalds entered, and, after a formal salutation, were requested to sit down to dinner with their host and his kinsmen. The long table groaned under its burden of beef, venison, and salmon. The Macleods were seated on one side, and the Macdonalds ranged themselves on the other side of the table, the dunevassals of either clan being seated above, and the vassals below the salt. Abundance of good old wine was quaffed, and as it took effect, the Macleods, who did not appear to relish the presence of the strangers, cast furtive glances across the table. At length the murmured and listless conversation was interrupted by the words, 'Remember, this day three weeks was fought the battle of Carinish,' spoken by one of the Macleods, in a loud and emphatic tone. The Chief gave a frowning look to the speaker, but that did not deter him from repeating the unfortunate words, which acted as a live spark on the combustible nature of the Macleods, and in an instant they displayed a score of daggers. A bloody scene would have inevitably followed had not the Chief at once interfered, and with a voice of authority commanded his hasty clansmen to sheath their weapons, and not disgrace his hospitality and their own gallantry by such an ill-timed act. They at once obeyed, and he apologised to Donald for his clansmen's rashness, and good humouredly inquired of him



why he had unsheathed his sword. Donald replied that he did not mean to act on the offensive, but that if any of his men had been struck he intended to have secured first the highest bird in the air, *an t-eun as airde tha 'san ealtuinn*. When the hour for retiring came, the Macdonalds were shown to an outer house to sleep, but Donald, as being of higher rank, was about being shown to a bedroom in the house, when he declined to go, preferring to accompany his men, which he did. They retired to rest, but had scarcely slept when Macrimmon came to the door and called for Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais, saying that there was now fair wind for Skye. The Macdonalds at once got up, and, finding that the gale had subsided and the wind was favourable, they embarked in their galley for Skye. They had scarcely reached the entrance of the Bay of Rodil when, on looking back, they observed the dormitory they had left in flames, some of the Macleods having treacherously set it on fire, suspecting that the Macdonalds were within. The piper of the Macdonalds struck up the piobaireachd, *Tha an dubhthuil air Macleod, i.e., 'the Macleods are disgraced,'* which galled the Macleods on perceiving that they were outwitted. The Macdonalds were soon borne by the breeze to their destination, Duntulm, in Troternish."

Mr. Cameron gives the following particulars of the battle of the Cuchullins:—

In the absence of Rory Mor in Argyle, seeking the aid and advice of the Earl of Argyll against the Macdonalds, Donald Gorm Mor assembled his men and made an invasion into Macleod's lands, desiring to force on a battle. Alexander Macleod of Minginish, the brother of Rory Mor, collected all the fighting men of the Siol Tormod, and some of the Siol Torquil, and encamped by Ben-a-Chuilinn. Next day they and the Macdonalds joined battle, "which continued all the day long, both contending for the victory with incredible obstinacy." The leader of the Macleods (who was cased in armour), together with Neil MacAllister Roy, and thirty of the leading men of the Macleods were wounded and taken prisoners, and the Macdonalds succeeded in gaining the battle. John MacTormoid and Tormod MacTormoid, two near kinsmen of Rory Mor, and several others of the Macleods, were slain. Donald MacIain Mhic Sheumais fought with



great bravery in the action under Donald Gorm Mor. The ravine where the battle was fought is hence named *Coire na creich*, or the ravine of the spoil. The Privy Council now interfered, and requested the chiefs to disband and quit Skye. Donald Gorm Mor was ordered to surrender himself to the Earl of Huntly, and Rory Mor to the Earl of Argyll, and were charged to remain with these noblemen under the pain of treason, until the quarrel between them should be settled by the King and Council. Through the mediation of Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, the Laird of Coll, and other friends, a reconciliation was effected between them, upon which Donald Gorm Mor delivered up to Rory Mor the prisoners taken at Ben-a-Chuilinn, including his brother, Alexander of Minginish, after which they refrained from open hostility, though they did have actions of law against each other.\* On the reconciliation being effected, Donald Gorm Mor was invited by Rory Mor to a banquet in Dunvegan Castle. When Donald Gorm Mor appeared in sight of the Castle, he was met by Macleod's splendid piper, Donald Mor Macrimmon, who welcomed the Chief of the Macdonalds by playing "The Macdonald's Salute," which *piobaireachd* he composed for the occasion. It was at the same banquet that he composed, *Failte nan Leodach*, or Macleod's Salute.

About this period the Macleods of Harris, Macneills of Barra, and Macdonalds of Clanranald assisted Neill Macleod of Lewis against the Fife Adventurers, whose appearance in that island, their proceedings there, and their final discomfiture will be described at length when we come to the History of the Macleods of Lewis. Macleod was in great difficulty with the Court at this time, in consequence of his feuds with the neighbouring Chiefs, but by the assistance of the Earl of Argyll, with whom he entered into a contract, dated 7th of July, 1606, to resign his Barony of Glenelg to the King, in favour of his Lordship, who in his turn became bound to re-grant the same to Macleod and his heirs-male, to be held of Argyll and his heirs, by service of ward, marriage, and relief, he managed to make terms with the King, and all his enemies, especially with Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, Tutor of Kintail,

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\* It will be observed that this is substantially the account of this skirmish given by the author of *The Conflicts of the Clans*, who was a contemporary writer. Curiously, his version falls to be published in *this* issue.



and Macdonald of Sleat, with the latter of whom he ultimately entered into a bond of friendship, as also with Macdonald of Clanranald and Mackinnon of Strath.

Great preparations had been made at this time for an expedition against the Chiefs of the Isles. In 1608, proclamations were issued summoning the Militia of the Shires of Dumbarton, Argyle, Tarbert, Ayr, Renfrew, and Galloway, to join the Royal forces, and to rendezvous at Islay on the first of June, where the forces then engaged in Ireland, assisting those of the Queen of England, were to meet them. Another proclamation was issued forbidding any of the mainland Chiefs to render any assistance or give shelter to any of the Islesmen, under the severest penalties. Extraordinary precautions were taken, and everything seems to have been done by the Privy Council to secure the success and facilitate the execution of their enterprise against the Islanders. Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, and Sir James Hay were sent to the Isles, empowered to confer and come to terms with the Island Chiefs. He met the principal among them at Maclean's Castle of Aros, in Mull. Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan, and his brother, Alexander of Minginish, were present on the occasion, and with the rest agreed to the following humiliating conditions:—First, Security for His Majesty's rents; Secondly, Obedience to the laws by the Chiefs and all their followers; Thirdly, Delivery by the Chiefs of all houses of defence, strongholds, and *crannaks*, to be placed at the King's disposal; Fourthly, Renunciation by the Chiefs of all jurisdictions which they claimed, heritably or otherwise, and submission to the jurisdiction of Sheriffs, Bailies, Justices, or other officers appointed by the Crown; Fifthly, That they should be satisfied with such lands and possessions, and under such conditions as the King might appoint; Sixthly, That their whole birlings, lymphads, and galleys should be destroyed, save those required for carrying to the mainland His Majesty's rents paid in kind, and other necessary purposes; Seventhly, That they, and such of their kinsmen as could afford it, should put their children to school, under the directions of the Privy Council; and Lastly, That they should abstain from using guns, bows, and two-handed swords, and should confine themselves to single-handed swords and targes.



THE chiefs, however, soon found out that Ochiltree was not altogether to be depended upon. Angus Macdonald of Isla, having agreed to everything that was asked of him, was permitted to go home; but finding the others not quite ready to do Ochiltree's bidding in all things, he invited them on board the King's ship *Moon* to hear a sermon preached by his chief counsellor, Bishop Knox of the Isles, after which they were to dine with him. Rory Mor shrewdly suspecting some sinister design, refused to go aboard the ship, and his suspicion proved only too well-founded; for immediately after dinner Ochiltree informed his guests that they were his prisoners by the king's orders, and, weighing anchor, he at once set sail with them to Ayr, and thence marched them to Edinburgh, where they were confined, by order of the Privy Council, in the Castles of Dunbarton, Blackness, and Stirling. The imprisonment of these chiefs induced many of their followers to submit to the king's representatives, and the arrangements which were afterwards made became a starting point for a gradual but permanent improvement in the Highlands and Western Isles.

In 1609, the famous "statutes of Icolmkill" were agreed to by the Island chiefs (who had meanwhile been set at liberty), with the



Bishop of the Isles, among the rest Rory Mor of Dunvegan. The statutes are summarised as follows in Gregory's *Western Highlands and Isles*:—The first proceeded upon the narrative of the gross ignorance and barbarity of the Islanders, alleged to have arisen partly from the small number of their clergy, and partly from the contempt in which this small number of pastors was held. To remedy this state of things, it was agreed that proper obedience should be given to the clergy (whose number, much diminished by the Reformation, it was proposed to increase); that their stipends should be regularly paid; that ruinous churches should be re-built; that the Sabbaths should be solemnly kept; and that, in all respects, they should observe the discipline of the Reformed Kirk as established by Act of Parliament. By one of the clauses of this statute, marriages contracted for certain years were declared illegal; a proof that the ancient practice of handfasting still prevailed to a certain extent. The second statute ordained the establishment of inns at the most convenient places in the several Isles; and this not only for the convenience of travellers, but to relieve the tenants and labourers of the ground from the great burden and expense caused to them through the want of houses of public entertainment. The third was intended to diminish the number of idle persons, whether masterless vagabonds, or belonging to the households of chiefs and landlords; for experience had shown that the expense of supporting these idlers fell chiefly upon the tenantry, in addition to their usual rents. It was therefore enacted that no man should be allowed to reside within the Isles who had not a sufficient revenue of his own; or who, at least, did not follow some trade by which he might live. With regard to the great households hitherto kept by the chiefs, a limit was put to the number of individuals of which each household was to consist in future, according to the rank and estate of the master; and it was further provided that each chief should support his household from his own means, not by a tax upon his tenantry. The fourth provided that all persons, not natives of the Isles, who should be found sorning, or living at free quarters upon the poor inhabitants (an evil which seems to have reached a great height), should be tried and punished by the judge ordinary as thieves and oppressors. The fifth statute proceeded upon the narrative that one of the



chief causes of the great poverty of the Isles, and of the cruelty and inhuman barbarity practised in their feuds, was their inordinate love of strong wines and aquavite, which they purchased partly from dealers among themselves, partly from merchants belonging to the Mainland. Power was, therefore, given to any person whatever to seize, without payment, any wine or aquavite imported for sale by a native merchant; and if an Islander should buy any of the prohibited articles from a Mainland trader, he was to incur the penalty of forty pounds for the first offence, one hundred for the second, and for the third, the loss of his whole possessions and moveable goods. It was, however, declared to be lawful for an individual to brew as much aquavite as his own family might require; and the barons and wealthy gentlemen were permitted to purchase in the Lowlands the wine and other liquors required for their private consumption. The sixth statute attributed the "ignorance and incivilitie" of the Islanders to the neglect of good education among the youth; and to remedy this fault it enacted that every gentleman or yeoman possessed of sixty cattle should send his eldest son, or, if he had no male children, his eldest daughter, to school in the Lowlands, and maintain his child there till it learned to speak, read, and write English. The seventh statute forbade the use of any description of fire-arms, even for the destruction of game, under the penalties contained in an Act of Parliament passed in the (then) present reign, which had never yet received obedience from the Islanders "owing to their monstrous deadly feuds." The eighth statute was directed against bards and other idlers of that class. The gentry were forbidden to encourage them; and the bards themselves were threatened, first with the stocks, and then with banishment. The ninth statute contained some necessary enactments for enforcing obedience to the preceding Acts. Such were the statutes of Icolmkill; for the better observance of which, and of the laws of the realm and Acts of Parliament in general, the Bishop took from the assembled chiefs a very strict bond. This bond, moreover, contained a sort of confession of faith on the part of the subscribers, and an unconditional acknowledgment of his Majesty's supreme authority in all matters both spiritual and temporal, according to his "most loveable Act of Supremacy."



We shall give the first of those Statutes, agreed to by the Island chiefs, at length. It is as follows :—

“For remedy whereof [the ignorance, etc., of the people], they have all agreed in one voice, Like as it is presently concluded and enacted, That the ministers, as well planted as to be planted within the parishes of the said Isles, shall be reverently obeyed ; their stipends dutifully paid them ; the ruinous kirks with reasonable diligence repaired ; the Sabbaths solemnly kept ; adulteries, fornications, incest, and such other vile slanders severely punished ; marriages contracted for certain years, *simpliciter* discharged, and the committers thereof repute and punished as fornicators—and that conform to the loveable acts of Parliament of this realm and discipline of the Reformed Kirk ; the which the foresaids persons and every one of them within their own bounds faithfully promise to see put to due execution.”

The Bond which the Bishop took from the nine Island chiefs on this occasion, Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan's being the fifth signature upon it, is as follows :—

“WE, and every one of us, principal gentlemen, indwellers within the West and North Isles of Scotland, under-subscribers, Acknowledging, and now by experience finding, that the special cause of the great misery, barbarity, and poverty, unto the which for the present our barren country is subject, has proceeded of the unnatural deadly feuds which have been fostered among us in this last age : in respect that thereby not only the fear of God and all religion, but also the care of keeping any duty and giving obedience unto our gracious sovereign the King's Majesty and his Highness's laws, for the most part was decayed : and now seeing it has pleased God in His mercy to remove these unhappy distractions, with the causes of them, all from among us ; and understanding that the recovery of the peace of our conscience, our prosperity, weal, and quietness, consists in the acknowledging of our duty towards our God and His true worship, and of our humble obedience to our dread sovereign and his Highness's laws of this his Majesty's kingdom : and also being persuaded of mercy and forgiveness of all our bypast offences of his Majesty's accustomed clemency ; binds and obliges ourselves by the faith and truth in our bodies, under the pain of perjury and defamation for ever,—and further under such other civil penalties as it shall please his Majesty and his honourable Council to subject us unto at our next compearance before their Lordships ; that as we presently profess the true religion publicly taught, preached, and professed within this realm of Scotland, and embraced by his



Majesty and his Estates of this realm as the only and undoubted truth of God ; so by his Grace we shall continue in the profession of the same without hypocrisy to our lives' end ; and shall dutifully serve his Majesty in the maintenance of that truth, liberty of the same, and of all the laws and privileges of any part of his Highness's dominions, with our bodies and goods, without excuse or wearying to our last breath : likeas also we and every one of us protest, in the sight of the everliving God, that we acknowledge and reverence our sovereign lord his sacred Majesty allenarly supreme judge under the eternal God in all causes and above all persons, both spiritual and temporal, avowing our loyalty and obedience to his Highness only, conform to his Majesty's most loveable Act of Supremacy, which we embrace and subscribe unto with our hearts ; and, further, under the same oath and pains, we faithfully promise dutiful obedience to the whole laws, Acts of Parliament, and constitutions of this his Highness's Kingdom of Scotland, and to observe and keep every point and ordinance of the same as they are observed by the rest of his Majesty's most loyal subjects of the realm ; and to be answerable to his Majesty and to his Highness's Council as we shall be required upon our obedience thereto ; and, further, as shall be more particularly enjoined unto us for our weal and reformation of this our poor country by his Majesty and Council having consideration what it may be and we are able to perform ; and also, as more specially we have agreed unto, set down and established as necessary laws to be kept among ourselves in our particular Courts, holden by his Majesty's Commissioner, Andrew, Bishop of the Isles, and subscribed with all our hands in his presence. And, finally, we bind and oblige ourselves, under the oath and pains foresaid, that in case any of us and our friends, dependers, or servants, upon any evil or turbulent motion (as God forbid they do), disobey any of the foresaid ordinances, or be found remiss or negligent in observing of the special points of our obligation above written, and being convicted thereof by the Judge Ordinary of the country, spiritual or temporal ; that then, and in that case, we shall assuredly concur together, conjunctly and severally, as we shall be employed by his Highness or the said Judge Ordinary or Sheriff ; and shall concur with the said Sheriff or Judge whatsoever, having warrant of his Majesty, to pursue, take, apprehend, and present to justice the said disobedient person ; intromit with his lands, goods, and gear, and dispone thereupon as we shall have commission of his Majesty ; and hereto we and every one of us faithfully promise, bind, and oblige us by our great oaths, as we shall be saved and condemned upon the great day of the Great Judge of the world, to observe, keep, and fulfil the premises ; and for the more



security, if need be, we are content, and consent that these presents be inserted and registered in his Highness's Books of Secret Council of this realm, and the same to have the strength of an Act and Decreet of the Lords thereof interponed hereto with executorials to be direct hereupon in form as effeirs; And to that effect makes and constitutes [blank] our Procurators, conjunctly and severally, *in uberiori forma, promitten. derato*; In witness whereof, etc."

This bond is dated the 23rd of August, 1609. On the following day, the 24th of August, in the same year, Roderick Macleod entered into a bond of friendship and mutual forgiveness with Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, in the following terms:—

"At Icolmkill, the twenty-fourth day of August, the year of God, 1609 years: It is appointed, concorded, contracted, and finally agreed and ended betwixt the right honourable persons [the] parties underwritten, to wit, Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, on the one part, and Rory Macleod of Harris, on the other part, in manner, form, and effect, as after follows:—That is to say, forasmuch as the foresaid persons, [the] parties above-named, being certainly persuaded of their dread Sovereign his Majesty's clemency and mercy towards them, and willing of their reformation, and their living hereafter in peace, as his Highness's quiet, modest, and peaceable subjects, and that by his Majesty's and Lords of his Secret Council's will and directions committed to one reverend father, Andrew, Bishop of the Isles; and the said parties, considering the Godless and unhappy turns done by either of them, their friends, servants, tenants, dependants, and part-takers, to others, which from their hearts they and each one of them now repents: therefore the said Donald Gorm Macdonald and Rory Macleod, [the] parties above-rehearsed, taking the burden on them, each one of them for their own kin, friends, servants, tenants, dependants, and allies, to have remitted, freely discharged, and forgiven, like as, by the tenor hereof, they from their hearts freely remit, discharge, and forgive each one of them, the other and their foresaids, for all and whatsoever slaughters, murders, heirschips, spulzies of goods, and raising of fire committed by either of them against the other, their friends, servants, tenants, and dependants, at any time preceding the date hereof; renouncing all actions or pursuit whatsoever, criminal or civil, that can or may be competent in either of their persons or their foresaids against the other for the same, *pise lite et causa* for ever; without prejudice to either of the foresaid parties to set whatsoever lands alleged to pertain to either of them, lying within the other's



bounds, as law will; and for their further security, binds and obliges them, taking the burden on them, as said is, each one to make, subscribe, and deliver letters of slains to the other for whatsoever slaughters [were] committed by either of them on [the] other's friends, servants, and tenants in due and competent form, if need be, so that the said parties and each one of them by their own moyens and diligence may deal and travel with his Majesty and Council for his Highness's remission for the same; and hereto both the parties bind and oblige them by the faith and truth in their bodies to observe, keep, and fulfil the promises each one to [the] other, and never to come in the contrar hereof, directly or indirectly, under the pain of perjury and defamation for ever: and, further, faithfully promise, bind, and oblige them to live hereafter in Christian society and peace, and each one of them to assist and maintain [the] other in their honest and lesome affairs and business. And for the more security, if need be, they are content, and consent that these presents be inserted and registered in the Books of Council and Session, and the same to have the strength of an Act and Decreet of the Lords thereof interponed hereto with execution to direct hereupon in form as effeirs," etc., etc.

The document is signed by both the parties, duly tested and witnessed in proper form.

On the 4th of May, 1610, Roderick obtained remission from the King for all his past crimes. On the 28th of June, he presented himself before the King in Edinburgh, with Macdonald of Sleat, Mackinnon of Strath, and three others of the leading Island chiefs, to hear his Majesty's pleasure declared to them, when they were taken bound to give securities in a large amount to appear before the Privy Council in May, 1611, and that they should aid the King's Lieutenants, Justices, and Commissioners in all matters connected with the Isles; that they should themselves, ever after, live together in "peace, love, and amity," and that all questions of difference arising between them should be settled in the ordinary course of law and justice. In consequence of these arrangements, there were scarcely any disturbances in the Isles during that year.

On the 18th of July, 1611, he purchased from Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, the five unciate lands of Water-nish, which the latter had purchased from Sir George Hay and others, who got possession of them on the forfeiture of the



Macleods of Lewis, to whom they belonged. In part payment of the lands of Waternish, he disposed to Mackenzie of Kintail the two unciates of land in Troternish, which belonged to Macleod, with the Bailliary of the old extent of eight marks which had been united to the Barony of the Lewis, and in which William Macleod had been served heir to his father, Tormod, in 1585. On the following day, the 19th of July, he obtained from Sir George Hay, who had now become Viscount Duplin, and the other Fife Adventurers—to whom all Macleod's estates were granted on Roderick Macleod's forfeiture in 1597, when he declined to produce his titles in terms of the Act of that year—a disposition of all his lands, except Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist; and on these titles, and on his own resignation to the Crown, he obtained, on the 4th of August, 1611, a new charter, under the Great Seal, of the lands of Dunvegan, Glenelg, Waternish, etc., containing a Novadamus, taxing the ward and erecting the whole into a Barony, to be called the Barony of Dunvegan, in favour of himself and the heirs-male of his body, with remainder to Alexander Macleod of Minginish, his brother-german, and the heirs-male of his body, with remainder to William, *alias* MacWilliam Macleod of Meidle, heir-male of Tormod, second son of John VI. of Macleod, and the heirs-male of his body, whom all failing to his own nearest lawful male-heirs whatsoever. He was infeft on this charter on the 22nd of October in the same year.

*(To be continued.)*



RORY MOR, shortly before this, got into special favour with James VI., who, on the 18th of May, 1610, wrote him a letter, requiring his assistance in an affair, the nature of which the King communicated to him through the Earl of Dunbar, and which, His Majesty said, "We shall not fail to remember when any occasion fit for your good shall be offered." King James, by a letter dated at Whitehall, the 5th of November, 1611, granted to Andrew, Bishop of the Isles, "all and whatsoever sums of money shall be resting, owing to His Majesty," by Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan, and several other Island and Highland chiefs therein mentioned, for their shares of whatsoever taxations had been granted to His Majesty, within his kingdom, at any time preceding the first day of July, 1606.

Early in 1613, the King conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. In the month of June, His Majesty wrote no less than three separate letters, dated Greenwich, recommending Sir Roderick and his affairs, in the strongest terms, to the favourable consideration of the Privy Council. This year, Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris, Donald Gorm of Sleat, Hector Maclean of



Duart, and Donald MacAllan Macdonald of Clanranald, are mentioned in "James Primrois' Information," and in the Records of the Privy Council from January to July, as having settled with the Exchequer, and continuing in their obedience to the laws of the land.

In the same year, Sir Roderick found himself in possession of the person of Neil Macleod, the Bastard, who stood out so long against the Mackenzies in the Lewis, and had finally to abandon the Rock of Berrisay, where he held out for three years after all the Macleods had been driven from the mainland of the Island. Being forced to evacuate this rock by Sir Roderick Mackenzie, tutor of Kintail, Neil escaped to Harris, "where he remained for a while in secret, but at length surrendered himself to Ruari Macleod of Harris, whom he entreated to take him to the King of England. This, the Chief of Harris undertook to do ; but, when at Glasgow with his prisoner, preparing to embark for England, he was charged, under pain of treason, to deliver Neil Macleod to the Privy Council at Edinburgh, which he accordingly did ; and, at the same time, gave up Neil's son, Donald. Neil was brought to trial, convicted and executed, and died 'very christianlie,' in April, 1613." According to the Mackenzie family manuscripts, it was Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach who was instrumental in getting Macleod of Harris charged to give up Neil the Bastard to the Privy Council, and Rory Mor, according to the same authorities, prevailed upon Neil and his son to accompany him to Edinburgh to seek forgiveness from the King in person, upon which pretence Roderick induced Neil and his son to go, and, on their arrival in Edinburgh, he at once delivered them to the Privy Council, when, as we have seen, Neil was executed, and his son was banished to England, where he remained for three years, under the protection of Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, and afterwards went to Holland, where he died, without issue.

On the 16th of September, 1613, Sir Roderick is served heir in special, to his uncle, William Macleod, in the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, and, on the 11th of February, 1614, he was infeft in these lands on a precept from Chancery.

In 1615, Sir James Macdonald of Islay, having escaped from prison, and broken out, with his followers, into open rebellion, Sir



Roderick Macleod, the Captain of Clanranald, and Macdonald of Sleat, received instructions to defend their own estates against an old pirate, Coll MacGillespich, who assisted Macdonald, with two hundred men each. These three, it was afterwards alleged, entered into a special bond of friendship with Sir James Macdonald of Islay, and other arrangements had to be made. In 1616, Sir Roderick Macleod of Dunvegan, Macdonald of Clanranald, the Chiefs of Duart, Lochbuy, and Coll, and Mackinnon of Strath, appeared before the Privy Council, when strict measures were taken for their future obedience. They had to bind themselves mutually as sureties for each other that they would observe the following conditions:—*First*, That their clans should keep good order, and that they themselves should appear before the Council, annually, on the 10th of July, and oftener if required, on being legally summoned. *Secondly*, That they should exhibit annually a certain number of their principal kinsmen, out of a larger number contained in a list given by them to the Council. Duart was to exhibit four; Macleod, three; Clanranald, two; and Coll, Lochbuy, and Mackinnon, one of these chieftains, or heads of houses, in their clans, respectively. *Thirdly*, That they were not to maintain in their household more than the following proportions of gentlemen, according to their rank—viz., Duart, eight; Macleod and Clanranald, six; and the others three each. *Fourthly*, That they were to free their countries of “sorners” and idle men having no lawful occupation. *Fifthly*, That none of them were to carry hackbuts or pistols, unless when employed in the King’s service; and that none but the chiefs and their household gentlemen were to wear swords, or armour, or any other weapons whatever. *Sixthly*, That the chiefs were to reside at the following places, respectively—viz., Macleod at Dunvegan; Maclean of Duart at that place; Clanranald at Elantirim; Maclean of Coll at Bistache; Lochbuy at Moy; and Mackinnon at Kilmorie. Such of them as had not convenient dwelling-houses corresponding to their rank at these places were to build, without delay, “civil and comelie” houses, or repair those that were decayed. They were likewise to make “policie and planting” about their houses, and to take “mains,” or home-farms, into their own hands, which they were to cultivate, “to the effect they might be thereby exercised, and eschew idleness.”



Clanranald, who had no "mains" about his Castle of Elantirim, choose for his home-farm the lands of Howbeg, in Uist. *Seventhly*, That, at the term of Martinmas next, they were to let the remainder of their lands to tenants, for a certain fixed rent, in lieu of all exactions. *Eighthly*, That no single chief should keep more than one birlinn, or galley, of sixteen or eighteen oars; and that, in their voyages through the Isles, they should not oppress the country people. *Ninthly*, That they should send all their children, above nine years of age, to school in the Lowlands, to be instructed in reading, writing, and speaking the English language; and that none of their children should be served heir to their fathers, or received as a tenant by the King, who had not received that education. This provision regarding education was confirmed by an act of Privy Council, which bore that "the chief and principal cause which has procured and procures the continuance of barbarity, impiety, and incivility, within the Isles of this kingdom, has proceeded from the small care that the chiefs and principal clansmen of the Isles have had of the education and upbringing of their children in virtue and learning, who being careless of their duties in that point, and keeping their children still at home with them, where they see nothing in their tender years but the barbarous and uncivil form of the country, they are thereby made to apprehend that there is no other form of duty and civility kept in any other part of the country; so that, when they come to the years of maturity, hardly can they be reclaimed from these barbarous, rude, and uncivil forms, which, for lack of instruction, were bred and settled in them in their youth; whereas, if they had been sent to the Inland (the low country) in their youth, and trained up in virtue, learning, and the English tongue, they would have been the better prepared to reform their countries, and to reduce the same to Godliness, obedience, and civility." *Lastly*, The Chiefs were not to use in their houses more than the following quantities of wine, respectively—viz., Duart and Macleod, four tuns each; Clanranald, three tuns; and Coll, Lochbuy, and Mackinnon, one tun each; and they were to take strict order throughout their whole estates that none of their tenants or vassals should buy or drink any wine. A very strict act of the Privy Council against excess of drinking accompanied this obligation of the Chiefs. It



proceeded on the narrative that "the great and extraordinary excess in drinking of wine, commonly used among the commons and tenants of the Isles, is not only an occasion of the beastly and barbarous cruelties and inhumanities that fall out among them, to the offence and displeasure of God and contempt of law and justice, but, with that, it draws numbers of them to miserable necessity and poverty, so that they are constrained, when they want from their own, to take from their neighbours." In terms of their engagement the previous year, Sir Roderick Macleod, and the other Island chiefs, presented themselves and their kinsmen, of whom Macleod had to produce three, before the Council, in July, 1617, and continued to do so, with fair regularity, until 1619, when the date of the visit, was, at their own request, changed from July to February. In 1621, however, the date was again altered from February to July, owing to the roughness of the weather in the early spring months of the year.

On the 16th of June, 1616, the King granted Sir Roderick a licence, under his own hand and seal, by which he was permitted to travel out of Scotland, and go to the English Court, whenever he should find it convenient to do so, without anyone having the right to challenge or pursue him for so doing.

In 1618, he disposed the lands of Troternish, Sleat, and North Uist, so long in dispute between the families of Sleat and Dunvegan, to Sir Donald Gorm Og Macdonald. There had been an action at law going on in connection with these lands between Macleod and Donald Gorm Mor, who died in December, 1616. This action had been continued by his nephew and successor, Sir Donald Gorm Og, and in 1618 an agreement by arbitration was come to under which a certain sum of money was awarded to Sir Roderick Macleod for his claim on these lands, and in order to secure payment of this award it was agreed that he should keep possession of the lands for several years, and pay himself with the rents, when, at the time named in the decree arbitral, they should pass to Sir Donald Gorm Og and his heirs.

In 1622, Sir Roderick presented himself, with several others of the Highland chiefs, on which occasion several important acts, relating to the Isles, were enacted by the Privy Council. By the first of these, they were bound to build and repair



their parish churches to the satisfaction of the Bishop of the Isles, whom they promised to meet at Icolmkill, to make the necessary arrangements as to the form, manner, and time, in which this act was to be carried out.\* By another act, masters of vessels were prohibited to carry more wine to the Hebrides than the quantity granted to the chiefs and gentlemen of the Isles by the Act of 1617, the quantity allowed Sir Roderick Macleod being, it will be remembered, four tuns per annum. According to the preamble of the Act of 1622, the chief cause which retarded the civilisation of the Isles was the great quantity of wine imported to them yearly. We are told that "with the insatiable desire whereof the said Islanders are so far possessed, when there arrives any ship or other vessel there with wines, they spend both days and nights in their excess of drinking so long as there is any of the wine left; so that, being overcome with drink, there falls out many inconveniences among them, to the break of His Majesty's peace." By a third act, Sir Roderick Macleod, Sir Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, Macdonald of Clanranald, and Mackinnon of Strath, were bound not to molest those engaged in fishing in the Isles, under very severe and heavy penalties.

In 1624, Macleod, with other chiefs who had previously become answerable for the good conduct of the MacIans of Ardnamurchan, was called upon to exhibit the leaders of that tribe before the Privy Council in January, 1625, they having broken out in rebellion during the year. Failing to comply with this order, he was, along with the other sureties, denounced a rebel, according to law. The Clan Ian were for a time the terror of the whole West Coast of Scotland and the Isles, and we find them being chased out of Skye, in 1625, by Sir Roderick Macleod and a body of his clan, by whom they were pursued to Clanranald's lands, where they hid themselves in the woods. Soon after, Macleod was joined by Lord Lorn, who, with his forces arrived at

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\* The agreement is as follows:—"At Edinburgh, 23rd July, 1622, the whilk day Sir Donald Gorme, Sir Rorie Macleud, and the Lairds of Mackynnoun, Coill, and Lochbuy compeir, and personallie befoir the Lordis of Secrete Counsell, thay acted and oblist thame to builde and repaire their Paroche Kirkis at the sight of the Bishope of the Ilis; and that thay shall convene and meit with the Bishope at Icolmekill upoun suche daye and dayis as with mutuall concert sall be aggreit upoun, and thair confer, ressoun, resolve, and conclude upoun the forme and maner and upoun the tyme quhen and in what forme the said kirkis sall be biggit."



Ardnamurchan, where, meeting Macleod and others, engaged against the Clan Ian, they joined together, speedily suppressed the insurrection, and killed or banished the leaders. From that date the warlike Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan are never again met with as a separate and independent tribe, the survivors of them seeming to have joined and identified themselves with their neighbours, the Macdonalds of Clanranald.

Sir Roderick is described as a man of noble spirit, celebrated for great military prowess and resource. His hospitality was unbounded, and he was in all respects well entitled to be called "Mor," or great, in his time, in all the good qualities that went to constitute a great Highland chief and leader of men in those days. The Gaelic bards were enthusiastic in their praise of his great qualities of head and heart. No wonder, says a recent writer,\* that his piper, Patrick Mòr MacCrimmon, should have taken his death very much to heart. He could no longer wait at Dunvegan Castle, but, shouldering his great pipe, he made for his house at Borreraig, and composed and struck up, as he went along, *Cumha Ruairidh Mhoir*"—Rory Mòr's Lament—which is considered the most melodious, feeling, and melancholy *Piobaireachd* known. "The Gaelic words to this air," he says, "may be here given with an English translation" (by D. Mackintosh) :—

" ' Tog orm mo phiob 'us theid mi dhachaidh,  
'S duilich leam fhein, mo leir mar thachair ;  
Tog orm mo phiob 'us mi air mo chradh,  
Mu Ruairidh Mor, mu Ruairidh Mor.

' Tog orm mo phiob—tha mi sgith ;  
'S mur faigh mi i theid mi dhachaidh ;  
Tog orm mo phiob—tha mi sgith,  
'S mi air mo chradh mu Ruairidh Mor.

' Tog orm mo pbiob—tha mi sgith,  
'S mur faigh mi i theid mi dhachaidh,  
Clarsach no piob cha tog mo chridh,  
Cha bheo fear mo ghraidh, Ruairidh Mor.' "

\* \* \* \* \*

" ' My pipe hand me, and home I'll go,  
This sad event fills me with woe ;  
My pipe hand me, my heart is sore,  
My Rory Mòr, my Rory Mòr.

' My pipe hand me—I'm worn with woe,  
For if you don't then home I'll go ;

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\* Cameron's *History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye*, p. 69.



My pipe hand me—I'm weary, sore,  
My heart is grieved for Rory Mòr.

' My pipe hand me—I'm worn with woe,  
For if you don't then home I'll go,  
Nor harp nor pipe shall cheer me more,  
For gone's my friend, my Rory Mòr.' ”

The following note, bearing on the hospitality of Sir Rory Mòr, is appended to one of the editions of Scott's *Lord of the Isles* :—“ There is in the *Leabhar Dearg* a song, intimating the overflowing gratitude of a bard of Clan Ronald, after the exuberance of a Hebridean festival at the patriarchal fortress of Macleod. The translation, being obviously very literal, has greatly flattered, as I am informed, the enthusiastic gratitude of the ancient bard; and it must be owned that the works of Homer and Virgil, to say nothing of MacMhuirich, might have suffered by their transfusion through such a medium. It is pretty plain that when the tribute of poetical praise was bestowed, the horn of Rorie Mòre had not been inactive :—

“ UPON SIR RODERIC MOR. MACLEOD, BY NIALL MOR  
MACMHUIRICH.

“ The six nights I remained in the Dunvegan, it was not a show of hospitality I met with there, but a plentiful feast in thy fair hall, among thy numerous host of heroes.

“ The family placed all around under the protection of their great chiefs, raised by his prosperity and respect for his warlike feats, now enjoying the company of his friends at the feast. Amidst the sound of harps, overflowing cups, and happy youth unaccustomed to guile or feud, partaking of the generous fare by a flaming fire.

“ Mighty Chief, liberal to all in your princely mansion filled with your numerous warlike host, whose generous wine would overcome the hardest heroes, yet we continued to enjoy the feast, so happy our host, so generous our fare.”

Sir Roderick Macleod married Isabel, daughter of Donald Macdonald, eighth of Glengarry, with issue, five sons and six daughters :—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. Roderick, afterwards Sir Roderick Macleod of Tallisker, tutor of Macleod, of whom and his family hereafter.
3. Norman, afterwards Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, was



Lieutenant-Colonel of the Macleod regiment at the Battle of Worcester, and became one of the most distinguished of the name. Most of the famous Mary Macleod's compositions, supposed hitherto to have been composed to the chiefs of the clan, were composed to him, and hence the reason why she was transported to the Island of Mull by the chief, who became envious of her laudations of his distinguished relative. This will be dealt with at length, hereafter, in connection with the history of the family of Bernera and Muiravonside, who were descended from this distinguished soldier and diplomatist.

4. William Macleod of Hamer, from whom the Macleods of Waterstein and others, and of whom hereafter.
5. Donald Macleod, progenitor of the Macleods of Grisherish, of whom in their order.
6. Margaret, who married Hector Mor Maclean, eldest son and heir of Hector Maclean of Duart, without issue. She married secondly, as his second wife, Æneas Macdonell, seventh of Glengarry, with issue—a daughter, Margaret, who married Cuthbert, of Castlehill, Inverness. She thus became the progenitrix of the famous Charles Colbert, Marquis of Seignelay, Minister of Louis XIV. of France.\*
7. Mary, who married Sir Lachlan Maclean of Morvern, first Baronet, with issue—two sons and two daughters.
8. Moire or Marion, called "Moire Mhòr," who married John Macdonald, tenth of Clanranald, with issue.
9. Janet, who married John Garbh Macleod, of Raasay, without issue.
10. Florence, who married Donald MacSween.
11. A daughter, who married Lachlan Maclean, of Coll, with issue—three sons and two daughters.

Sir Roderick Mor Macleod died in 1626, when he was succeeded in the family estates by his eldest son.

*(To be continued.)*

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\* See *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*, p. 303.



XIV. JOHN MACLEOD of Harris and Dunvegan, on the 9th of November, 1626, was served heir to his father, Sir Roderick Macleod, in the various lands forming the Barony of Dunvegan, including the Castle of that name, and five *unciate* of the lands of Waternish of the old extent of £18 13s. 4d., and infest in the whole family estates, on a precept from Chancery. He was afterwards, on a decret of the Privy Council of Scotland, proceeding on the contract, already referred to, entered into by his father, Sir Roderick, with the Earl of Argyll, obliged to resign his lands of Glenelg into the King's hands, in favour of the Earl's son and successor, and to take a charter of it, holding it of him, while he had to pay him 20,000 merks for taxing the ward, marriage, and relief, by which tenure it was held by the Macleods of Dunvegan. During the reign of John Macleod, some difficulty arose between the Island Chiefs and the Court, in connection with the fishings on their coasts. The landowners were charged with exacting sundry duties from His Majesty's subjects, to their great prejudice, when fishing in the West ; and, also, with "bringing in strangers and loading the vessels with fish and other native commodities, contrary to our laws." Charles the First wrote a letter to the Privy Council, dated the 26th of May, 1634, requested their lord-



ships to call before them "the landlords of the Isles where the fishing is, and taking account of them by knowing upon what warrant they take these duties." The Privy Council appointed the Lord of Lorn and the Bishop of the Isles to make the enquiry demanded by the King. These gentlemen appeared personally before the Lords of the Privy Council at Edinburgh, on the 20th of November following, and handed in a report at Inveraray, dated the 9th of August. Here, in response to the summonses calling upon them to appear before the Commissioners, the following landlords and heritors presented themselves for examination:— Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat; John Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan; John Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald; Neil MacNeil of Barra; Sir Lauchlan Maclean of Movern; Murdoch Maclean of Lochbuy; Lauchlan Maclean of Coll; and Lauchlan, son of Charles Mackinnon, for the laird of that ilk. Each was asked in turn by the Commissioners what duties they exacted from people fishing on their respective coasts, when Sir Donald Macdonald; John Macleod of Dunvegan; the Captain of Clanranald; and Neil MacNeil of Barra, declared *viva voce*—"that it was the ancient custom, before the date of the contract after-specified (which they think to be about        years or thereby), for everyone of them in whose bounds the herring fishing fell out, to exact of every bark and ship resorting thereto, for anchorage or ground lease, *one barrell of ale or meal*, in the owner's option; and, for each anchor laid on shore, *six shillings and eightpence*; and, out of every last of herring slain there, *three pounds of money*; together *with the benefit of every Saturday's fishing*; and that now they exact, only, from His Majesty's subjects of the Association, for each ship and bark that comes to the herring fishing, *thirty-six shillings*, Scots money; and, for each ship that comes to the gray and white fishing, *twenty merks*; and this for anchorage and ground lease, conform to a contract passed between the said Sir Donald, John MacRanald [of Clanranald] and [the] umquhile Sir Rorie Macleod, and some others of the Islanders, on the one part, and certain of the Burghs in the East country on the other part, in 1620 or thereby." In answer to questions, they maintained that they were entitled to make the charges complained of, in terms of this contract; that they uplifted the duties, being heritors



of the grounds, and, therefore, entitled to do so, it being an ancient custom past memory of man. The other Chiefs named, declared that there were no fishings within their bounds, but, if there were, "they would be content to exact no more than the said North Islanders do"! The document is signed by all those whose names are mentioned in the body of it, as well as by Lord Lorn and the Bishop of the Isles—Macneil, Maclean of Coll, and Lauchlan Mackinnon, declaring that *their* names were written "at our commands, because we cannot write ourselves."

On the 7th of August, 1635, a Proclamation was issued in which it stated that "great insolencies" had been committed upon His Majesty's subjects, fishing in the Isles, by the Islanders coming in troops and companies to the lochs where the fish are taken, and there violently spoiling the King's subjects of their fish, "and sometimes of their victuals and other furniture; pursues them of their lives, breaks the shoals of the herring, and commits more insolencies upon them, to the great hinder and disappointing of the fishing, hurt of His Majesty's subjects, to the contempt of his Majesty's authority and laws"; for the preventing of which disorders John Macleod of Dunvegan and the others named, this time including the Earl of Seaforth and Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan, in addition to those named in the previously quoted document, are charged; "that none of them presume nor take upon hands to give warrant to any persons whatsoever under them, but to such for whose good rule they will be answerable. These documents show the nature of the claims made by the land-owners of those days even to the shoals of herring that frequented their coasts.

On the 19th of September, 1628, John Macleod of Dunvegan entered into a contract with the Earl of Seaforth, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, John Macdonald of Clanranald, Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strath, and Alexander Macleod of Raasay, for the preservation of deer and other game on their respective estates, and for the punishment of any persons trespassing in pursuit of game. The agreement is, in many respects, so like our modern game laws, including the provision that one witness shall be sufficient to procure a conviction, that we give it almost entire, simply modernising the orthography. Having given the names of the



contracting parties by whom, "It is condescended, contracted, finally and mutually agreed and ended" between them, the document proceeds as follows:—

"That is to say, for as much as there has been diverse and sundry good Acts of Parliament made by His Majesty's predecessors, Kings of Scotland of worthy memory, wherein shooting with guns, bows and hounds, are absolutely forbidden for slaying and shooting of deer and roe and other beasts pasturing within His Majesty's bounds of Scotland as, at more length is contained in the said Acts of Parliament; for keeping and fulfilling whereof and for preserving and keeping the deer and roes within everyone of the honorable parties' forests, Isles and bounds, alive, and for keeping good society and neighbourhood among them; wit ye that the said honorable parties are hereby become bound and obliged, like as by the tenor hereof they faithfully bind and oblige them each one of them for their own parts and taking the full burden in and upon them respectively for their whole kin, men-tenants, and countrymen within every one of their bounds and isles, that they nor either of them, their kin, friends, men-tenants nor countrymen, shall nowise hereafter in time coming, presume nor take upon hand to hunt with dogs, to slay with hagbut or bow, any hart, hind, deer, roe, or doe, or any other beasts, either of the said honorable parties' forests, either on the continent, main, or isles, pertaining to either of the said honorable parties, without special license had and obtained in writing of the superior of the forest to the forrester of the forest; and whatsoever person, gentleman-tenant, or common countryman that presumes hereafter to hunt with dogs, shoot with guns or bow, any deer or roe in either of the foresaid honorable parties' forests, without the said license, purchased at the said superior's hands, the offender gentle [man] breaker of this contract and condescending shall hereby be bound and obliged to pay and deliver to the honorable party, owner of the forest, for the first fault, the sum of one hundred merks money of this realm, and the hagbut or bow to be taken from him and to be delivered to the superior of the forest in whose bounds, forest, or isles, the same wrong and contempt [may] be committed and done, and *toties quoties* for every breach of this present contract and condescending; the tenant to be hereby such-like bound and obliged to pay and deliver to the party, owner of the forest, for the first fault, the sum of forty pounds money, and the hagbut to the superior of the forest, and *toties quoties* for every breach of this present contract; and whatsoever common man or any other straggling person that [may] be found carrying a hagbut or bow through any of the said honorable parties' forests



for slaying deer or roe, and that he be not solvendo, nor worthy the unlaw to be imposed upon him for his contempt, the hagbut or bow [is] to be delivered to the superior of the forest where he shall happen to be found and his body [is] to be punished according as pleases the superior of the forest: Like as it is condescended by the said honorable parties in respect that many witnesses do not haunt nor travel through the said forests by reason the same is far distant and spacious from them, *that one witness shall be sufficient probation* against whatsoever person that [may] be found in manner foresaid in either of the said honorable parties' forests with hagbut, bow, or hound, and the party challenging and delaying to have for his pains and reward the third of the offender's fine, and the hagbut to the superior: Such-like the foresaid honorable parties are hereby become bound and obliged, like as they by the tenor hereof bind and oblige themselves, to deliver the transgressor and offender to the effect the party wronged and offended may censure and fine him according to the gravity of his contempt and fault, after trial thereof by famous and honest men; and [that] the party offending be presented to the said superior offended within fifteen days after the wrong is committed, under the pain of one hundred pounds money foresaid to be paid to the party wronged and offended, by the superior of him who commits the wrong and contempt of this present contract; and what the said famous and honest men after trial discerns [against] the transgressor for his fine and contempt, his superior shall be hereby bound and obliged to deliver to the honorable party wronged and offended his readiest goods and gear; aye, and until the honorable party wronged and offended be completely paid of the offender's fine, under the like pains of one hundred pounds *toties quoties*: And, finally, it is hereby specially condescended with consent of the said honorable parties above written that none or either of their countrymen or people shall take their course by boats, either to the lochs or harbours within the forests of Lewis and Harris, excepting the Lochs of Herisole in Lewis pertaining to the said noble earl; the Loch of Tarbert in Harris, pertaining to the said John Macleod; Lochmaddy, Lochefort, Loch-Mhic-Phail, and Kilrona in Uist, pertaining to the said Sir Donald Macdonald, in case they be not driven and distressed by stress of weather; and in case they be driven and distressed by stress of weather in any other lochs within the Islands of Lewis and Harris, it is hereby condescended that the keepage of every boat that shall happen to come in with their boats to any of the lochs above-written (except before excepted) with hagbuts, bows, or dog, shall not pass nor travel from their boats one pair of 'buttis'; and if any be found with gun, bow, or dog, to exceed the said bounds, hereby [he] shall be holden as an



offender and 'contempnar' of this present contract and condescending, and to be punished and fined as is above-written; and ordains this present minute of contract and condescending to be put in more ample form if need require."

The usual agreement follows—to have the document registered in the Books of Council, that it shall have the strength of a Decree of their Lordships, and that Letters of execution, poinding, and horning may follow thereon, "on a charge of ten days," in the usual form. It is subscribed by all the parties thereto, and witnessed by John Mackenzie of Lochslinn; William Macleod of Tallisker; John Mackenzie of Fairburn; and John Nicolson and John Ross, Notars.

John Macleod, on account of his great strength and size, was known among his countrymen as "Ian Mor," or Big John. He has a charter, under the Great Seal, of the lands and barony of Dunvegan, Glenelg, and others, dated the 11th of June, 1634. He was a great loyalist, strongly attached to the interests of Charles I., who wrote him a very friendly and kindly letter, dated Durham, the 2nd of May, 1639, thanking him for his services and promising him his constant favour. He continued in his loyalty all his life, though he appears to have refused to join Montrose. This may be accounted for from the fact that Alexander Macdonald, Montrose's Lieutenant, devastated the lands of the Earl of Argyll, who was Macleod's Superior in large portions of his estates. He is said to have been a most benevolent man, remarkable for his piety, and to have been at great pains to improve the morals and civilize his countrymen, who seem to have been much in need of it; for he secured for himself the designation of "Lot in Sodom," to indicate the contrast between his manner of life and that of those by whom he was surrounded in the Isles. He appears in the Valuation Roll for the County of Inverness, in 1644, as "Sir John Macleod of Dunvegan," his rental in Skye being, in that year, £7000 Scots., the highest rented proprietor appearing in the County at that time. His four brothers appear on the same Roll:—Roderick (of Tallisker), in Eynort and Bracadale, at £1200; Norman (afterwards Sir Norman of Bernera), in the Parish of Kilbride, at £533 6s. 8d.; William (of Hamer), in Kilmuir, at the same sum; and Donald, of Greshornish, at £666



13s. 4d., all Scots money. Macleod of Raasay's rental, at the same date, was exactly the same amount as Donald's of Greshornish.

John Macleod married Sibella, daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, by his second wife, Isobel, daughter of Sir Gilbert Ogilvie of Powrie. She was thus half-sister of Colin, first, and full sister of George, second Earl of Seaforth. By her (who, as her second husband, married Alexander Fraser, Tutor of Lovat; and, as her third husband, Patrick Grant, Tutor of Grant), Macleod had issue, two sons and five daughters:—

1. Roderick, his heir and successor.
2. John, who succeeded his brother, Roderick.
3. Mary, who married, first, as his second wife, her cousin, Sir James Macdonald, ninth of Sleat, with issue, John Macdonald of Backney. She married, secondly, Muir of Rowallson.
4. Marion, who married her cousin, Donald Macdonald, eleventh of Clanranald, with issue, among others, Allan and Ranald, twelfth and thirteenth Chiefs of the family in succession. Her husband died at Canna in 1686, and her son, Allan, was killed at Sheriff-Muir.
5. Giles, or Julian, who married, first, Sir Allan Maclean, third Baronet of Morvern and Duart, with surviving issue—Sir John Maclean, fourth Baronet, who fought, when quite a young man, under Dundee, at Killiecrankie, and, afterwards, led his Clan to Sheriff-Muir, where he fought at their head under the Earl of Mar. She married, secondly, Campbell of Glendaruel.
6. Sybella, who married Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, tenth Lord Lovat, with issue, among others, Simon Lord Lovat, beheaded in 1746, for his part in the Rising of 1745; and Alexander, from whom John Fraser of Wales, the claimant to the Lovat honours and estates, claims descent.
7. Margaret, who married Sir James Campbell of Lawers, without issue.

John Macleod died early in September, 1649, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.

*(To be continued.)*



XV. **RODERICK MACLEOD**, commonly called "Rory the Witty," was a minor at the death of his father. His uncle, Sir Roderick Macleod of Tallisker, his tutor, took charge of the Clan, and supported Charles the Second against Cromwell. When Charles arrived in Scotland in 1650, he issued a proclamation requesting all his Scottish subjects to gather to his Standard, when Sir Roderick Macleod raised a regiment of 700 men, nearly all composed of Macleods, his nephew's Clansmen. The Lieutenant-Colonelcy of this fine body he gave to his brother, Norman Macleod of Bernera, a brave and distinguished soldier. Having joined, and remained for some time with, the Royal Army, Colonel Norman Macleod was ordered to raise an additional three hundred men to complete his regiment and bring it up to a thousand, which he did in a very short time, but he had great difficulty in supplying them with arms. He applied to John Buncle, then Commissary, to supply these, but he declined to advance them unless Roderick Macleod of Tallisker gave his bond for them. This the Tutor agreed to do, and the arms were obtained ; but afterwards, during the usurpation, this cost him no end of trouble, for the bond was assigned



to a William MacCulloch, who pressed it against Sir Roderick, by legal diligence. He was, however, finally relieved of the claim by an Act of Parliament passed in 1661. This fine regiment of Macleods, with the two gallant brothers at its head, accompanied the army of King Charles II., in 1651, to the Battle of Worcester, where most of them fell; and those who did not were taken prisoners, and transported to the plantations in South Carolina, so that scarcely one of them ever returned home. The Clan was almost ruined; its whole manhood having been thus almost cut off by one terrible stroke. So great was the slaughter among them, that it was agreed to by the other Clans in the North that the Macleods should not take part in any other conflict until they had time to multiply and recover their losses on this fatal field. Tallisker managed to escape capture, and, in disguise, to find his way back to the Highlands; but his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Norman, was taken prisoner, kept in confinement for eighteen months, at the end of which he was then tried for his life. Through a flaw in the indictment, procedure was sisted; he was sent back to prison, and finally escaped, after which he succeeded in making his way to the Isle of Skye, where he continued in his loyalty to the King, by whom, after the Restoration, he and his brother, Roderick of Tallisker, were knighted.

At a general meeting of the Chiefs who still continued loyal to King Charles, held at Glenelg on the 21st of April, 1653, it was agreed to raise a body of two thousand Highlanders for His Majesty's service; and, at the same time, it was resolved to send a messenger, with proper credentials, signed by the principal heads of Clans who attended this Council, to King Charles at Paris, the King of Denmark, the Princess Royal, and the States of Holland; and to advise them fully as to the condition, resolution, and desires, of the Highland Chiefs there assembled. To carry out this important and somewhat dangerous embassy, Lieutenant-Colonel Norman Macleod, who had so recently escaped from an English prison, was fixed upon, and he cheerfully undertook the duty. He succeeded in his journey, delivered his message into the King's own hands, and was received as graciously as the importance of his message, and the faithful and successful manner in which it was carried out, so fully deserved. He brought back



a message from the King to his faithful Highlanders, addressed to Roderick Macleod of Tallisker, full of the most kindly expressions and grateful acknowledgements, dated at Chantilly, the 31st of October, 1653. In this letter, he expressed the strongest resolution of rewarding Tallisker for his services, and his cheerfulness in concurring in and conducting that good work upon which the King's interest and "the honour and liberty of the country, and the preservation of the whole nobility and gentry, so much depended." Sir Norman performed several other important services to King Charles during the remainder of his life, before and after the Restoration, but these, and the manner in which they were rewarded by His Majesty will be more suitably detailed under "The Macleods of Bernera," the family founded by this brave and distinguished soldier.

After the defeat of General Middleton's army by General Morgan, at Lochgarry, it was decided at a Council of War that no more could be done for the Royal cause, under existing conditions. General Middleton, accompanied by Dalziel, Drummond, and several other officers, retired to Dunvegan, under the protection of the Macleods, while others took up their quarters in Lochaber, under the roof of the famous Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. During the winter, Sir Ewen accompanied his guests to Dunvegan Castle, where several other Highland Chiefs attended to meet him. A Council was held, and, after much and serious deliberation, it was decided that they should all submit, before they were altogether ruined, and make the best terms they could with Cromwell's lieutenants; for Charles was now quite unable to support them with any money, men, or arms. It had previously been intimated, through secret sources, to the Highland Chiefs, that, if they laid down their arms, they would be restored to their fortunes and estates; and, with this knowledge, they acted the wiser part by agreeing to submit. The Royalist commanders were well received and hospitably entertained at Dunvegan Castle. The Tutor's loyalty, activity, and sufferings in the Royal cause were well known to them, and, before leaving, they thought it right to acknowledge his conduct and the fidelity of his family and Clan, by recording such services, and recommending him to the King in the following terms:—



“ Seeing it is incumbent on us to do whatsoever may tend to the honour, safety, and advantage of those whose signally loyal and faithful adherence to His Majesty’s service, have deserved, we do hereby testify and declare, that this noble gentleman Colonel Roderick Macleod, hath not only given singular proof of his fidelity, prudence, conduct, valour, and industry in His Majesty’s service, and suffered much for it in former times, as is no less known to His Majesty than to us ; but having been at expence, charges, and pains, and chiefly instrumental and active in the enlivening and promoting this late undertaking, hath in the progress of it behaved himself with such clear honour, integrity, discretion, constancy, and gallant resolution on all occasions, as became a person of eminent worth, dignity, and virtue, having not only transcended others in the common duty of a loyal subject and a good commander, but also performed many particular and important offices, in order to the continuance of His Majesty’s service, and advantage of his affairs, which are hardly to be paralleled ; and whatever may have been the miscarriages of any person or persons to the prejudice of His Majesty’s service, and those that are concerned in it, we do, upon our certain knowledge likewise declare, that the said Colonel Roderick Macleod is not only absolutely freed from any accession to it, and untainted with it, but also hath been principally instrumental in frustrating all designs and attempts undertaken to our prejudice, and author of our preservation ; by all which he hath not only deserved that his deportment should by us be duly represented to His Majesty, but that they should be suitably rewarded, and his honour and merit made manifest to the world ; and we do hereby likewise not only allow and authorize, but do most earnestly desire him to apply himself to such courses as may be most expedient for his safety and preservation, by private address, capitulation, or otherwise. In testimony whereof we have signed and sealed these presents at Dunvegan, the last day of March, 1655. (Signed), John Middleton ; Dalyell ; W. Drummond.”

After this, Sir Roderick of Tallisker lived quietly at home in the Isle of Skye, until after the Restoration of Charles II., when he proceeded to pay his respects to His Majesty in London. He was most graciously received, as his services so justly merited, and the King conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. We shall have more to say regarding him and his descendants under “ The Macleods of Tallisker,” of whom he was the progenitor and founder.

Roderick Macleod of Macleod, to whom we now return, now



became of age, and succeeded in getting the sequestration of his estate removed, and getting himself admitted under the protection of Oliver Cromwell, through the influence of General Monk, upon his finding security for his future peaceable behaviour to the amount of £6000 sterling, and paying a fine of £2500 sterling. From this agreement, following on his capitulation, and which is dated the 30th of May, 1655, both his uncles—Roderick Macleod of Tallisker, and Norman Macleod of Bernera—are expressly excluded. On the 22nd of November following, he was served heir in special to his father, and, on the 24th of February, 1656, he was duly infeft in the family estates by a precept from Chancery, except the lands of Glenelg, in which he was infeft on the 19th of October, 1657, in virtue of a precept of Clare Constat and Charter of Novodamus from the subject superior.

After the restoration of Charles II., in 1660, Roderick Macleod went to London to pay his homage to the King, and was very kindly received by His Majesty. Macleod was, however, so much cut up because Charles made no reference to the ruin of his family and the Clan Macleod at the Battle of Worcester, and its mournful results in Skye, that he returned home at once. He had taken his piper, Patrick Mor MacCrimmon, who had also been at the Battle of Worcester, with him to Court on this occasion, when he was allowed "to kiss hands," as a very special honour. MacCrimmon appears to have thought a great deal more about this incident than of the decimation of his clansmen at the Battle of Worcester, and he commemorated the honour conferred upon him, and the other polite attentions paid to him by the King, by composing that famous Piobaireachd—" *Thug mi pog do laimh an Righ*"—(I kissed the King's hand)—one of the verses of which is as follows:—

*Thug mi pog 'us pog 'us pog,  
 Gun d' thug mi pog do laimh an Righ ;  
 'S cha d' chuir gnoth an craicinn caorach,  
 Fear a fhuair an shaoilt ach mi.*

It was to this Chief that Mary Macleod—" *Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh*"—the famous Skye Poetess, composed the well-known elegy—" *Cumha do Mhac-Leoid.*" From this poem it would appear



that Roderick died away from his native land, certainly not at home ; for she says—

Ge goirt leam an naigheachd,  
Tha mi faighinn air Ruairidh,  
Gun a chorp bhi 'san duthaich,  
Anns an tuama bu dual da.

It would also appear from the same poem that he had a son Norman, who predeceased his father, for the Author says, in another stanza—

Ach a Ruairidh Mhic Iain,  
'S goirt leam fhaighinn an sgeul-s' ort,  
Se mo chreach-sa mac t' athar,  
Bhi na laidhe gun eiridh ;  
*Agus Tormod a mhac-sa,*  
A thasgaidh mo cheille !  
*Gur e aobhar mo ghearrain,*  
*Gun chailleadh le cheil' iad.*

He had also a daughter, who married Stewart of Appin, and whose husband claimed the estate, on the death of her father without male heirs. The Poetess resents this claim in a burst of patriotic fervour, and exclaims—

Mhic Iain Stiubhairt na h-Apunn,  
Ged a's gasd' an duin' og thu,  
Ged tha Stiubhartaich beachdail,  
'S iad tapaidh 'n am foirneart,  
Na gabhsa meanmadh, no aiteas,  
A's an staid ud nach coir dhut ;  
Cha toir thu i dh'aindeoin,  
'S cha'n fhaigh thu le deoin i.  
C'uim an tigeadh fear coigreach,  
A thagradh ur n' oighreachd ;  
Ged nach eil e ro-dhearbhta,  
Gur searbh e ri eisdeachd ;  
Ged tha sinn' air ar creachadh  
Mu chloinn mhac an fhir fheilidh,  
Sliochd Ruairidh Mhoir Allail,  
'S gur airidh iad fein oirr'.

This Chief, whose death the Poetess so bitterly mourns, and whose career she so highly extols, would seem to be the same Macleod who had banished her to the Island of Mull, where she appears still to be at the time of his death, and where she, apparently, composed his elegy. In Douglas' Baronage, it is stated that



Roderick died without issue. It is, however, clear, from "Cumha Mhic-Leoid," that he had both male and female issue; though his son, Norman, predeceased him. John Mackenzie, of "The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," in a foot-note to the above-quoted poem, says, that "Stewart of Appin was married to a daughter of [this] Macleod of Dunvegan, which made the Macleods afraid that he should claim a right to the estate, on account of Macleod having left no male-heir." Roderick married Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat (eldest son of Sir Roderick Mackenzie, Tutor of Kintail, and progenitor of the Earls of Cromarty), by Margaret, daughter of Sir George Erskine of Innerteil, a Lord of Session, without, as we have seen, any surviving male issue. She married, as her second husband, Sir George Campbell of Lawers, in the County of Perth.

Roderick Macleod died in January, 1664, when he was succeeded by his only brother.

*(To be continued.)*



XVI. JOHN MACLEOD, known among his own countrymen as "Ian Breac," or Speckled John, was served heir in special to his brother on the 11th of August, 1664, and infeft in the estates of the family held of the Crown on a precept from Chancery, and in Glenelg, on a precept of clare constat, from the subject superior at the same time. John Breac, one of the most popular of the Macleods, was, according to his contemporaries, a model Highland Chief. His good qualities of head and heart are commemorated in the songs of his country. He kept a bard, harper, piper, and fool at his residence of Dunvegan Castle, all of whom were most liberally provided for, and treated with all the respect and consideration due to them in those days. His bard was the famous *Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh*, whom he had recalled from her banishment in Mull. To his second son Norman, who afterwards succeeded John's brother, Roderick, as Chief of the Clan, she composed her famous "*Cronan*," one of the best and most peculiar poems in the Gaelic language. In another of her compositions Mary says that she nursed five Chiefs of the Macleods and two Lairds of Applecross. She is said to have died in 1693,



at the great age of 105, in the same year in which died her favourite Chief, John Breac Macleod, of whom we now write.\*

John's harper was the famous *Clarsair Dall*, Roderick Morrison, the son of an Episcopalian minister in the Island of Lewis, born, brought up, and educated as a gentleman; and Macleod always treated him as such. He is said to have been the last man in the Highlands who possessed the combined talents of poet and harper and composer of music in an eminent degree. Of his musical attainments no specimens have been preserved from which we can, in the present day, judge of his merits, but several of his poems have been preserved, and they conclusively prove that he possessed poetical talents of a very high order.

John Mackenzie explains how Rory the Harper became acquainted with Macleod, and the manner in which he was afterwards treated by that genuine Highland Chief. Morrison's superiority as a musician, Mackenzie says, and his respectable connexions, served him as a pass-word to the best circles in the North. He was carressed and idolized by all who could appreciate his minstrelsy. Induced by the fame of his fellow-harpers in Ireland, he visited that country. On his return to Scotland he called at all the baronial residences in his way. The nobility and gentry of Scotland were at the time paying Court to King James at Holyrood Palace. The harper wended his way thither, and during that visit to the Scottish Capital, "he met with that sterling model of a Highland chieftain, John Breac Macleod of Harris," who at once eagerly engaged him as his family harper. During the Harper's stay in Dunvegan Castle, he composed several beautiful tunes and songs, and among the rest that fascinating melody known as "*Feill nan Crann*," which originated out of the following incident: Roderick, sitting one day by the kitchen fire, chanced to let drop the key of his harp in the ashes, and he began to rake among the cinders with his fingers to pick it up, when Macleod's wife, a daughter of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, entered the room and asked one of the servants "*Ciod e tha dhith*

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\* John Mackenzie, in the "Beauties," says that she was born as early as 1569, but this is impossible, from what we know of her after-life. Mackenzie is unfortunately inaccurate in almost all he says regarding her and those to whom she composed her poems. There was no "Sir Tormod" Chief in her day, or, indeed, any Macleod Chief of that name.



*air Ruairidh*"? (What is it that Rory seeks?) The maid replied, "*Tha a chrann; chaill e'san luath e*—(His key; he lost it in the ashes.) *Ma ta feumair crann eile 'sheannach do Ruairidh.* (Then another key must be bought for Rory), replied the lady: when the gifted minstrel, availing himself of the more extended meaning of the word *crann*, forthwith composed the tune "clothing it in the words of side-splitting humour," and at the same time representing all the kitchen maids as ransacking all the shops in the kingdom to procure for him his lost *crann*, or key.

Soon after this the celebrated minstrel must have left Dunvegan, for shortly after we find him occupying the farm of Totamor, in Glenelg, which his patron, whose property Glenelg then was, granted to him rent-free. He remained there until he was removed by John Breac's successor; and many of his best musical and poetical pieces were there composed.

The harper "was fondly attached to his patron, whose fame he commemorated in strains of unrivalled beauty and excellence. The chieftains of the Clan Macleod possessed, perhaps, greater nobleness of soul than any other of the Highland gentry; but it must be observed that they were peculiarly successful in enlisting the immortalising strains of the first poets in their favour—our author [the harper] and their own immortal Mary. Rory's elegy on John Breac Macleod, styled '*Creash na Ciadain*,' is one of the most pathetic, plaintive, and heart-touching productions we have read, during a life half-spent amid the flowery meadows of our Highland Parnassus. After deploring the transition of Macleod's virtues, manliness, and hospitality from the earth, he breaks forth in sombre forebodings as to the degeneracy of his heir, and again luxuriates in the highest ingredients of a Lament. '*Oran Mor Mhic-Leoid*,' in which the imaginative powers of the minstrel conjure up scenes of other days, with the vividness of reality, is a masterpiece of the kind. It comes before us in the form of a duet, in which Echo (the sound of music), now excluded, like himself, from the festive hall of Macleod, indulges in responsive strains of lamentation that finely harmonise with the poignancy of our poet's grief."\* This last-named song was composed after the

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\* *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry and Lives of the Highland Bards.* By John Mackenzie, pp. 85-86.



Harper was ejected from his farm in Glenelg by John Breac's successor, and while he was on his way back to take up his residence in his native Island of Lewis.

During Macleod's life, Morrison praised his excellent qualities in splendid verse. In "*Oran Mor Mhic-Leoid*," already referred to, the Echo, answering the harper, draws the following contrast between the inhospitable and degenerate days which followed on the death of John Breac and the splendid Highland style kept up during his life. The Echo says—

“ Tha Mac-talla fo ghruaim.  
Anns an talla 'm biodh fuaim a cheoll ;  
'S ionad taghaich nan cliar,  
Gun aighear, gun mhiagh, gun phoit ;  
Gun mhire, gun mhuirn,  
Gun iomracha dlù nan còrn ;  
Gun chuirm, gun phailteas ri dàimh,  
Gun mhacnus, gun mhanran beoil.

“ 'S mi Mac-talla bha uair  
'G eisdeachd fathrum nan duan gu tiugh ;  
Far 'm bu mhuirneach am béus,  
'N am cromadh do'n ghrein 'san t-sruth ;  
Far am b' fhoirmeal na seoid,  
'S iad gu h-oranach, ceolmhor, cluth ;  
Ged nach faicte mo ghnuis,  
Chluinnt' aca 's an Dùn mo ghuth.

“ 'N am eiridh gu moch,  
Ann san teaghlaich, gun spròc, gun ghruaim ;  
Chluinnte gleadhraich nan dos,  
'S an céile na cois o'n t-suain ;  
'Nuair a ghabhadh i làn,  
'Si gun cuireadh os n-aird na fhuair,  
Le meoir fhileanta, bhinn,  
'S iad gu ruith-leumach, dionach luath.”

John Breac Macleod had set about repairing and adding to his ancient castle of Dunvegan, but he was not able to execute his plans. Thinking, however, when he began, that he should live long enough to finish his designs, he had a Latin inscription, composed by the parish minister, cut on a stone fixed in the building, of which the following is an English translation :—

“ John Macleod, Lord of Dunvegan, Harris, and Waternish, etc., united in marriage to Flora Macdonald, restored in the year of the vulgar era, 1686, his Tower of Dunvegan, long the very



ancient abode of his ancestors, which had fallen utterly into decay."

He appears to have been expected to join Dundee and the other leaders of the Highland Clans in 1689, when they met in convention in Lochaber before marching South to meet General Mackay at the battle of Killiecrankie ; but John Macleod kept out of that movement, as his successors afterwards kept out of the Risings of 1715 and 1745 on behalf of the Stuarts. That he was believed to be favourably disposed in 1689 to James II. is clear from the following letter addressed to him by Viscount Dundee, from Moy, in Lochaber, on the date which it bears—

" For the Laird of Macleod.

" Moy, Jun. 23, 1689.

" Sir,—Glengarry gave me an account of the substance of a letter he received from you : I shall only tell you that, if you hasten not to land your men, I am of opinion you will have little occasion to do the King great service ; for, if he land in the West of Scotland, you will come too late, as I believe you will think yourself by the news I have to tell you. The Prince of Orange has written to the Scottish Council not to fatigue his troops any more by following us in the hills, but to draw them together in a body to the West ; and, accordingly, several of the forces that were in Perthshire and Angus are drawn to Edinburgh, and some of Mackay's regiments are marched that way from him. . . . Some of the French fleet has been seen amongst the islands, and hath taken the Glasgow frigates. The King being thus master of sea and land, hath nothing to do but bring over his army, which many people fancy is landed already in the West. He will have little to oppose him there, and will probably march towards England, so that we who are in the greatest readiness will have [enough] ado to join him. I have received by Mr. Hay a commission of Lieutenant-General, which miscarried by Breidy. I have also received a double of a letter miscarried by Breidy to me, and a new letter, dated the 18th of May ; both of which are so kind that I am ashamed to tell. He counts for great services, which I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my duty. He promises not only to me, but to all that will join, such ranks of favour, as after ages shall see what honour and advantage there is in being loyal. He says, in express terms, that his favours shall vie with our loyalty. He hath, by the same letters, given full power of Council to such Councillors here as shall be joined in the King's service, and given us power, with the rest of his friends, to meet in a Convention, by his authority, to counteract the mock Convention at Edinburgh, whom he hath declared traitors, and commanded all his loyal subjects to make war against them, in obedience to which I have called all the clans. Captain of Clanranald is near us these several days ; the Laird of Barra is there with his men. I am persuaded Sir Donald [of Sleat] is there by this. Maclean lands in Morven to-morrow, certain. Appin, Glencoe, Lochiel, Glengarry, Keppoch, are all ready. Sir Alexander [Maclean of Otter] and Largie have been here with their men all this while with me, so that I hope we will go out of Lochaber about three thousand. You may guess what we



will get in Stratherrick, Badenoch, Athole, Mar, and the Duke of Gordon's lands, besides the loyal shires of Banff, Aberdeen, Mearns, Angus, Perth, and Stirling. I hope we will be masters of the North, as the King's army will be of the South. I had almost forgot to tell you of my Lord Breadalbane, who, I suppose, will now come to the fields. Dunbeath, with two hundred horse and eight hundred foot, are said to be endeavouring to join us. My Lord Seaforth will be in a few days from Ireland to raise his men for the King's service. Now, I have laid the whole business before you; you will easily know what is fit for you to do. All I shall say further is, to repeat and renew the desire of my former letter, and assure you that I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

"DUNDIE."

"You will receive the King's letter to you."

Macleod, however, did not join Dundee at this time in Lochaber, or afterwards at the battle of Killiecrankie, fought on the 27th of July following. Though Macleod did not follow Dundee in 1689, King James continued to hope that he might still join the Royalists, and in May of the following year addressed a letter to him in the following terms:—

"JAMES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Our former letters to you show the entire confidence we had in you, and we are glad to find by the resolutions, Sir Donald Macdonald assures us, you had taken of joining our forces when we ourselves or our entirely beloved natural son, the Duke of Berwick, came there, that we were not mistaken in the judgment we made of you. But, considering that our affairs are already so far advanced that our enemies are not in a condition to undertake anything considerable against us, or hurt any of our friends, especially such as are at that distance that you are from them, we do expect that, having as great security as any other, you should join the rest of the Clans with all the men you can raise, whenever the officer commanding-in-chief our forces shall there require it. This is not a time for any man to make conditions for himself, or consult barely his own private interest, and for our part, as we never did not press any of our subjects to expose themselves in vain, so we shall reckon on no man's loyalty that will run no hazard for the Common Good, when so fair a prospect of success presents itself, with so little danger. We are sure you wish your country and posterity too well not to contribute all you can to its liberty, and if you all unanimously join, we cannot see how you can fail of being the glorious instrument of it, which we wish you may be, and so wish you heartily farewell. Given at our Court, at Dublin Castle, the 29th day of May, 1690, and in the sixth year of our reign."

"To our trusty and well-beloved Macleod."

[Signed with the Royal Seal.]

James despatched several letters to the Highland chiefs from Ireland during this year, mostly through Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, who had taken the lead among those who determined to hold out in the King's interest. The letter to Macleod was found



among the Macdonald papers, and it is supposed Sir Donald knew that it was quite useless to forward it to Macleod. Its imperious tone was not calculated to make a favourable impression on the Chief of a clan who felt how little its services and terrible their losses at the battle of Worcester, little more than a generation before, had been appreciated or acknowledged after the Restoration. Indeed this strong feeling of disappointment is sufficient to account for the fact that the Macleods never after fought, under their Chief, in any of the Stuart Risings.

John married Florence, second daughter of Sir James Macdonald, ninth of Sleat, with issue—

1. Roderick, his heir and successor.
2. Norman, who succeeded his brother Roderick as Chief of the clan.
3. William, who died at Glasgow, unmarried.
4. Isabel, who married Robert Stewart of Appin.
5. Janet, who married Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, with issue.
6. Julian, who married Sir Alan Maclean, third Baronet of Morven, with issue, Sir John Maclean, fourth Baronet, who carried on the succession, and fought, at the head of his clan, with Dundee at the battle of Killiecrankie ; and again at Sheriffmuir, in 1715, under the Earl of Mar.

John Breac Macleod died on the Wednesday of Easter week,\* in 1693, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,  
XVII. RODERICK MACLEOD, whose character seems to have realised all the gloomy forebodings of the bards, harpers, and others who had the interests and continued reputation of the family for ancient hospitality and warlike renown at heart. In *Oran Mor MhisLeoid*, already quoted, his degeneracy from these high qualities, in this and other respects, are severely animadverted upon by Roderick Morrison, his father's family harper and bard, many of the verses being of so uncomplimentary a character, and so unsuitable for ears polite, that John Mackenzie did not print them in *The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*; but after

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\* See "*Greach-na-Ciadain*, 12th stanza, *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, p. 21.



stating that John Breac Macleod, Roderick's father, was one of the last chieftains who had in his retinue a bard, a piper, and a fool—all excellently and most liberally provided for, he says that, "after his death Dunvegan Castle was neglected by his son Roderick, and the services of these functionaries dispensed with to make room for grooms, gamekeepers, factors, dogs, and the various *etceteras* of a fashionable English establishment. We here beg the reader to note," he continues, "that we have not said Rory was an English gentleman, but only hinted that he aped the manners of one. Eight stanzas of this song are omitted, as we think their insertion would be an outrage on the reader's sense of propriety."\* We have not discovered anything which, as a Highland Chief, can be recorded to his credit.

He married in February, 1694, Lady Isabel Mackenzie, third daughter of Kenneth, third Earl of Seaforth by Isabel, daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat, and sister of George, first Earl of Cromarty, without issue. She married, as her second husband, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, with issue. Roderick Macleod died in August, 1699, when he was succeeded by his next brother.

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\* Some of the omitted verses, and several others, have since been published in the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* for this year, in a paper contributed by Mr. Colin Chisholm.

(*To be continued.*)



XVIII. NORMAN MACLEOD succeeded his brother Roderick, who in 1699 died without issue. A few years after, in 1703, Martin published his "Description of the Western Isles." Writing of the people of Skye, he says that "they are generally a very sagacious people, and even the vulgar exceed all those of their rank and education I ever yet saw in any other country. They have a great genius for music and mechanics. I have observed several of their children that before they could speak were capable to distinguish and make choice of one tune before another; for they appeared always uneasy until the tune they fancied best was played, and then they expressed their satisfaction by the motions of their heads and hands. There are several of them who invent tunes very taking in the South of Scotland and elsewhere." He then goes on to tell us that musicians tried to palm themselves off in many instances as the authors of these tunes, changing their names and adopting other means of disguise, but in this they usually failed, for, our author continues, "whatever languages gives the modern name, the tune still continues to speak its true original." Some of the natives, he says, "were very dexterous in engraving trees, birds, dogs, etc., upon bone and horn, or wood, without any other tool than a sharp pointed knife." Both sexes



had "a quick vein of poesy," and they composed pieces which "powerfully affect the fancy," and "with as great force as that of any ancient and modern poet" he ever read, but "the unhappiness of their education, and their want of converse with foreign nations deprive them of the opportunity to cultivate and beautify their genius, which seems to have been formed by nature for great attainments." They were "happily ignorant of many vices that are practised in the learned and polite worlds," of several of which they did not even know the name, or had the slightest knowledge of them.

Their diet consisted generally of fresh food, and they seldom tasted anything salted, except butter. They ate but little flesh, only persons of distinction eating it every day and having three meals, the common people eating only two meals per day. "Their ordinary diet is butter, cheese, milk, colworts, brochan, *i.e.*, oatmeal and water boiled. The latter, taken with some bread, is the constant food of several thousands of both sexes in this and other Isles during the winter and spring; yet they undergo many fatigues both by sea and land, and are very healthful." There was "no place so well stored with such great quantity of good beef and mutton, where so little is consumed by eating." They had plenty exercise and air, preserving "their bodies and minds in a regular frame, free from the various convulsions that ordinarily attend luxury. There is not one of them too corpulent or too meagre" and they took "no fine sauces to entice a false appetite, nor brandy or tea for disgestion, the purest water" serving them in such cases.

The same author gives the following most interesting account of the dress of the Islanders at this period:—The first habit wore by persons of distinction was the leni-croich, from the Irish [Gaelic] leni, which signifies a shirt, and croach saffron, because their shirt was dyed with that herb. The ordinary number of ells used to make this robe was twenty-four. It was the upper garb, reaching below the knees, and was tied with a belt round the middle; but the Islanders have laid it aside about a hundred years ago. They now generally use coat, waistcoat, and breeches, as elsewhere; and on their heads wear bonnets made of thick cloth—some blue, some black, and some grey. Many of the people wear trews. Some have them very fine woven like stockings of



those made of cloth. Some are coloured and others striped. The latter are as well shaped as the former, lying close to the body from the middle downwards, and tied round with a belt above the haunches. There is a square piece of cloth which hangs down before. The measure for shaping the trews is a stick of wood, whose length is a cubit, and that divided into the length of a finger and half a finger, so that it requires more skill to make it than the ordinary habit. The shoes anciently worn were a piece of the hide of a deer, cow, or horse, with the hair on, being tied behind and before with a point of leather. The generality now wear shoes, having one thin sole only, and shaped after the right and left foot, so that what is for one foot will not serve the other. But persons of distinction wear the garb in fashion in the South of Scotland. The plaid wore only by the men is made of fine wool, the thread as fine as can be made of that kind. It consists of divers colours; and there is a great deal of ingenuity required in sorting the colours so as to be agreeable to the nicest fancy. For this reason the women are at great pains, first to give an exact pattern of the plaid upon a piece of wood, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double ells. The one end hangs by the middle over the left arm, the other, going round the body, hangs by the end over the left arm also—the right hand above it is to be at liberty to do anything upon occasion. Every isle differs from each other in their fancy of making plaids as to the stripes in breadth and colours. This humour is as different through the mainland of the Highlands, in so far that they who have seen those places are able at the first view of a man's plaid to guess the place of his residence. When they travel a-foot, the plaid is tied on the breast with a bodkin of bone or wood (just as the spina worn by the Germans, according to the description of C. Tacitus). The plaid is tied round the middle with a leather belt. It is plaited from the belt to the knee very nicely. This dress for footmen is found much easier and lighter than breeches or trews. The ancient dress wore by the women, and which is yet wore by some of the vulgar, called arisad, is a white plaid, having a few small stripes of black, blue, and red. It reached from the neck to the heels, and was tied before on the breast with a buckle of silver or



brass, according to the quality of the person. I have seen some of the former of a hundred marks value. It was broad as any ordinary pewter plate, the whole curiously engraved with various animals, etc. There was a lesser buckle, which was wore in the middle of the larger, and above two ounces weight. It had in the centre a large piece of crystal, or some finer stone, and this was set all round with several finer stones of a lesser size. The plaid being plaited all round, was tied with a belt below the breast. The belt was of leather, and several pieces of silver intermixed with the leather like a chain. The lower end of the belt has a piece of plate about eight inches long and three in breadth, curiously engraven, the end of which was adorned with fine stones or pieces of red coral. The cone sleeves of scarlet cloth, closed at the end as men's vests, with gold lace round them, having plate buttons set with fine stones. The head dress was a fine linen kerchief strait about the head, hanging down the back taper-wise. A large lock of hair hangs down their cheeks above their breast, the lower end tied with a knot of ribbands. The islanders have a great respect for their chiefs and heads of tribes, and they conclude grace after every meal with a petition to God for their welfare and prosperity. Neither will they, as far as in them lies, suffer them to sink under any misfortune ; but in case of a decay of estate, make a voluntary contribution on their behalf, as a common duty to support the credit of their families.\*

Simon Lord Lovat in 1699 erected a monument in the church-yard of Kilmuir, Durinish, to his father, Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, who died at Dunvegan while on a visit to his wife's relations, in May of that year, only three months before the death of Roderick Macleod of Macleod, treated of in our last. The monument, which is of freestone, is still standing, but thirty-five or forty years ago the white marble which contained the inscription fell out and was broken in fragments. The inscription was as follows :—“This pyramid was erected by Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat in honour of Lord Thomas, his father, a peer of Scotland, and Chief of the great and ancient Clan of the Frasers. Being attacked for his birthright by the family of Athole, then in power and favor with King William, yet, by the valour and fidelity of

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\**A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, by Martin Martin, gentleman.



his Clan, and the assistance of the Campbells, the old friends and allies of his family, he defended his birthright with such greatness and firmity of soul, and such valour and activity, that he was an honour to his name, and a good pattern to all brave chiefs of clans. He died in the month of May, 1699, in the 63d year of his age, in Dunvegan, the house of the Laird of Macleod, whose sister he had married; by whom he had the above Simon Lord Fraser, and several other children. And, for the great love he bore the family of Macleod, he desired to be buried near his wife's relations, in the place where two of her uncles lay. And his son, Lord Simon, to show to posterity his great affection for his mother's kindred, the brave Macleods, chooses rather to leave his father's bones with them than carry them to his own burial place near Lovat."

About this time there lived in Skye, about two miles south of the village of Portree, a celebrated man known as Aodh or Hugh Macqueen. From his great stature and intellectual superiority, he was known in Gaelic as Aodh *Mor* MacCuinn. He was distinguished for his integrity and sound judgment, and, generally speaking, when any questions of difficulty arose between the tenants and their proprietors, or among themselves, he was resorted to as arbitrator, when his decisions were usually accepted as final. On one occasion two of Macleod's tenants came to him to decide a dispute which had arisen between them. One of them had a cow, which, slipping over a precipice by the sea, fell into the other man's boat, which was moored at the foot of the rock, stove a hole in it, and was itself killed. The owner of the boat claimed damages for the injury to his property, while the owner of the cow denied liability, and pleaded that if the boat had not been there, his cow might not have been killed, for it would have fallen into the sea. Macleod himself, to whom the case was first referred, had some difficulty in deciding it, so he advised them to consult Aodh, to whose house he accompanied them. The dispute being laid fully before Aodh, he asked whose property the cow was, to which the owner replied that it was his. Aodh then asked whose was the boat, and received a similar reply from the other man. "And whose was the rock?" said Aodh. "Macleod's" was the answer. "Then," said Aodh, "it appears to me



that the accident would not have happened were it not for the rock, and I therefore decide that Macleod shall pay the owners the price of both the boat and the cow." Macleod who was better able to pay than either of his tenants, at once complied with Aodh's decision, and paid the value of both boat and cow.

On another occasion, two men were fishing from a rock near Portree on a very stormy day. An extra high wave carried one of them off his seat into the sea, and the other was only able to reach his drowning companion with his fishing line, the hook of which fixed in his eye. By this means he was hauled ashore, but he lost the use of his eye in consequence. Happening some time after to quarrel with his deliverer, he demanded damages from him for the loss of his eye. The novel dispute was referred to Aodh, who promptly ruled that, whenever there was a storm equal to the one during which the accident took place, the pursuer should go into the sea again at the same place, and, if he gained the shore without any assistance, the defender would then be found liable in damages for the loss of the eye. The pursuer, however, did not quite see the propriety of this course, and nothing more was heard of his claim against the man who had saved him from a watery grave.

Macleod married in September, 1703, Anne Fraser, second daughter of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat, by Lady Amilia Murray, daughter of John, Marquis of Athole. She married, secondly, Peter Fotheringham of Powrie, with issue; and, thirdly, John, second Earl of Cromarty, also with issue. By her Roderick Macleod had issue—one son, Norman, born after his father's death, and by whom he was succeeded in the estates of the family and as Chief of the Clan.

*(To be continued.)*



XIX. NORMAN MACLEOD was born after the death of his father, in 1706, and the estates were managed by his guardians until he came of age, when, in addition to the family estates, he succeeded to a fortune, saved during his minority, of about £60,000. In an Account of the Highland Clans, written in 1725, Macleod is described as "a gentleman of the greatest estate of any of our Highland clans," and we are informed, by the same authority, that in Skye, "in which place the most part of his numerous clan reside," there "are a great number of gentlemen of good account" among his followers.

Norman was not infeft in the family estates, as heir to his father and grandfather, until November, 1731, and May, 1732, though he must have come of age five or six years before these dates. In the latter year he contested the County of Inverness for a seat in Parliament against Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, and was defeated.

A letter from Norman Macleod to the Laird of Culloden, dated at Dunvegan, on the 19th of December, 1732, shows that a regular correspondence had been going on between the two, and that they were on the most friendly terms. After stating his intention of making Barons who could vote in the pending election, and expressing his contempt "for everyone of our shyre that won't on this occasion exert himself," he proceeds—"I won't repeat what I spoke to you last harvest about getting the Custom



House of Hornwa (Stornoway), brought to Glenelg; but I tell you that, in spite of me, a great deal of brandy is run over this island and neighbourhood, which I assure you vexes me; and to show my good inclination for the quick sale of Ferintosh, procure in the meantime (which I am informed can be got) a warrant from the Commissioners of the Customs to me, and whom I appoint, to seize vessels with contraband goods anywhere about Skye or Glenelg: and I'll warrant you an effectual stop shall be put to that mischievous trade; and without I can do little." The people to be employed by Macleod, he said, would expect the same rewards for any seizures made by them, as were allowed to the regularly appointed commissioned officers of the Excise.

Lord Lovat, writing to Culloden ten days later, says that "Duncan (President Forbes) has directed me how to write my answer to my cousin, Macleod, which (advice) I will follow and send you the letter with a flying seal." Regarding his suit against Mackenzie Fraser of Fraserdale for restitution of the Lovat estates then going on, he says in the same letter, "If my cousin, Macleod, designs to interpose to make use of his interest. I think this is the time." That Lovat thought highly of Macleod appears from a letter addressed by his lordship to Culloden, printed at pp. 129-30 of the Culloden papers, and dated, Edinburgh, 30th of January, 1733, in which he says, "My cousin, the Laird of Macleod, is mighty kind in his letter to me; it is most certainly to you that I owe his good intentions to serve me, and live in great friendship with me; but he desires that nobody but you and your brother should know it; otherwise, that it will put him out of condition to serve me, because of the weakness and jealousies of those he has to do with. Macleod," his lordship continues, "is really a sweet-blooded young fellow, and has good sense and writes prettily. I wish with all my soul that this great affair were ended, that we might live in an affectionate and strict friendship together; since I am the nearest relation he has of his father and mother's kindreds." It would appear that they were not only on friendly terms, but that even thus early the crafty Lord Simon succeeded in corrupting Macleod and inducing him to join his lordship, Lord Grange, Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, and others, in abducting and cruelly treating the unfortunate Lady



Grange. The origin of this inhuman transaction is already well known. The principal instruments in carrying it out were John Macleod, advocate, Edinburgh, one of Norman's relatives, and Macdonald of Morar. The leading facts in connection with this lady's strange and cruel experience in the Western Isles are as follows:— A secret association to promote the interests of the Chevalier existed in Scotland in 1731. Lord Grange, a brother of the Earl of Mar, and who had been made a Lord of Session in 1707, became Lord Justice Clerk in the latter years of Queen Anne's reign, and in 1715 he had aided his brother both by his counsel and his wealth. His house was a frequent rendezvous to the disaffected gentry and nobility; and his wife, who was not privy to the conspiracy, soon became suspicious of so many meetings in her house. With natural curiosity, she resolved to find out the secret of their proceedings, and accomplished her object by hiding herself under a sofa during one of the conferences. She is said to have been warmly attached to the ruling family; while her love to her husband, who had always treated her with great harshness, was neither deep nor cordial. A quarrel—no rare occurrence—took place between herself and Lord Grange, when she threatened to revenge herself upon him by disclosing his traitorous proceedings to the Government. He was too well acquainted with her violence and resolution to doubt that she would fulfil her promise; and, seeing that his own safety and all his friends were at stake, he instantly called them together, to devise a remedy against the danger to which they were now open. It was at once agreed that Lady Grange should be locked up; that a report of her death should be circulated; and that Macleod of Dunvegan and Macdonald of Sleat should be asked to receive her into their territories, and to place her in some remote, secluded spot where she would be no more heard of. The plan was at once carried into execution; a mock funeral took place; and she was by an out-of-the-way and devious route carried off to the West, where she was at first confined in the Castle of Island Tyrim, and afterwards in a small hut on the Macleod estates. Subsequently, when her discovery in Skye was feared, she was sent to the Island of Heiskar, on the west coast of North Uist, the property of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, where she was detained for nearly



two years. From there she was removed to the remote Island of St. Kilda, where she remained for seven years, absolutely unable to hold any communication with the outer world. She was then removed to Assynt, and from there back to Uist, and afterwards to Skye. While here, a second time, according to *The New Statistical Account* for the Parish of Duirinish, from which we take the main facts here given, "She fell on a very ingenious expedient for communicating with her friends. The poor people among whom she lived were accustomed to manufacture their wool into yarn, which they annually sent in large clues to the Inverness market for sale. Lady Grange acquired the art of spinning, and, having possessed herself of writing material, she wrote a letter to one of her relatives, which she secretly enclosed in a clue of her own thread that was sent to the market along with others. The purchaser of the yarn forwarded the letter to its destination." Her friends were filled with indignation, and instantly applied to the Government for her liberation. A Government sloop of war was sent to Skye to search for her. Her persecutors, on hearing this, sent her to the Cave of Idrigill, in Waternish. From here she was again sent to Uist, "the person who had the management of the boat having beside him a rope, with a running noose at one end, and a heavy stone at the other, to fix the noose round the prisoner's neck, and to consign her immediately to the deep, should the sloop of war come in sight during the passage," which was accomplished without such an atrocious murder. She was kept in Uist for some time, and when all danger disappeared from the Government search, she was again brought back to Waternish, on the Macleod estates, for a time immured in the Cave of Idrigill, and afterwards allowed to go at large among the people. By this time her reason gave way, and she roamed about among the natives as an idiot, living on the charity of the people, "until, at length, she was overcome with misery and disease, and closed her chequered life at Idrigill, in Waternish, in the month of May, 1745. She was secretly buried in the Church-yard of Trumpan."\* Extraordinary precautions were taken in connection with her funeral. While her remains were thus secretly buried at Trumpan, a public funeral

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\* Cameron's *History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye*.



took place in the Church-yard of Dùirinish of a coffin filled with sods, with great form, and accompanied by the usual crowd of people, specially invited on this occasion, attending interments in the Highlands. The grave itself would never thus, it was thought, bear witness against her cruel and inhuman persecutors, among whom, we fear, it must be recorded that Norman Macleod was one of the chief.

Norman, in 1741, again contested the County of Inverness, with Sir James Grant of Grant, when he defeated his opponent. He represented his native County in Parliament for fourteen years, from 1741 to 1754. He undoubtedly encouraged Prince Charles to come over from France in 1745, though he afterwards, mainly by the influence of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, refused to join him and ultimately fought against him. Miss Macleod of Macleod, Dunvegan Castle, remembers having seen in the Macleod charter chest an interesting correspondence between the Prince and Macleod, in which the latter invited His Royal Highness "to come over several months before he arrived," but the letters have since unfortunately disappeared, and the family knows nothing as to where they have gone to. Keeping this correspondence in mind, it is not surprising that Macleod who was in the confidence of the Prince, should have been able to convey the earliest intelligence of his arrival in the Western Isles to the representatives of the Government. As soon as His Royal Highness landed at Lochnanuagh, he sent young Clanranald, and Allan Macdonald, brother of Kinloch-Moidart, to request Macleod and Macdonald of Sleat to join him with their followers. These messengers found both chiefs at Dunvegan Castle. They refused to join, Macleod excusing himself on the ground that the Prince did not bring along with him the auxiliaries which he led the island chiefs to believe would have accompanied him from France. Norman was not, however, satisfied with his breach of promise and refusal to join the Prince, but he immediately, on the departure of the messengers, sent the following letter, printed in the *Culloden Papers*, to Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lord President of the Court of Session, which was, as already stated, the first intimation the Government received of the arrival of the Prince in the Highlands:—



My dearest Lord,—To my no small surprise, it is certain that the pretended Prince of Wales is come in the coast of South Uist and Barra, and has since been hovering on parts of the coast of the Mainland that is between the point of Ardnamurchan and Glenelg. He has but one ship of which he is aboard; she mounts about 16 or 18 guns. He has about thirty Irish or French officers with him, and one Sheridan, who is called his governor. The Duke of Athole's brother is the only man of any sort of note (that once belonged to this country) that I can hear of that is along with him. His view, I need not tell you, was, to raise all the Highlands to assist him, etc. Sir Alex. Macdonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours to follow the same prudent method; and I am persuaded we have done it with such success, that not one man of any consequence north of the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt. How far you think we acted properly, I shall long to know; but this is certain, we did it as our duty and for the best, for in the present situation of affairs in Europe, I should have been sorry to see anything like disaffection to the Government appear, though even so trivial; or that there was occasion to march a single company to quell it, which now I hope and dare-say there is not.

As it can be of no use to the public to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us, but this we leave in your own breast, as you are a much better judge of what is or is not proper to be done. I have written to no one else; and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly. Sir Alex. is here, and has seen this scrawl.—I ever am, most faithfully, yours,

(Signed)                      NORMAND MACLEOD.

Dunvegan, 3rd August, 1745.

The Lord President, etc.

P.S.—Last night I had the pleasure of yours of the 25th. A thousand thanks for your advice; but I am in good health by the very means you mention, moderate exercise and regularity, without starving. Young Clanranald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence, etc.

Sir Alexander Macdonald followed this letter by another dated at Tallisker eight days later, on the 11th of August, and in which he refers to the foregoing letter from Macleod, concluding by declaring —“I pledge Macleod in writing for him and myself”—to the Government. On the 19th of the same month the Lord President



answered Sir Alexander's letter, saying that his own and Macleod's conduct gave him "very great satisfaction."

On the 17th of August Macleod wrote to the Lord President another letter, from Sconsar, in which he acknowledges receipt there of the reply from President Forbes to his former letter, while on his way "armless and alone, to prevent his people in Glenelg from being prevailed upon by their neighbours, the Macdonalds of Knoydart, to join the Prince." He then details the number of arms, officers, and men that His Royal Highness has along with him, and intimates that he is to raise his standard at Glenfinnan on the following Monday, "and," Macleod says, "as I am pretty sure of information from thence you shall know it." He knew "from Lord Lovat's forwardness to serve the Government" that he would not join, though he afterwards lost his head for doing so. "Sir Alexa. Macdonald and I," he continues, "can easily raise from 1500 to 2000 men for the King's service if they are wanted; and I am sure we are willing; but then some of our ships would require to land that number of arms here; else 1800 staves, with about 200 guns and swords would make but a foolish figure." Notwithstanding the position taken up by their Chief, many of his men, who were indignant at his conduct, joined the Prince and offered their services, some of their leaders offering to return to Skye and raise as many of the clan as they could. Macleod of Swordland undertook to take the fort of Bernera in Glenelg, and to raise a hundred men, but the influence of the Chief proved too strong for him, and he did not succeed in either undertaking. There is no doubt that Macleod's conduct was at first largely governed by Lord Lovat as well as by Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat. On the 7th of October, 1745, Lovat writes to the Lord President, inclosing "a letter from my dear cousin, and your real friend, the Laird of Macleod," and on the same day the President acknowledges receipt, saying that "both letters breathe what I should expect to meet with from both, stark love and kindness," and using other expressions which go to show that he and Macleod were on very confidential and friendly terms.

After the victory of the Highland army at Prestonpans, the Prince, on the 24th of September, sent Alexander Macleod of Muiravonside to Skye to urge upon Macleod and Sir Alexander



Macdonald to join him, with their clansmen, and that their past conduct would be imputed, not to any disloyalty, but to the private manner in which he came to Scotland, without any of the promised aid in men and money from France. Sir Alexander again unhesitatingly refused to move, but it appears that Macleod wavered under the argumentative eloquence of the solicitations of his relative, and, while on a visit to Lord Lovat, he agreed to meet the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat, at Corryarrick on the 15th of October, at the head of his men. On his return to Skye, he was, however, prevailed upon by Sir Alexander Macdonald to stop at home. It would appear that Macleod was taking lessons in duplicity from old Simon, whose son, the Master, his Lordship craftily resolved, should join the Prince, while the old fox himself should still pretend to be loyal to the Government. It would appear from the following letter that he not only advised Macleod to follow this example, but that young Macleod, at the head of his clansmen, had actually gone as far on his way as Beaufort. Macleod writes to the Lord-President from Dunvegan on the 23rd of October, 1745, a letter, in which he says:—

“By the end of next week Talisker, who has just got a son, will be ready to move, and I will by that time have a body of 300 men, so disposed here that they can move on a day's notice. Sir Alexander has sent to Uist for his Captain, and I am very hopeful he will be ready as soon as Talisker, or very quickly after. The behaviour of my son's men vexes me to the soul; they were entering an outhouse of Lovat's and sent to the Master's rendezvous. Sandy Macleod is still here, waiting to see his uncle from Harris; he has made some attempts to raise rebellion against the knight and me here, but with very bad success.”

Only a week before Lovat wrote to the President, intimating that his son marched at the head of his men to join the Prince, and it would have been seen that Macleod was with Lovat on the 15th, two days previously, and that between that date and the 23rd of the same month, young Macleod had reached Lovat's country, on his way to join the “Master's rendezvous” on the march to join the Highland army under Prince Charles. Whether young Macleod joined the Frasers, or what became of himself and his men, we have not been able to ascertain, but they do not appear to have joined the Prince.

*(To be continued.)*



**PRESIDENT FORBES**, on the 24th of October, 1745, wrote to Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, urging the necessity of either him or Macleod of Macleod marching forthwith, at the head of the largest body of their men that could be got together, to the town of Inverness, while the other of them should remain in the island "to give the people directions, and to keep the proper countenance in that country." The people were most unwilling to join their chiefs to fight against Prince Charles, and it is well known that had they been told before they left home they were going to fight for the Hanoverian dynasty, and against the Stuarts, they would not have left Skye. Even after they arrived in the South they expressed their unwillingness to fight against the Prince, and there is little doubt that they only did so in a very half-hearted manner. Donald Macleod of Bernera refused to follow his chief when requested to go to Dunvegan with his followers. In reply, he wrote—"I place at your disposal the twenty men of your tribe who are under my immediate command, and in any other quarrel would not fail to be at their head, but in the present I must go where a higher and more imperious duty calls me." He then joined his Prince and fought against his chief.

President Forbes, writing to Mr. (afterwards Sir Andrew) Mitchell on the 13th of November, 1745, says, among other things, that he found himself "almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided without no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue and some reputation; and if you will except Macleod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage." Macleod was with the President for some time prior to the date of this letter; for we find Forbes writing to Sir John Cope from Culloden on the 12th of the previous September a letter in which he says—"Monday night Captain Sutherland, with 54



men, and Tuesday night Captain Macleod, with his company complete arrived at Inverness," and in the same letter the Lord President continues—"I have great assistance at present from Macleod, who at my desire came from the Isle of Skye, alongst with his son" (who commanded the Macleod company), "and is now my fellow labourer." It would appear that the son and his men were not altogether to be depended upon; for six weeks after the date of this letter we find Macleod on the 23rd of October, during a visit home to Dunvegan, writing the letter in which he said—"The behaviour of my son's men vexes me to the soul. They were entering an outhouse of Lovat's, and sent to the master's rendezvous." The master, it will be remembered, was at this time on his way to Corryarrick, at the head of the Frasers to join Prince Charles. Young Macleod seems, however, to have reconsidered his position, and to have followed the advice of his father by adhering to the Government.

The Lord President and the Earl of Loudon, writing to General Wade, at this time commanding in the North, on the 16th of November, 1745, says that 160 Mackenzies, seduced by the Earl of Cromarty, marched in the beginning of the week up the north side of Loch-Ness, depending upon being followed by five or six hundred Frasers under the Master of Lovat. The Mackenzies had not then, however, passed the mountains, and the Frasers had not yet left their own country, and their Lordships had hopes they would not, for they had seven hundred Highlanders then in pay at Inverness, and looked hourly for more, with whom they were to endeavour to persuade the Frasers to stay at home. "Last Friday," the writer of this letter continues, "Macleod, with 400 of his kindred, joined us; which gives us hopes that we shall prevent the march of the Frasers who are not yet gone." This was on the 15th of November, when the four Macleod Companies mustered at Inverness, and their officers received their commissions. The Captains who commanded the respective companies were—John Macleod, younger of Macleod; Norman Macleod, of Waterstein; Norman Macleod, of Berneray; and Donald Macdonald. The Lieutenants were—Alexander Macleod, Donald Macleod, John Campbell, and William Macleod; and the Ensigns John Mac-



Caskill, John Macleod, John Macleod, and Donald Macleod. These four companies were joined by a company of one hundred men raised in Assynt by Captain Macleod of Geanies, and on the 10th of December they marched towards Elgin, under command of Norman Macleod of Macleod, to oppose Lewis Gordon's operations in the Counties of Banff and Aberdeen. On the 13th of that month, the President writes to Macleod at Elgin "that Lord Lovat is come into town (Inverness) after abundance of shillie shallie stuff," and that "he has at last agreed that all the arms belonging to his people shall be carried into Inverness by Sunday night." This undertaking of Lovat's, whether, as the President says, it be "jest or earnest," detained Lord Loudon from going to the east to support Macleod, but Munro of Culcairn's and William Mackintosh's companies were sent after him so as to enable him to redeem engagements entered into by the Lord President, and those in superior command with the Duke of Gordon and others in Banffshire. On the same day President Forbes wrote Macleod another letter, in which he says—"As zeal for His Majesty's service, and for the support of our happy Constitution, is the sole motive of your march, with so many of your kinsmen, to a country so distant from your own, I presume you will not scruple to take directions from me, who, though I have no military command or authority, am actuated by the same principles that direct you." The first object of the expedition was to be "to deliver the Duke of Gordon's vassals and tenants and their neighbours in Banffshire from the oppression of the rebels, in the illegal and treasonable levies of men and money which they presume by force to make." Four days later, on the 17th of the same month, the President writes Macleod again, saying—"The complaints of the City and County of Aberdeen of the oppression they suffer from the rebels are so clamorous, and the injury they suffer so violent, that it is no longer possible to endure them. You are, therefore, without loss of time, unless some accident insuperable detain you, to march alongst with Captain Munro of Culcairn and the company under his command, to Aberdeen, to secure that City and its neighbourhood from the hardships it has already felt, and is further threatened with." On the same day the Lord President wrote to



James Morison, ex-Lord Provost of Aberdeen, intimating to him that "the Laird of Macleod goes a volunteer, at the head of a considerable body of his own kindred, to deliver you from harm." In this expedition the Chief of Dunvegan had altogether seven companies under his command. He seems, however, not only to have failed in his object, but to have secured no laurels whatever for himself and his followers during the expedition.

On his arrival in Elgin, Macleod received information that a body of two hundred of Prince Charlie's followers had taken possession of the passage of the River Spey at Fochabers, but as he advanced they retreated and allowed him to cross the river without any opposition, after which he continued his march to Cullen, Banff, and Inverury. In the latter place, he was met on the 23rd of October, and nearly taken by surprise after night-fall by a superior force commanded by Lord Lewis Gordon. He was able to get his men hurriedly under arms, and take possession of a few points of vantage in the town, where he made a brief stand, but his shot being expended, after a short skirmish, in which he lost about forty men, most of whom were taken prisoners, he made a hasty retreat across the Spey, on to Elgin and Forres. Here many of his men, who had no sympathy whatever with the cause for which they were asked to fight, left their Chief and went back to Skye as fast as their feet could take them. At Forres he mustered the remainder of his followers, and remained in that town until after Prince Charles' march from Stirling. Macleod was ordered to Inverness, where he was joined by two companies of Sir Alexander Macdonald's men, under the command of Captain James Macdonald of Airds, Troternish, Skye, and Captain John Macdonald of Kirkibost, North Uist, forming part of a force of about two thousand men, under the supreme command of the Earl of Loudon.

At Inverness, Macleod received a letter from Lord Lewis Gordon in reply to inquiries which he had made of his Lordship regarding the prisoners taken at Inverury. In this letter, dated at "Aberdeen, December 27th, 1745," Lord Gordon says—"I received your letter by express last night, dated from Gordon Castle, the 24th. All the care in our power has and shall be taken of your wounded men; and all the prisoners that were taken



under their arms shall meet with all the civility in our power. . . . I shall take care to order supplies to be given to all the prisoners who want them, and the wounded men are as well taken care of as our own. I shall send you a list of the prisoners and wounded, with any useless papers and letters, as soon as possible ; and any other thing we can reasonably agree to, shall be done with pleasure." As Lord Gordon did not know where to find Macleod, he addressed the letter "To the Honourable ye Laird of Makcleod, att Duncan Forbess's House, near Inverness. These." Lord Gordon asked to be obliged in offering his compliments to Lord Charles Gordon, and he intimates in a postscript that "Colonel Colbert desires his compliments to be made to his Broyr. Castlehill," Inverness.

The next expedition in which we find Macleod engaged is in the ludicrous scare known as the "Rout of Moy," in which Lord Loudon, who commanded, and his followers, among whom were the Macleods and their Chief, cut such a sorry figure. The following is the best version of the facts :—On the 16th of February, Prince Charles arrived at Moy Hall, the seat of the Mackintosh, who was himself away from home fighting for the Government. His lady was, however, a strong Jacobite, and, in the absence of her husband, she raised the clan to join the Prince, under Alexander Macgillivray of Dunmaglass, who led them to Perth. He afterwards joined Prince Charles, on his return from England, and was there appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the battalion, then raised from five to eight hundred by the addition to it of three hundred Farquharsons. They afterwards, on the 17th of January, 1746, took part in the battle of Falkirk, after which the Prince and his whole army retired to the North, arriving, as already stated, at Moyhall, on Sunday, the 16th of February, within twelve miles of Inverness, where Lord Loudon was stationed at the head of some two thousand Government troops. The Commander at Inverness soon learnt that the Prince was in his vicinity, and determined to take him dead or alive. For this purpose he placed a cordon of sentinels round the town to prevent anyone getting out of it to give the alarm at Moyhall, and on Sunday evening he marched out for that place at the head of fifteen hundred men, the advance guard commanded by Norman Macleod of Macleod.



Notwithstanding Loudon's sentinels, messengers were despatched from Inverness to Moyhall in advance of Loudon's troops intimating the danger of the Prince. Mrs. Mackintosh, on the arrival of his Royal Highness at her house, had sent out five or six men, under Donald Fraser, the smith of Moy, to watch the road from Inverness, which crossed the Nairn at the Bridge of Faillie. About midnight the blacksmith and his scouts discovered the approach of troops—Loudon's advanced guard—under Macleod, who, according to the *Jacobite Memoirs*, had been for some time "lying in a hollow, not knowing what to do by reason of the flashes of lightning from the heavens that was confounding all their designs." On perceiving them, the blacksmith, with great presence of mind, drew back his men to a pass near Creag-an-Eoin, and after instructing them as to how they were to act, posted them on each side of the road, and then coolly awaited the approach of Loudon's army. There were a number of peat stacks about, and they are supposed to have mistaken them in the dark for bodies of men. As soon as the first of Loudon's army came in sight, Fraser fired his piece amongst them, his companions making a great noise, and running from place to place in different directions, following his example. The smith at the same time was, at the height of his voice, ordering imaginary Macdonalds and Camerons to advance on the right and on the left, and to give no quarter to the enemy, who wanted to murder their lawful prince, thus leading Loudon's followers to think that they were confronted by a large body of the Prince's army. Macleod's famous piper, Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, was killed by the blacksmith's first shot, standing close to the side of his Chief. The Government troops, thinking they had a whole army in front of them, made a hasty retreat to Inverness, the Macleods carrying the piper's body, who was the only person killed, all the way to Inverness, where he is said to have been buried. The author of *The History of Clanchattan* says that "the advanced guard, already dazzled by the lightning, fell into a panic, and rushed back on their main body, throwing that also into confusion. None doubted that the whole Jacobite force was upon them; and the entire army, inspired by an indescribable terror, turned their faces towards Inverness, and made their way to a place of safety with all the speed of which they were capable."



Home, the author of *The History of the Rebellion*, says :—"The panic, fear, and flight continued till they got near Inverness, without being in any danger but that of being trampled to death, which many of them, when they were lying upon the ground and trod upon by such numbers, thought they could not possibly escape." The Master of Ross, who was present, and from whom Home got his account of the famous Rout, said "he had been in many perils, but had never found himself in a condition so grievous as that in which he was at the Rout of Moy." The Prince in the meantime, on learning his danger, was up and out of bed at an early hour on Monday morning, and, after dressing hurriedly and seeing his brave hostess in the court-yard, was conducted to Moybeg, where the Camerons of Lochiel were encamped, with whom he had resolved to make a stand in the event of his being attacked. Shortly after his arrival, however, a messenger reached him conveying the gratifying intelligence of the blacksmith's remarkable victory, whereupon the Prince at once returned to Moyhall, and he almost immediately with his force, now greatly augmented, marched upon Inverness, which he entered, at the head of his troops, on the 18th. Loudon, thinking the whole of the Highland army was at his heels, believed that in his retreat he was only saved from annihilation by the darkness of the night, did not remain in Inverness for a moment, but crossed Kessock Ferry as quickly as he could get his troops across on the 17th and 18th, pursued by a considerable force under the Earl of Cromarty. They were afterwards followed into Sutherlandshire and broken up, after which Loudon made for the sea coast. He then took passage with Macleod and his followers to Skye, where he and Lord President Forbes remained, at Dunvegan, in safe quarters until after the Battle of Culloden.

Donald Bàn MacCrimmon, killed at the Rout of Moy, was reputed the best piper in the Highlands in his day. The author of *The History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye* says that MacCrimmon, when leaving Dunvegan at that time, had a presentiment that he would never return from the expedition, and on that occasion he composed that plaintive air 'Cha till mi tuilleadh;' or MacCrimmon's Lament, which he played on the pipes as the independent companies of the Macleods were leaving Dunvegan,



while their wives and sweethearts were waving a sorrowful farewell to them. To this air MacCrimmon composed a feeling Gaelic song, the sentiments in which are brought out in the English imitation by Sir Walter Scott, which is as follows:—

- “ Macleod’s wizard flag from the grey castle sallies,  
The rowers are seated, unmoored are the galleys;  
Gleam war-axe and broadsword, clang target and quiver,  
As MacCrimmon plays ‘ Farewell to Dunvegan for ever ! ’
- “ Farewell to each cliff, on which breakers are foaming,  
Farewell each dark glen in which red-deer are roaming,  
Farewell, lonely Skye, to lake, mountain, and river,  
Macleod may return, but MacCrimmon shall never.
- “ Farewell the bright clouds that on Culen are sleeping,  
Farewell the bright eyes in the fort that are weeping;  
To each minstrel delusion farewell ! and for ever—  
MacCrimmon departs to return to you never.
- “ The Banshee’s wild voice sings the death-dirge before me,  
And the pall of the dead for a mantle hangs o’er me;  
But my heart shall not fly, and my nerve shall not quiver,  
Though devoted I go—to return again, never !
- “ Too oft shall the note of MacCrimmon’s bewailing,  
Be heard when the Gael on their exile are sailing;  
Dear land ! to the shores whence unwilling we sever;  
Return, return, return, we shall never !

MacCrimmon had a sweetheart at Dunvegan, who, on hearing him play his “ Lament,” is said to have composed a touching song in response, which appeared in *Cuairtear nan Gleann*, and which is quoted below. It is, however, alleged that the late Rev. Dr. Norman Macleod, of St. Columba’s, Glasgow, the genial and talented editor of the *Cuairtear*, was himself the composer of the song:—

“ Dh’ iadh ceo nan stuc mu aodann Chuilinn,  
Is sheinn a’ bhean-shith a torman mulaid,  
Tha suilean gorm ciuin ’s an Dun a’ sileadh  
O’n thrial thu bhuainn ’s nach till thu tuilleadh.

“ Cha till, cha till, cha till MacCruimein,  
An cogadh no sith cha till e tuilleadh,  
Le airgiod no ni cha till MacCruimein;  
Cha till gu brath gu la na cruinne.

“ Tha osag nan gleann gu fann ag imeachd;  
Gach sruthan ’s gach allt gu mall le bruthach;



**Tha ialt' nan speur feadh gheugan dubhach,  
A' caoidh gun d' fhalbh 's nach till thu tuilleadh.**

**“ Cha till, cha till, etc.**

**“ Tha'n fhairge fadheoidh lan broin is mulaid,  
Tha 'm bata fo sheol, ach dhiult i siubhal ;  
Tha gair nan tonn le fuaim neo-shubhach,  
Ag radh gun d' fhalbh 's nach till thu tuilleadh.**

**“ Cha till, cha till, etc.**

**“ Cha chluinnear do cheol 's an Dun mu fheasgar,  
'S mac-talla nam mur le muirn 'g a fhreagairt ;  
Gach fleasgach is oigh, gun cheol, gun bheadradh,  
O'n thrialh thu bhuainn 's nach till thu tuilleadh.**

**“ Cha till, cha till, etc.”**

*(To be continued.)*



NORMAN MACLEOD and the Lord-President always continued on the most friendly terms; for we find them repeatedly referring to each other in letters to their friends from London. The Lord Lyon, Alexander Brodie of Brodie, whose only daughter afterwards married Macleod's son, writing to President Forbes from London on the 1st of July, 1746, disclosed the fact that Macleod was against the Act which made it penal for a Highlander to wear his native dress. In this letter the Lord Lyon states, after having consulted the Duke of Newcastle and the Chancellor, that the Government did not propose to bring in any Bills relative to Scotland that session, "except the Meeting-house Bill, and that for Discharging the Highland dress"; which, he says, was to be brought into the House of Commons in a day or two. "For my own part," Brodie continues, "I am yet, in my private opinion, for the Bill, not being convinced against it; but as I understand that your Lordship and my friend Macleod were against it, I have objected to it, and asked the Duke of H—— what crimes had the Campbells, Sutherlands, Macleods, Munros, Mackays, etc., been guilty of, that they should be punished by the Legislature, whilst they were in arms for the Government? which did puzzle; and was answered, the Whig clans might be excepted, which, I said, would not do; the thing must be general or could have no effect." From the same letter, it also appears that Lord Stair "opposes the Dress Bill," but, as we all know, this obnoxious measure was ultimately passed into law.

On the 18th of December following, Macleod writes to the Lord President asking his influence in favour of the appointment of the Rev. Neil Macleod as minister of Laggan. "You may remember," Macleod writes, "he was of the Church Militant, and attended me in my expedition eastward, and stayed with the men constantly till they were sent home, and preached sound doctrine, and really was zealous and serviceable. The Duke (of Gordon) agrees that anyone you recommend have his interest; and as Mr.



Clark is gone to Hornway, I hope you will recommend Mr. Neil; and writing to Mr. Gordon, the Curator, will be sufficient and what the Duke desires. The Curator likewise told me he would be very willing to serve him on my account." In the same letter Macleod refers to Lord Lovat, then a prisoner in London. He says—"I saw unhappy Lovat to-day. Except for the feebleness of his limbs, his looks are good. He asked me several questions, and particularly about you [the Lord President]; said he was resigned and ready to meet his fate, since it was God's will; asked after his children, etc. I did not stay till he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Peers; so I know not what they have done with the petition he was to present; nor if a day is appointed for his trial." On the 13th of January, 1747, Macleod writes a long letter to the President about his old friend, Lovat, who was that day again brought to the bar of the House of Lords, to answer the articles of impeachment exhibited against him, which he did by a denial, that "seemed to be well drawn-up and properly worded." Sir Arthur Forbes, writing to the President, on the 9th of April following, says—"Its astonishing with what resolution and *sang froid* Lovat died to-day." Having referred to the manner and incidents of his death, and his excellent spirits on that and the preceding day, Sir Arthur says in a postscript—"Though Macleod could write you many more things (at least as I suppose), he desires to be excused till Saturday." In a letter from Brodie to the President, dated two days later, on the 11th, he says—"As Sir Arthur and Macleod write you so frequently the occurrences here, I need not trouble you with a repetition of them, especially as, since Tuesday last, there has nothing remarkable happened, except Lovat's dying with courage and decency, forgiving all mankind. He, I am told, blamed your lordship and Macleod for somewhat," and said that Fraser of Gorthlick was a pupil and a spy of the Lord President's and Macleod's.

It will be remembered that Macleod was a member of Parliament during all these years—1741 to 1754—for the County of Inverness. He mixed with the leading men of his time, and became very extravagant in his habits, gambled, and finally spent the splendid fortune which he inherited on his coming of



age, amounting, as already stated, to the magnificent sum, those days, of £60,000, with an ancient family inheritance unimpaired and entirely free of debt. It is, however, in consequence of his extravagance—for he died £50,000 in debt—that his successors had to part with some of the most valuable portions of their estates, including Glenelg, Harris, and Glendale, as will be seen hereafter.

His grandson, General Macleod, who succeeded him as chief of the clan on his death in 1772, wrote him in 1785, in a manuscript fragment of "Memoirs of his Own Life," in the following terms:—

"My grandfather, Norman, was an only and posthumous son; by the frugality of his ancestors, and the savings of his minority, he found our ancient inheritance in the most prosperous condition. I knew him in his advanced age; and from himself, and many other friends, have heard much of the transactions of his life. With a body singularly well made and active, he possessed very lively parts. The circumstances of the times introduced him to the public with great advantage; and, till the unfortunate 1745, he was much considered. An attachment to the race of Stuart then prevailed in Scotland; and many of the leading men in England still favoured it. His independent fortune and promising character early obtained him the representation in Parliament of Inverness-shire, his native county. The numbers and fidelity of his clan, and his influence with his neighbours, were known; and I have reason to believe that many allurements were held out to seduce him to engagements, which were then considered only as dangerous, but neither guilty nor dishonourable. It would be neither pleasing nor useful to inquire how deeply he was concerned in the preludes to the rebellion; nor, indeed, have I been able to learn. It is certain that in the year 1746 he raised a company of his vassals to serve under my father, his only son, in Lord Loudon's regiment, and afterwards appeared, with six hundred of his clan, in defence of the present Royal Family. From this period he was unfortunate; the Jacobites treated him as an apostate, and the successful party did not reward his loyalty. The former course of his life had been expensive; his temper was convivial and hospitable; and he continued to impair his fortune till his death in 1772. He was the first of our family who was led, by the change of manners, to leave the patriarchal Government of his clan, and to mix in the pursuits and ambition of the world. It was not then common to see the representatives of the Highland tribes endeavouring to raise themselves to eminence in the nation by the arts of eloquence, or regular military gradation;



they were contented with private opulence and local dignity, or trusted their rank in the State to the antiquity of their families, or their provincial influence. Had Norman felt in his youth the necessity of professional or Parliamentary exertions, and had he received a suitable education, he would not have left his family in distress; but the excellence of his parts, and the vigour of his mind would have attained a station more advantageous for the flight of his successors."

Having described his own early youth and education, General Macleod proceeds—

"In the year 1771 a strange passion for emigrating to America seized many of the middling and poorer sort of Highlanders. The change of manners in their chieftains, since 1745, produced effects which were evidently the proximate cause of this unnatural dereliction of their own, and appetite for a foreign, country. The laws which deprived the Highlanders of their arms and garb would certainly have destroyed the feudal military powers of the chieftains; but the fond attachment of the people to their patriarchs would have yielded to no laws. They were themselves destroyers of that pleasing influence. Sucked into the vortex of the nation, and allured to the capitals, they degenerated from patriarchs and chieftains to landlords; and they became as anxious for increase of rent as the new-made lairds—the *novi-homines*—the mercantile purchasers of the Lowlands. Many tenants, whose fathers, for generations, had enjoyed their little spots, were removed for higher bidders. Those who agreed, at any price, for their ancient *lares*, were forced to pay an increase, without being taught any new method to increase their produce. In the Hebrides, especially, this change was not gradual, but sudden and baleful were its effects. The people, freed by the laws from the power of the chieftains, and loosened by the chieftains themselves from the bonds of affection, turned their eyes and their hearts to new scenes. America seemed to open its arms to receive every discontented Briton. To those possessed of very small sums of money, it offered large possessions of uncultivated but excellent land, in a preferable climate—to the poor it held out large wages for labour; to all it promised property and independence. Many artful emissaries, who had an interest in the transportation or settlement of emigrants, industriously displayed these temptations; and the desire of leaving their own country for the new land of promise became furious and epidemic. Like all the other popular furies, it infected not only those who had reason to complain of their situation or injuries, but those who were most favoured and most comfortably settled. In the



beginning of 1772 my grandfather, who had always been a most beneficent and beloved chieftain, but whose necessities had lately induced him to raise his rents, became much alarmed by this new spirit which had reached his clan. Aged and infirm, he was unable to apply the remedy in person ; he devolved the task on me ; and gave me for an assistant our nearest male relation, Colonel Macleod of Talisker. The duty imposed on us was difficult ; the estate was loaded with debt, encumbered with a numerous issue from himself and my father, and charged with some jointures. His tenants had lost, in that severe winter, above a third of their cattle, which constituted their substance ; their spirits were soured by their losses and the late augmentations of rent ; and their ideas of America were inflamed by the strongest representations, and the example of their neighbouring clans. My friend and I were empowered to grant such reductions in the rents as might seem necessary and reasonable ; but we found it terrible to decide between the justice to creditors the necessities of an ancient family which we ourselves represented, and the claims and distresses of an impoverished tenantry. To God I owe, and I trust will ever pray, the most fervent thanks that this terrible task enabled us to lay the foundation of circumstances (though then unlooked for) that I hope will prove the means not only of the rescue, but of the aggrandisement of our family. I was young, and had the warmth of the liberal passions natural to that age. I called the people of the different districts of our estate together ; I laid before them the situation of our family—its debts, its burthens, its distresses ; I acknowledged the hardships under which they laboured ; I described and reminded them of the manner in which they and their ancestors had lived with mine ; I combated their passion for America by a real account of the dangers and hardships they might encounter there ; I besought them to love their young chieftain, and to renew with him the ancient manners ; I promised to live among them ; I threw myself upon them ; I recalled to remembrance an ancestor who had also found his estate in ruin, and whose memory was held in the highest veneration ; I desired every district to point out some of their oldest and most respected men, to settle with me every claim ; and I promised to do everything for their relief which in reason I could. My worthy relation ably seconded me, and our labour was not in vain. We gave considerable abatements in the rents ; few emigrated ; and the clan conceived the most cordial attachment to me, which they most effectively manifested."

While the future General Macleod was thus patriotically engaged, his grandfather died and he succeeded to the estates



himself; but as we have not yet completed our sketch of his grandfather, the remainder of the grandson's career must in the meantime be postponed.

Macleod was on the most intimate terms with the famous Rob Roy Macgregor, and it is curious that Norman's portrait, painted by Allan Ramsay, preserved in Dunvegan Castle, is set off, dressed in Rob Roy tartan. In this connection the following story is told:—Macleod on a certain occasion wanted some money brought from Inverness to Dunvegan. He requested one of his most trusted servants to go for it. The man was afraid that he might be met by Rob, who was then known to be prowling about in the hills between Skye and Inverness, on the mainland. Though the regular institution of a fool in the family retinue had long been given up by the Macleods, a simpleton was at this time one of the hangers-on about the castle, and the servant who had been asked to proceed to Inverness took him into his confidence, and expressed his fears to him of meeting the famous outlaw on his way to or from the Highland Capital, and he was afraid he might rob him of his master's money, and perhaps get killed in protecting and defending himself. The fool only laughed at the man's fears, and, without stating the reason why, he went straight to Macleod, and offered to go for the money in place of the other man. To this his master at once agreed.

While on his way, but still some distance from Inverness, the fool, on the steep side of a hill met a man who, very politely, asked him where he came from and where he was going. Being promptly told, the stranger asked him what he was going to do in Inverness. He was going for money for his master, Macleod. "Your master must be very rich," says the stranger. "Pretty well," replied the fool. "How much money are you to take home?" "Oh, may be a thousand pounds," proudly replied the fool. "Be sure you take care of it," said the stranger. "I hope we shall meet again." "I hope so, too," replied the other. He then went on his way to Inverness, got the money; and on his return journey sat down to rest near the same spot where he had met the strange man while on his way to Inverness, a little higher up in the face of the hill, above the path. Presently, who should he see coming along, riding on a beautiful steed, but his old



friend, who called out to him, from the path below, that he was glad to see him, and desired to know if he succeeded in doing his master's business in Inverness in a satisfactory manner. "Oh, yes, sir," replied the fool, in the most respectful tone; for he thought, from the magnificence of the horse and the style of his accoutrements, that its owner must be a great and important personage. "I hope," the stranger answered, "you have the thousand pounds all safe, for you must give it to me." The messenger was taken aback for a moment, but replied "I can't give you my master's money." "Oh, but you must," answered the other, "I am Rob Roy." "I can't," insisted the fool, who had now got into a terrible state of terror, "it would be ruin to me." "I'll shoot you dead if you don't" said Rob in commanding tones, "Oh have mercy, have mercy, I'm only a poor fool." "Give me the money" imperatively cried Rob. "Well if I must—rather than death," gasped the other, and taking a parcel from his breast, he threw it past Rob Roy. It rolled down the hill-side. Rob jumped off his horse, and ran after the supposed treasure to the bottom of the hill. In a moment the fool was in Rob Roy's saddle, driving the horse away as fast as he could run, now quite at ease and happy in his mind; for the parcel he threw away contained only a pair of stockings, while Macleod's thousand pounds were still quite safe in his breast, and Roy Roy was left helpless to muse upon the clever manner in which the Dunvegan fool had outwitted him.

As the rider approached the Castle, he was noticed by the "Fear-Faire"—the watchman, who, in those days, sat there at all times. He could not understand who the strange visitor, riding such a splendid charger, could be, and he ran to Macleod to tell him of his approach, and to ask if he should be admitted. Macleod said, "Certainly; one man cannot hurt us." The fool rode up very proudly, and every one looked at him with astonishment. "Where did you get that horse?" inquired Macleod, who, when he heard the fool's story, laughed outright, and said that he was a very fine fellow. This pleased him very much; but when Macleod examined the saddle-bags, he found that there was much more money in them than the messenger had brought him from Inverness, and he at once turned round and told him



that he must at once go back to Rob Roy and return to him his money and his horse. The fool was terribly frightened, but he went, and gave back to the outlaw both his charger and his cash, and the fool, and Rob Roy and Macleod are said to have been the best of friends ever after.

*(To be continued.)*



**IN 1760 Macleod raised a company of men on his property in Skye, and gave the command to his nephew, Captain Fotheringham of Powrie. The company was afterwards embraced in Keith and Campbell's Highlanders, and served with distinction in Germany, under Prince Ferdinand. A good number of men from Macleod's estates joined the Scotch Brigade in Holland, of which Macleod of Talisker was Colonel, and Macleod of Balmeanach Major.**

**Norman was known in his time, and is still spoken of in the**



traditional history of the family as "An Droch Dhuine" or "The Wicked Man." This was no doubt owing to his gambling, extravagant, and reckless habits of life, by which he for a time seriously impaired the prospects of the family, and especially for his cruel treatment of his first wife, and Lady Grange.

He married first, about 1726, Janet, youngest daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, fourth Baronet of Sleat, with issue—

1. John, who commanded the Macleods at Inverness in 1745, and married in 1753 Emilia, only daughter of Alexander Brodie of Brodie, Lyon-King-at-Arms, with issue—one son, Norman, born on the 4th of March, 1754, at Brodie House, who succeeded his grandfather in the family estates, and as Chief of the Clan; and five daughters—1. one, who married Charles Mackinnon of Mackinnon, who sold Strathaird in 1786 to MacAlister of Loup. She left issue—John Mackinnon, who died unmarried at Leith in 1808. After the death of her husband, she went to Italy, became a Roman Catholic, and died in a convent. She left an only daughter, Penelope, who married Alexander Mackinnon of Naples and Buenos Ayres, with issue—Charles Mackinnon, Montevideo, who, a few years ago, came back to London as Brazilian Consul. (2.) Mary, who married Captain Ramsay, R.N., with issue—Colonel Norman Ramsay, who fell at Waterloo. He married his cousin, Mary, daughter of General Macleod of Macleod, by his first wife, Mary Mackenzie of Suddie. (3.) Isabella, who married Mr. Spence, without issue. (4.) Anne, who died unmarried in 1826. (5.) Another, of whose future we have no account. In 1765, John went to reside at Beverley, in Yorkshire, where he died on the 7th of January, 1766, predeceasing his father by six years, and was buried in the Minster. His widow (who died in 1803), and his five daughters, removed to Hampshire, while his son, Norman, proceeded to Edinburgh, where he studied in the University of that City, under Professor George Stuart.



2. Emilia, who married Captain Augustus Moore, of Salston, in Ireland.

Norman was separated from his wife, Janet Macdonald, of Sleat, for many years, during which time "he took a fancy to a pretty girl," named Anne Martin. He is said to have sent his wife a kind letter, inviting her back to the Castle. She returned, and soon after she was reported dead. Tradition has it that he placed her in the dungeon of the Castle, where she was allowed to die. Certain it is that, soon after her arrival at Dunvegan, Norman married, as his second wife, this Anne, daughter of William Martin of Inchfure, described in a manuscript in our possession as "Mrs. Ann Martin." By her he had issue—

3. Elizabeth, who married Sir James Pringle, fourth Baronet of Stitchill, with issue (among others), Sir John Pringle, fifth Baronet, born in 1784, and married, first, in 1809, his cousin, Amelia Anne, daughter of Lieutenant-General Macleod of Macleod, with issue, his heir, James; and secondly, on the 19th of October, 1831, Lady Elizabeth Maitland Campbell, daughter of the first Marquis of Breadalbane, with issue—two daughters—Mary-Gavin, who, on the 18th of July, 1861, married Major Robert, second son of George, 10th Earl of Haddington; and Magdalen-Breadalbane, who, on the 9th of July, 1863, married Alexander Anderson of Newstead, Australia.
4. Anne, who married Professor Hill of St. Andrews, with issue.
5. Rich-Mary, who married, on the 1st September, 1777, Thomas Shairp of Houston, with issue—(1), Thomas, Major, 96th Regiment, born 10th September, 1778, and died, without issue, before his father in 1807; (2), Norman, who became his heir and successor, Major, H.E.I.C.S., born 26th October, 1779; married 6th of March, 1808, Elizabeth Bining, fourth daughter of John Campbell of Kildalloig, Argyleshire, with issue—(a) Thomas, now of Houston, and (b) Norman, R.N., who died unmarried in September, 1844; (c) the late John Campbell Shairp, Principal of the United Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonards, in the University of



St. Andrews, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and Professor of Humanity in St. Andrews. Principal Shairp married, on the 23rd of June, 1853, Eliza, eldest daughter of Alexander Henry Douglas, younger brother of the Marquis of Queensferry, with issue—Norman, deceased, and John Campbell. Norman Shairp had also 8 daughters—Mary Anne Eliza, Christian, Annabella, Elizabeth Bining, Hetty, Grace, Helen Montgomery, and Georgiana Hope. Thomas Shairp of Houston had also by Rich-Mary Macleod of Dunvegan, Anne Macleod, who married, in 1804, Thomas Innes, R.N., and Christian, who, in 1820, married William Mitchell Innes, of Parson's Green, and Ayton.

Norman Macleod had a natural son Major General Alexander Macleod of Lochbay, who fought in the American War of Independence, afterwards distinguished himself in the European Wars, and ultimately rose to the rank of Major-General in the British Army. He married Anne, eldest daughter of the famous Flora Macdonald, with issue, and for a time occupied Dunvegan Castle.

Norman died in 1772, and was buried in St. Andrews, when he was succeeded by his grandson,

**XX. GENERAL NORMAN MACLEOD**, who, as already stated, was born at his maternal grandfather's residence, Brodie House, Nairnshire, on the 4th of March, 1754. In the fragment of his Autobiography quoted in a previous chapter, this Chief informs us that, when he was only eleven years old, his father, with the family, went to reside at Beverley, in Yorkshire, where, as we have seen, he died in the following year. Of his mother at this time the General says—"The abilities, care, and maternal love of my surviving parent left me no other reason to regret my father than that which nature dictates for a brave, worthy, and so near a relation." His grandfather at this time resided near Edinburgh, and young Norman was placed under the tutorial care of Professor George Stuart. Of this period General Macleod writes—"Under Mr. Stuart, and in the sight of my grandfather, who lived near Edinburgh, I continued to pursue an excellent and classical



education for near five years ; in this time I obtained a competent knowledge of Latin and French ; and I acquired a taste for reading, and a desire of general knowledge which has never left me. I was permitted to pay a visit to my mother, who had settled in Hampshire, for the education of her daughters ; after which I was summoned to the University of St. Andrews by my grandfather, who had taken a house in the neighbourhood. Here, for one year, I attended the lectures of Dr. Watson (author of the History of Philip the Second) on logic, rhetoric, and belles lettres, and those of Dr. Wilkie author of the Epigoniad, on Natural Philosophy ; I also read Italian. Next summer I again visited my mother ; and was sent in the winter to University College, in Oxford. My tutor, Mr. George Strahan, zealously endeavoured to supply my deficiency in Greek, and I made some progress ; but, approaching now to manhood, having got a tincture of more entertaining and pleasing knowledge, and a taste for the Latin, French, and English classics, I could never sufficiently labour again as a schoolboy, which I now and will for ever lament." This was written in 1785, when General Macleod was thirty-one years of age, and after he had considerable experience of life at home, and in the Indian army ; and he states that his early education, though "a scholar would very justly call it superficial," contributed much to his happiness in life. The fragment of his autobiography and his Indian correspondence which we have perused, and from which one or two letters will appear in these pages, amply show that he was a man of extensive reading and culture, and that he could wield a graceful pen with considerable point and literary skill.

We have already given, in his own words, the noble efforts which were made by him, during his grandfather's life, to place the relations of chief and clan on a more satisfactory footing—efforts to which we would call the special attention of the chiefs of the present day. His own description of what he did, and the sentiments and spirit which moved him to action, deserve to be written in letters of gold. When engaged in his patriotic attempts to retrieve the position of his house and clan, his grandfather died, and young Norman succeeded to the chiefship and estates. He at once proceeded to Hampshire, and, as



he says himself, easily prevailed with his excellent mother and sisters to repair, in performance of his promise to his clan, to Dunvegan, where they soon after arrived and, with the young, noble-hearted chief, took up their residence. Shortly after, Dr. Johnson and Boswell, then on their famous tour to the Hebrides, visited Dunvegan Castle, and were entertained within its walls for several days. Before the famous pair reached Dunvegan, they met the young chief at Raasay, and Boswell informs us that "Dr. Johnson was much pleased with the Laird of Macleod, who is, indeed, a most promising youth, and with a noble spirit struggles with difficulties, and endeavours to preserve his people. He has been left with an encumbrance of forty thousand pounds debt, and annuities to the amount of thirteen hundred pounds a year. Dr. Johnson says—'If he gets the better of all this, he'll be a hero; and I hope he will. I have not met a young man who had more desire to learn, or who has learnt more. I have seen nobody that I wish more to do a kindness to than Macleod.' Such (continues Boswell) was the honourable eulogium on this young chieftain, pronounced by an accurate observer, whose praise was never lightly bestowed." On the 13th of September, 1773, they arrived in the afternoon at Dunvegan Castle, after having spent the previous night with Flora Macdonald in Kingsburgh House, where Dr. Johnson slept in the bed occupied by Prince Charles in 1746.

Boswell describes the castle thus—"The great size of the castle, which is partly old and partly new, and is built upon a rock close to the sea, while the land around it presents nothing but wild, moorish, hilly, and craggy appearances, gave a rude magnificence to the scene. Having dismounted, we ascended a flight of steps, which was made by the late Macleod for the accommodation of persons coming to him by land, there formerly being, for security, no other access to the castle but from the sea; so that visitors who came by the land were under the necessity of getting into a boat, and sailed round to the only place where it could be approached. We were introduced into a stately dining-room, and received by Lady Macleod, mother of the laird, who, with his friend Talisker, having been detained on the road, did not arrive till some time after us. We found the lady of the



house a very polite and sensible woman, who had lived for some time in London, and had there been in Dr. Johnson's company. After we had dined, we repaired to the drawing-room, where some of the young ladies of the family, with their mother, were at tea. This room had formerly been the bed-chamber of Sir Roderick Macleod, one of the old lairds; and he chose it because behind it there was a considerable cascade, the sound of which disposed him to sleep. Above his head was this inscription: 'Sir Rorie Macleod of Dunvegan, Knight. God send good rest.' . . . . Our entertainment here was in so elegant a style, and reminded my fellow-traveller so much of England, that he became quite joyous. He laughed, and said, 'Boswell, we came in at the wrong end of this island.' 'Sir,' said I, 'it is best to keep this for the last!' He answered, 'I would have it both first and last.' Dr. Johnson said in the morning (14th September), 'Is not this a fine lady?' There was not a word now of his 'impatience to be in civilized life;' though, indeed, I should beg pardon—he found it here. We had slept well, and lain long. After breakfast we surveyed the castle and the garden. Mr. Bethune, the parish minister, Magnus Macleod of Claggan, brother of Talisker, and Macleod of Bay, two substantial gentlemen of the clan, dined with us. We had admirable venison, generous wine; in a word, all that a good table has. This was really the hall of a chief." Boswell then describes in interesting detail the conversation which followed after dinner, and again after supper. Lady Macleod shows to great advantage, and Dr. Johnson enforces in characteristic fashion his strong common-sense views of men and things. Macleod of Ulinish was one of the jovial supper party at which the young laird, surrounded by so many of the leading men of his clan, is described as a very pleasing sight.

*(To be continued.)*



WHEN he arrived at Dunvegan Castle, Dr. Johnson was suffering from a cold, which became worse in consequence of his travels in such wet weather. Boswell, under date of 16th September, says—"Last night much care was taken of Dr. Johnson, who was still distressed by his cold. He had hitherto most strangely slept without a nightcap. Miss Macleod made him a large flannel one, and he was prevailed with to drink a little brandy when he was going to bed. He has great virtue in not drinking wine or any fermented liquor, because, as he acknowledged to us, he could not do it in moderation. Lady Macleod would hardly believe him, and said, 'I am sure, sir, you would not carry it too far.' Johnson—"Nay, madam, it carried me. I took the opportunity of a long illness to leave it off. It was prescribed me not to drink wine; and having broken off, I have never returned to it." Miss Macleod of Macleod remembers her great-aunt, one of General Macleod's sisters, who was present with Dr. Johnson, quite well, and



she supplies us with the following interesting reminiscence:—  
“I have often heard,” she says, “my great-aunt, who lived until I was nearly grown up, speak of the visit of Dr. Johnson. Neither she, nor the other girls, seem to have appreciated his conversation as their mother and brother did. She used to say that he spoke crossly to the servants; and on one occasion, when the peats for his bedroom fire did not please him, he quite lost his temper, and insisted on going out himself to the peat stack in the court. As it was raining, and he went out without his hat, he caught a worse cold, and remained in bed for some hours in the morning. Lady Macleod thought it her duty to go up to inquire whether he had all he wanted. She presently returned to her daughters laughing, and told them that he had his wig on, turned inside out, with the back to the front, to keep his head warm. ‘I have often,’ she said, ‘seen very plain men, but any one so ugly as Dr. Johnson lying in bed in that wig, I have not seen, and never expect to see again.’” It was probably in consequence of this episode that one of the Misses Macleod made for him the flannel nightcap mentioned by Boswell.

On Saturday, the 18th, a discussion took place between Lady Macleod, Dr. Johnson, and Boswell on the advantages and disadvantages of Dunvegan Castle and its situation. Mrs. Macleod expressed herself in favour of building a house on a farm she had taken about five miles away, where she could have a garden and other improvements which could not be had at the Castle. Boswell insisted that, whatever might be done in the way of building a house elsewhere, the seat of the family should always be upon the rock of Dunvegan, and Dr. Johnson said that the new house must not be such as to tempt the Laird of Macleod to go thither to reside. Mrs. Macleod insisted that the Castle was very inconvenient; no good garden could ever be made near it; it must always be a rude place; it was a herculean task even to make a dinner in it. Boswell protested. “No, no, keep to the rock; it is the very jewel of the estate. It looks as if it had been let down from heaven by the four corners to be the residence of a chief. Have all the comforts and conveniences upon it, but never leave Rorie More’s Cascade.” Mrs. Macleod persisted in her opinions. “Is it not enough,” she said, “if we keep it? Must we never have



more convenience than Rorie More had? He had his beef brought to dinner in one basket and his bread in another. Why not as well be Rorie More all over, as live upon this rock? And should not we tire, in looking perpetually on this rock? It is all very well for you, who have a fine place, and everything easy, to talk thus, and think of chaining honest folks to a rock. You would not live upon it yourself." "Yes, madam," replied Boswell, "I would live upon it, were I Laird of Macleod, and should be unhappy were I not upon it;" when Dr. Johnson, in a stentorian tone and a determined manner, burst in with the remark, "Madam, rather than quit the old rock, Boswell would live in the pit; he would make his bed in the dungeon." The lady made another appeal for her pretty farm, rich soil, and fine garden, but Johnson insisted that, if the Castle were his, he would not leave it upon any conditions.

Referring to this conversation afterwards, Sir Walter Scott says that "Dunvegan well deserves the stand which was made by Dr. Johnson in its defence. Its great inconvenience was that of access. This had been originally obtained from the sea by a subterranean staircase, partly arched, partly cut in the rock, which, winding up through the cliff, opened into the court of the Castle. This passage, at all times very inconvenient, had been abandoned, and was ruinous. A very indifferent substitute had been made by a road, which, rising from the harbour, reached the bottom of the moat, and then ascended to the gate by a very long stair. The present chief, whom I am happy to call my friend, has made a perfectly convenient and characteristic access, which gives a direct approach to the further side of the moat in front of the castle gate, and surmounts the chasm by a drawbridge, which would have delighted Rorie More himself." The surroundings of the Castle have been much improved even since the time of Scott, and it now combines all the comforts and convenience of a modern residence, with the strength and halo of antiquity.

The Doctor was so comfortable at Dunvegan that he was quite unwilling to leave it. On Saturday Boswell proposed that they should take their departure on Monday, to which Johnson replied—"No, sir. I will not go before Wednesday. I will have more of this good." They, however, left Dunvegan Castle on Tuesday,



the 21st of September, the ninth day of their visit, and proceeded to Ulinish, where they arrived at six o'clock in the evening, and were entertained by the tenant, Mr. Macleod, then Sheriff-Substitute of the Island, "a plain honest gentleman, a good deal like an English justice of the peace; not much given to talk, but sufficiently sagacious, and somewhat droll." His daughter, "though she was never out of Skye, was a very well-bred woman." They remained at Ulinish until Thursday morning, when they set out for the residence of Colonel Macleod of Talisker, who, Boswell informs us, "having been bred to physic, had a tincture of scholarship in his conversation, which pleased Dr. Johnson, and he had some very good books; and being a Colonel in the Dutch Service, he and his lady, in consequence of having lived abroad, had introduced the ease and politeness of the Continent into this rude region" of the Isle of Skye. Before leaving the Island, Dr. Johnson sent the following letter to Macleod of Macleod from Ostaig, the residence of the Rev. Martin Macpherson, then Minister of Sleat:—

"Ostig, 28th Sept., 1773.

"Dear Sir,—We are now on the margin of the sea, waiting for a boat and a wind. Boswell grows impatient; but the kind treatment which I find wherever I go, makes me leave, with some heaviness of heart, an island which I am not likely to see again. Having now gone as far as horses can carry us, we thankfully return them. My steed will, I hope, be received with kindness; he has borne me, heavy as I am, over ground both rough and steep, with great fidelity; and for the use of him, as for other favours, I hope you will believe me thankful, and willing, at whatever distance we may be placed, to show my sense of your kindness, by any offices of friendship that may fall within my power.

"Lady Macleod and the young ladies have, by their hospitality and politeness, made an impression on my mind which will not easily be effaced. Be pleased to tell them that I remember them with great tenderness, and great respect.

"I am, Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

(Signed) "SAM. JOHNSON."

"P.S.—We passed two days at Talisker very happily, both by the pleasantness of the place and the elegance of our reception."

In his "Journey to the Western Islands," Johnson himself, describes his arrival at Macleod's residence thus:—"To Dunvegan we came, very willing to be at rest, and found our fatigue amply recompensed by our reception. Lady Macleod, who had lived many years in England, was newly come hither with her son and four daughters, who knew all the arts of southern elegance, and all the modes of English economy. Here, therefore, we



settled, and did not spoil the present hour with thoughts of departure." After describing the castle, some incidents in its history, its situation, antiquarian contents, and some characteristics of the visitors he met within it, he adds: "At Dunvegan I had tasted lotus, and was in danger of forgetting that I was ever to depart, till Mr. Boswell sagely reproached me with my sluggishness and softness." Having described his visits to Ulinish and Talisker, the Doctor concludes his references to the Macleods in the following eulogistic terms:—"Whatever is imagined in the wildest tale, if giants, dragons, and enchantment be excepted, would be felt by him, who, wandering in the mountains without a guide, or upon the sea without a pilot, should be carried amidst his terror and uncertainty to the hospitality of Raasay or Dunvegan." This was a great, and no doubt well-deserved, compliment from a man who was never known to flatter.

On the 20th of July, 1772, Pennant, who visited Skye the year before Dr. Johnson, also called at Dunvegan, and refers to its young chief as a gentleman of the most ancient and honourable descent, but whose personal character does him infinitely higher honour than this fortuitous distinction. "To all the milkiness of human nature," Pennant says, "usually concomitant on youthful years, is added the sense and firmness of more advanced life. He feels for the distresses of his people, and insensible of his own, instead of the trash of gold, is laying up the treasure of warm affection, and heart-felt gratitude."

General Macleod refers to the visits of these distinguished travellers in the auto-biographical notes already quoted, and informs us that Dr. Johnson's principal object in visiting Skye was "to find proof of the inauthenticity of Ossian's Poems; and in his inquiries it became very soon evident that he did not wish to find them genuine." "I was present," continues Macleod, "in a part of his search; his decision is now well-known; and I will very freely relate what I know of them. Dr. Macqueen, a very learned minister in Skye, attended him; and was the person whom he most questioned, and through whom he proposed his questions to others. The first question he insisted on was whether any person had ever seen the Poems of Ossian in manuscript, as the translator had found them; how and where these manu-



scripts had been preserved ; and whether faith was given to them by the Highlanders ? I must avow that, from the answers given to these questions, he had no right to believe the manuscripts genuine. In this he exulted much, and formed an unjust conclusion, that, because the translator had been guilty of an imposition, the whole poems were impositions. Dr. Macqueen brought him, in my opinion, very full proofs of his error. He produced several gentlemen who had heard repeated in Erse long passages of these poems, which they averred did coincide with the translation ; and he even produced a person who recited some lines himself. Had Dr. Johnson's time permitted, many proofs of the same nature would have been adduced ; but he did not wish for them. My opinion of this controversy," continues General Macleod, "is that the poems certainly did exist in detached pieces and fragments ; that few of them had been committed to paper before the time of the translator ; that he collected most of them from persons who could recite them, or parts of them ; that he arranged and connected the parts, and perhaps made imitative additions for the sake of connexion ; that these additions cannot be large or numerous ; and that the foundations and genuine remains of the poems are sufficiently authentic for every purpose of taste or criticism. It might be wished, for the sake of squeamish critics, that the translator had given them to the world as he found them ; though, as a reader," says Macleod, "I own myself delighted with Fingal and Temora in their present appearance." This is the opinion of an educated Gaelic-speaking man, born as early as 1754, and a contemporary both of Macpherson and of his most inveterate critic, Dr. Johnson. He points out with great effect that while the Doctor applied the laws of evidence in the strictest manner when inquiring into the authenticity of Ossian's Poems, he believed in the second-sight, and listened to all the fables of that nature which abounded in the Highlands without any further evidence than that the number of alleged facts regarding it formed a presumption in its favour. Referring to this peculiarity of Dr. Johnson's mind, General Macleod pointedly remarks that, "no human being is perfect in any thing : the mind which is filled with just devotion is apt to sink into superstition ; and, on



the other hand, the genius which detects holy imposition frequently slides into presumptuous infidelity." Nothing could more appropriately describe Dr. Johnson's views on the Poems of Ossian and on the gift of second-sight claimed for the Highland Seers.

With all his efforts and love for his clan, Macleod soon got tired of his surroundings and responsibilities at the head of his people in the Castle of Dunvegan. His feelings and disappointments cannot be better described than in his own words :—"I remained at home," he says, "with my family and clan till the end of 1774 ; but I confess that I consider this as the most gloomy period of my life. Educated in a liberal manner, fired with ambition, fond of society, I found myself in confinement in a remote corner of the world ; without any hope of extinguishing the debts of my family, or of ever emerging from poverty and obscurity. A long life of painful economy seemed my only method to perform the duty I owed my ancestors and posterity ; and the burden was so heavy, that only partial relief could be hoped even from that melancholy sacrifice. I had also the torment of seeing my mother and sisters, who were fitted for better scenes, immured with me ; and their affectionate patience only added to my sufferings." At the period to which this passage refers he was still under age, having only completed his twentieth year.

*(To be continued.)*



IT was at this period (1774-75) that the future General Macleod determined to enter the army. His relative, the Hon. Colonel Simon Fraser of Lovat, who had in 1757 raised a regiment of 1460 men, which had greatly distinguished itself in the previous war in Canada, had the family estates restored to him in 1772, and, in 1775, he received Letters of Service for raising another regiment of two battalions in the Highlands. He soon completed his task, and in April, 1776, marched, with a body of 2340 Highlanders, to Stirling, and thence to Glasgow. From Glasgow they proceeded to Greenock, whence they sailed in a large fleet for America, accompanied by the 42nd Regiment and other troops. For this regiment, designated the 71st Fraser Highlanders, Norman Macleod of Macleod raised a company, and joined the First Brigade, with the rank of Captain, at their head.

When the regiment was being raised, Macleod, who was in the neighbourhood of Inverness at the time, was thrown from his horse and badly hurt. He was carried by friends to the house of Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, III. of Suddie, where he was tenderly nursed by that gentleman's eldest daughter, Mary, until he recovered from the effects of his accident. The two were soon after married, and when he embarked for America, at the head of his company, he was accompanied by his young wife. Both were taken prisoners on the voyage, and were subsequently very kindly treated by Washington, of whom Macleod often afterwards, according to his own son, spoke "in terms of the warmest affection." In a few years he returned to Britain, and was almost immediately appointed to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, having raised a Second Battalion for the 42nd Highlanders. He was appointed on the 21st of March, 1780, and continued in the regiment until, in 1786, he was removed to the 73rd, formed out of the Second Battalion of the 42nd, raised by himself six years before.

In December, 1780, the newly raised regiment embarked at



Queensferry, to join an expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth bound for the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Major-General William Meadows and Commodore Johnstone. They left Portsmouth on the 12th of March, 1781, arriving at Bombay on the 5th of March, 1782, having taken within a week of twelve months on the voyage out, and suffering severely from scurvy and fever, no fewer than 5 officers and 116 non-commissioned officers and privates having died during the passage. The transport "Myrtle," with Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod and other officers on board, separated in a gale from the rest of the fleet off the Cape of Good Hope. The vessel had neither chart nor map; the master was an ignorant seaman, and it was only through the assistance of Captain Dalziel, who was on board, that, after a long time, they arrived at Madagascar, the appointed rendezvous. There was no trace of the rest of the fleet; Colonel Macleod and his companions made their way back to St. Helena, procured charts, and at length reached Madras on the 23rd of May, 1782.

In the absence of Macleod, the command of the troops intended for actual service devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie Humberston of Seaforth of the 100th Regiment, and he started with an expedition to attack Palacatcherry, took several forts on his way, but, on his arrival, finding the place much stronger than he expected, and that Hyder Ali had sent his son Tipoo Sahib for its relief, Colonel Humberston withdrew to Mangaracotah, one of the small forts he had taken on his forward march, and, learning that Tipoo was advancing, he continued his retreat, closely pressed by the enemy in great force, to Paniané, where he arrived on the morning of the 20th of November, 1782.

Colonel Macleod arrived there from Madras on the previous night, the 19th, and at once assumed command of the army as the senior officer. Here he found himself surrounded by 10,000 cavalry and 14,000 infantry, including two corps of Europeans under the French General Lally, while his own force had been reduced by sickness to 380 Europeans and 2200 Sepoys fit for duty. Macleod, writing to the Select Committee at Bombay, under date of 29th November, 1782, describes the position at length, and says—"This being the situation, it was a most hazardous attempt to force us. Just before the dawn of the 28th, I was



raised from sleep by a smart firing at Major Campbell's post. I immediately flew thither and found a very heavy firing at the Old Fort. Major Campbell had got there before me, and was charging large columns of the enemy with his bayonet. He had with him the Light Company and Grenadiers of the 42nd, the Ninth, and some who flocked to him from the piquets. In passing out I found the 42nd Regiment, under Captain Campbell, ready under arms. I took him with me, and at the end of the lane we met a thick column of the enemy, who had passed the horse, and were pushing into the town. We rushed up on them, wounded and took a French officer, their leader. Large bodies were seen moving along our front. Major Campbell, with the troops attending him, ran at them wherever he could perceive them. Captain Campbell, with the 42nd, gallantly followed me in the same work; our soldiers in the fort fired warmly still, and there was much cannonading and musketry on the left on Major Shaw's. Day now broke, and we perceived that the enemy had almost cleared the field. They retreated as fast as they could, and my knowledge of their having such large bodies of horse alone prevented my pursuing." He goes on to say that he cannot express the ardour of the troops, and that the behaviour of officers and men was all he could wish. The attack was made in the dark "by a number prodigiously superior" to his force, and the moment the outposts were attacked the enemy were met, furiously attacked and defeated, by the brave band under his command. In his general orders, Macleod says that this little army "had nothing to depend on but their native valour, their discipline, and the conduct of the officers." These were all "nobly exerted," and "the intrepidity with which Major Campbell and the Highlanders repeatedly charged the enemy was most honourable to their character." After this brilliant victory by the force under Macleod, Tipoo retreated towards Seringapatam, leaving about 2000 dead and wounded on the field or taken prisoners, while Colonel Macleod's loss was 8 officers and 88 men killed and wounded, native and British, of whom belonged to the 42nd Regiment, 3 sergeants and 19 rank and file killed; and Major John Campbell, Surgeon Thomas Farquharson, 2 sergeants, and 31 rank and file wounded.

Colonel Macleod was now ordered to Bombay to join the



army under Brigadier General Mathews, with whom he formed a junction, at Cundapore, on the 8th of January, 1783. On the 23rd he moved forward to attack Bednore. During the march, they were much harassed by flying parties of the enemy, and seriously impeded by the nature of the country, which was rendered much more difficult by a succession of field-works constructed on the face of the mountains, which the invading British force had to ascend. They were soon, however, taken possession of by the intrepid Macleod, at the head of the 42nd and his sepoy.

On the 26th of February 1783, we are informed in the official despatches that "the 42nd, led by Colonel Macleod, and followed by a corps of Sepoys, attacked these positions with the bayonet, and, pursuing like Highlanders, were in the breastwork before the enemy were aware of it. Four hundred were bayoneted, and the rest pursued to the wall of the fort." In this manner, General Stewart of Garth says, "seven forts were attacked and taken in succession, when the formidable appearance of the principal redoubt, Hyder Gurr, rendered it necessary to proceed with caution." It was situated on the highest precipice of the mountains, with a dry ditch in front, and mounted with twenty cannon, while, on the face of the mountain, seven batteries were on intervening terraces, one above the other, with internal lines of communication, and the outward approaches obstructed by trees placed transversely, so as to prevent ascent at any point except that exposed to the full effect of the cannon. These formidable obstructions proved of no avail against the undaunted bravery of the Highlanders. Their advance struck terror into the minds of the enemy in the stronghold, and Bednore was taken possession of on the 27th of January, 1783.

The Fort of Hyder Gurr, so called by way of pre-eminence, was found to contain 8000 stand of new arms, with a large quantity of powder, shot, and other military stores. A vast amount of treasure, amounting to £801,000 was also found in the City of Bednore, besides a large quantity of jewels. But though the army was in the greatest distress for money, not having received any pay for a year or more, General Mathews positively refused to divide any of the spoil among the officers or men. The most



vehement complaints and remonstrances ensued. Refractory proceedings were severely, if not arbitrarily, punished ; and three of the leading officers, Colonel Macleod, Colonel Humberston, and Major Shaw, left the army, and, proceeding to Bombay, laid their representations before the Governor and Council. So flagrant to the Governor and Council did the conduct of the General appear, that they superseded him ; and appointed Colonel Macleod, the next in rank, to take the command in his stead. Colonel Macleod, now Brigadier-General and Commander-in-Chief, returning to the army with the two other officers, in the *Ranger*, soon fell in with a Mahratta fleet of five vessels off Geriah, on the 7th of April, 1783. This fleet was not, it appears, apprised of the peace ; and Macleod, "full of impatience, temerity, and presumption," instead of attempting an explanation, or submitting to be detained at Geriah for a few days, gave orders to resist. The *Ranger* was taken, after almost every man in the ship was either killed or wounded. Major Shaw was killed, and Macleod and Humberston wounded, the latter mortally. He died in a few days at Geriah, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and was lamented as an officer of the most exalted promise ; a man, who nourished his spirit with the contemplation of ancient heroes, and devoted his hours to the study of the most abstruse sciences connected with his profession.\*

During this interval, in Colonel Macleod's absence, the army was dispersed in small detachments all over the country, and nothing was dreamt of, it is said, by those in charge of it but the accumulation of riches, while intelligence, fortifications, and provisioning for the army were entirely neglected. Tippoo soon took advantage of this state of affairs, suddenly appeared on the 9th of April, 1783, seized Bednore, laid siege to the fort, occupied the Ghauts, cut off the garrison from all possibility of retreat, and, on the 30th of April, its defenders capitulated, honourable terms having been promised them, but, instead of these being given them, they were placed in irons, and marched off like felons to a dreadful imprisonment in the fortresses of Mysore.

General Macleod, shortly before this, in March, 1783, addressed a letter to Mr. John Macpherson of the Supreme

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\* *History of India*, by James Mill, 1820, Vol. IV., pp. 231-2.



Council of Bengal, in which he relates his own more important proceedings since his arrival in India, and complains in the severest terms of the conduct of General Mathews, his commander-in-chief, and to whose position he himself in consequence soon after succeeded. The letter is sufficiently important to justify its publication in full. General Macleod, addressing Mr. Macpherson, says :—

Sir,—Though I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you for some time, I will not stand on the ceremony of a letter with you, as I imagine you will like to hear of my transactions more fully than by the public accounts. You know that I had the good fortune, immediately on my arrival, to defeat a very bold attempt of Tippo Sahib to crush the little army which, till that time, had acted under Humberston. He had been forced to make a very rapid retreat before Tippo, and I had just time to make a disposition in a very strong post. Lally led on the enemy in heavy columns ; our Sepoys behaved very well, and committed great slaughter by their fire, but I owed the chief success to a charge I made at the head of the 42nd into the thickest of them. Tippo's attack was as bold, and the disposition of it as fine, as anything I recollect in the military way, but his troops were inferior to ours. He did not, however, abandon his design ; he remained 14 days afterwards in our neighbourhood, and I had every reason to expect another attempt, but he was called away by his father's illness.

I was then left to act as I thought best. I found I had no proper carriage or equipment to follow him to Palakacherry, and, besides, there was no concert established to meet at a fixed time with Colonel Lang's army, which alone would have made it proper to have moved that way. I had heard of a surmise of an intended expedition against Mangalore, which I should be probably ordered to join. I therefore, on Tippo's departure, which happened on the 12th December, employed myself in stripping all my heavy stores, collecting craft, and putting the army in a capacity to move anywhere.

My intention was, if not in the meantime forbid from Bombay, to go and take Cochin, from which I was but 6 days easy march. For this purpose I entered into a negociation with the King of Travancore, who offered to join me in that enterprise with his whole army. This design was stopped by an order to join General Mathews with my whole force on the coast above Mangalore, which I instantly obeyed.

I know General Mathews is a friend and a favourite of yours. I will trust also to my having a share of your affection and good opinion, and shall be very free and candid in what I say of him to you. I was shocked to find he had been only a Captain when I was a King's Lieutenant-Colonel, that he came to Bombay only a Lieutenant-Colonel, and had been slapdash created a Brigadier-General, seemingly on purpose to get him the command over us.

I know the reasonings adopted by the Company's servants in India to justify their preference of their own officers to His Majesty's, but you will excuse me if I did not think them satisfactory in general, but particularly weak in this. They say it is fair to show a preference to their own officers ; perhaps I think so too, but not so great a preference as to give a man four steps at once over the head of others, who have not only committed no fault, but who have been victorious and warmly approved



of. They allege the necessity of local knowledge! How far scampering over Carnatic, at the head of a few horse, can give a man local knowledge of the Malabar Coast, I don't know, certain it is General Mathews had no topographical knowledge of the Coast; of the language he had not a syllable; and seemed to be totally stranger to and indifferent about the manners of the people.

It might also be unfair to suppose me totally destitute of local knowledge. A soldier properly bred and eager to distinguish himself makes local enquiry his first object on his arrival in a strange country. I had followed Sir Eyre Coote in a very marching campaign. I had studied his arrangements; I had lived with a finer army of Sepoys than ever Mathews saw; I knew as much of the language as he did, so that in truth I did not think the want of local knowledge, comparatively speaking, could be fairly urged to justify his commanding me. But I was more shocked to find him no soldier; ignorant to the greatest degree in the very first rudiments of the profession; totally incapable of arranging, equipping, or subsisting an army; unversed in the arts of obtaining intelligence, or of policy; rash and injudicious in his manners; in his temper; disgusting in his manners.

Notwithstanding all this, Humberston and I determined as we were on actual service, to postpone the consideration of the injury done us, and contribute our utmost to his success. If he has done us justice in the account of the Conquest of Bedinore you will know that we kept our resolution. I commanded in the only action which happened, the army being several miles behind me. I found the enemy to the number of 5000. I had about 900 excellent Sepoys and 300 Europeans. The enemy were posted in strong entrenchments, which we carried sword in hand, killed the General, several hundred of his men, and routed and dispersed the rest. This discouraged them so much that the Gaults were taken almost without opposition.

Notwithstanding of this success, accident alone got us the conquest, for had resistance been continued, he had taken no means to enable us to overcome Hyat Sahib's treachery and desire to obtain command, and his dread of Tippo made him surrender at once what we should never have taken. This unexpected good fortune quite intoxicated our noble General. He now quarrelled with everybody, broke with Hyat Sahib, who in consequence sent away the family of the Killidar of Mangalore, which has encouraged that man to make an obstinate defence, then suddenly reconciled himself with Hyat Sahib, by giving him back all or part of his treasures which were taken by the army, for which they are going to prosecute him in your Supreme Court. Then he obliged his whole staff, Quartermaster-General, Commissary-General, Adjutant-General, Brigade-Major, etc., etc., to resign, dispersed the army over the face of the earth, starved the troops, insulted the officers, and played the very devil.

I had thoughts of quitting the army before, and he quickened that motion both in Humberston and me, by refusing to insert us in public orders as Colonels in India, on the pretence of having no official information, though we showed him undoubted private intelligence of the King's having given us the rank. I had also a dispute with him about victualling the King's troops, whom he starved in a most unnecessary and most barbarous manner. This brought on a correspondence which you will one day see, which ended in Colonel Humberston and me leaving the army. You are not to imagine, however, that we contributed in the least to the discontent of the army. Till he drove us away, we were his only support against the most general discontent and disposition to mutiny I ever saw.

Upon arriving here I found orders from England, transmitted by Sir Eyre Coote,



to draft our regiment and send home the officers. The Governor and Select Committee, in the letter which accompanied these orders, made me a very handsome compliment on my services, and a strong request to remain myself in the Presidency during this critical period. I of course consented, and offered to serve in any capacity wherein I could be thought of use. So much for myself. I will now amuse you with my ideas of the war on this coast, as far as my *local knowledge* enables me to form any, submitting most emphatically to your better judgment and superior information.

The great object has been to force the enemy to abandon the Carnatic by carrying the war into his own country, and by all means if possible to penetrate to Syringapatam. The death of Hyder happened most opportunely for the execution of this plan, but for want of a large enough combination, and by the disobedience and incapacity of Brigadier-General Mathews, this opportunity is likely to be lost; for if an attempt is now made to push into the heart of the Mysore kingdom, it is likely to prove one of the most fatal measures that ever was adopted. I must first establish, as a principle, that the army which penetrates must be strong enough to contend with Tippo's whole force, and cover and obtain subsistence for itself, because the advantage of the measure implies his withdrawing from the Carnatic and collecting his force at Lonu. General Mathews' army was never strong enough for this, else how can we account for a much stronger one, under a much abler General, Sir Eyre Coote, not being able to crush Hyder.

By a well-concerted junction with Colonel Lang's army at Palakacherry, they, together, would have been strong enough to effect this grand object. The Government of Bombay instructed him to come to me at Panianz, and do this very thing, but he disobeyed. Providence, kind to him beyond measure, gave him another opportunity of striking the noble stroke—win with his single army. By the treachery of Hyat Sahib, Bedinore fell into our hands in a moment, the army had marched from Cundapore totally unequipped; he had abridged every department so effectually, by way of economy, that we could never carry two days' provisions, and not ammunition enough for two actions, not a single battery gun, very few field pieces, and no carriage for sick and wounded. Had he come properly equipped, the business was easy, nay, after the blunder of coming so unprovided, a remedy presented itself which he lost. By means of Hyat Sahib we might have got the carriages we wanted, and no hindrance would have been given to our movements. This man offered to oblige Mangalore to surrender to us, and also the other forts between Gop and Tellicherry. He offered to join us with all his adherents, to ensure his fidelity by giving us possession of his family, and to furnish us with horses, elephants, bullocks, money, and provisions. But the General chose to quarrel with him, and in his first rage Hyder sent away his troops to a distance, dismissed the families of the Killidars, particularly of Mangalore, and hid his cattle so that we could find none.

The General then behaved so strangely to his army that they lost all confidence in him; this Hyat saw, and I believe from that time cast about to secure himself in case of accidents, by giving us as little assistance as possible. The General could not then proceed against Syringapatam; he could not have Mangalore and the other places in his rear; he was obliged to besiege them, which will occupy the whole season, and give Tippo time to save his capital. Had we been properly equipped from Cundapore, or had we made the proper use of Hyat Sahib, we might have boldly marched in 10 days to Syringapatam; it is but a weak place by the description I got from some of Lord Macleod's Regiment, taken with Baillie. Tippo was at



a distance, his people were unfixed, his Government not established. We should have taken the place, and by a proper motion to the south east, and communication with Lang, we might have formed a junction with him. This required genius, military skill, policy, vigour, and disinterestedness; address to manage and divide the enemy, and to conciliate and unite his own army, but was infinitely above the contracted ideas of ignorant, improvident, and selfish Mathews. I am at this moment in very great apprehension for the army; they are dispersed in a most unmilitary manner, and in a way which will render their assembly more dangerous and impracticable than that of the army in the Carnatic at the beginning of the war. In short, Mathews' success hitherto has been because he has had no enemy; if Tippo comes against him he will fall.

I don't know whether I have done right or not, in being so free about a man you profess a regard for, but my character is to be open and above board. I have acted toward him with the most perfect honour and integrity, and will continue to do so.

I must now take the liberty of telling you that I expect to hear directly from yourself, and that if you don't write to me, I shall think you wish to throw off a troublesome correspondent.

I have a most affecting letter from Ullinish. His eldest son, my lieutenant, was killed in America; he beseeches and implores one of his sons to go home to him.

Believe me, with great affection and respect,

My dear sir,

Your most obt. humble sert.,

(Signed)

NORMAN MACLEOD.

Bombay, March 14th, 1783.

*(To be continued.)*



MACLEOD was now (1783) promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, and was appointed to the command of the army in place of General Mathews, who, in consequence of the representations of Macleod, Humberston, and Shaw, was suspended. Shortly before this it would appear that a resolution had been arrived at to draft the men of the second battalion of the 42nd to other corps, and to send home the officers and non-commissioned officers to Great Britain. Macleod was, however, at the same time specially requested by the Governor of the East India Company and the Special Committee to remain, as the authorities were of opinion that his services were absolutely necessary where he was. While quite willing to serve personally, he strongly urged that the men should not be drafted into any other regiment, and successfully pleaded his case in the following letter, addressed to the Indian Commander-in-Chief, only four days after the date of the letter to Mr. John Macpherson, a member of the Supreme Council of India, given in our last. On the subject of drafting his men, Macleod writes:—

To His Excellency Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.,  
Commander-in-Chief of India.

Bombay, 18th March, 1783.

Sir,—General Carnac promises to do me the honour of delivering this letter to your Excellency, and I most sincerely hope he will find you in health and vigour once more at the head of your army.

The Select Committee have showed me instructions from the Governor-General and Supreme Council of Bengal to grant a passage home to the officers and non-commissioned officers of the 2nd Batt. of the 42nd Regt. in consequence of an order sent to your Excellency by Lord Hillsborough to draft the men. I also received a letter from Major Grattan, Adjt.-General, to hold them in readiness to be drafted accordingly. I have to observe to your Excellency that it is the first time ever that Regiment was drafted, and that we were raised upon the idea of being exempted from that misfortune. My own Company are all of my own name and clan, and if I return to Europe without them, I shall be effectually banished from my own home, after having seduced them into a situation from which they thought themselves spared when they enlisted into the service. They are now much reduced, and being on a



brisk actual service, will be still more so before they can be drafted; their numbers will then not exceed 30 or 40 men. I must entreat your Excellency to allow me to carry them home with me, that I may not forfeit my honour, credit, and influence in the Highlands, which have ever been exerted for His Majesty's Service. My connections and mode of entering into the army are not unknown to the King, and I am certain the favour I solicit for myself and clan from your Excellency will meet with his Royal approbation.

I did myself the honour of writing to you by Captain Hallem, soliciting your permission to be allowed to serve on this coast sometime longer. Since that time the Governor and Select Committee have written me a most obliging letter, of which the following is an extract:—"We have advice from the Honble. Governor and Council that you and the other officers of the 42nd Regt. are ordered to Europe, and the men to be incorporated in the other corps, but being of opinion that your services are absolutely requisite on this coast at this critical period, our duty to the Company, and to the trust reposed in us, impells us to make it our request to you that you will continue to serve."

In return, I told them that as my life and time were my country's, if they thought my services of such consequence, I was at their command in any way, with your Excellency's permission.

Major Grattan's letter having mentioned that some mode would be concerted with the Admiral, to carry the men round when drafted, I have yet heard of no such mode; the Regt. is now in the interior part of the country. When I am honoured with your particular commands as to the time and mode of drafting it, I shall immediately and implicitly follow them.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obt. and most humble servt.,

(Signed)

NORMAN MACLEOD.

It would seem that this letter not only saved Macleod's clansmen from being drafted into another corps, but actually saved the battalion, which afterwards became the 73rd Regiment, from being broken up.

Tipoo, in May following, besieged a small force of British troops in Mangalore, with an overwhelming army of 60,000 horse and 30,000 disciplined Sepoys, and a body of 600 French infantry, under Colonel Cossigny, Lally's corps of Europeans and natives, a troop of dismounted French cavalry from the Mauritius, and irregular troops to the number of many thousands, supported by 90 pieces of artillery. The British garrison consisted of only 459 Europeans, of whom 231 were Highlanders, and 1,500 natives, fit for duty. This small force successfully defended Mangalore against the enormous army arrayed against it until the 30th of January, 1784, against repeated attacks, the continued



bombardment having at length made such breaches in the walls and reduced them in many parts to such a ruinous condition that the brave defenders could not venture to fire their cannon from their position. Tipoo's force suffered most severely, however, in many attacks, and in consequence, on the 20th of July, it was agreed on both sides to cease hostilities. But the enemy repeatedly broke faith, and actually fired a mine on the 23rd, at the very moment a flag of truce was flying, only three days after the agreement was entertained. Proposals for a regular armistice were again entered into on the 29th July, and concluded on the 2nd of August. General Macleod, with a small convoy of provisions and a small reinforcement of troops, anchored in the bay on the 17th of August, but "influenced by an honourable regard to the terms of the armistice," he ordered the ships back to Tillycherry, though the enemy were daily committing acts of treachery. The General reappeared on the 22nd of November in the bay with a considerable army. Instead of landing, he, through his secretary, entered upon a tedious negotiation with Tipoo, and having stipulated that one month's provisions should be admitted into the garrison, he set sail again on the 1st of December. Of the beef and pork sent in, in terms of this stipulation, "not one in twenty pieces could be eaten by the dogs." Macleod returned once more on the 31st of December, but again went away, still keeping "faith with the enemy, who showed no disposition to imitate his example." General Stewart informs us that the misery and privation of the troops thus tantalized, had risen to a height almost insupportable. They were reduced to nearly half their original number, and half the remainder were in hospital. Tormented and tantalized with so many expectations of relief, the sick, who had been temporarily invigorated by hope, became dispirited, and relapsed into a state of despondency that proved fatal to numbers of them. Many of the Sepoys became totally blind, and others were so weak that they dropped down where they stood shouldering their firelocks. Their provisions were almost consumed; their patience was entirely exhausted; they had no hope of relief, nor the least knowledge as to what part of the coast General Macleod was gone to. The troops were eating horse flesh, snakes, dogs, ravenous birds, kites, black game, rats, and



mice, and in the utmost distress for every necessary of life. In these circumstances, it was decided, by a council of war, to surrender the garrison on terms which were highly honourable to its gallant defenders, who held out for nearly nine months against such enormous odds. The terms offered were at once accepted by the enemy, the garrison marched out with arms, accoutrements, and the honours of war, and embarked for Tillycherry, where they landed on the 4th of February, 1784, after "a defence that has seldom been equalled and never surpassed." The brave band consisted of the second battalion of the 42nd, General Macleod's own regiment, a few men of the 100th, a detachment of European infantry and artillery, and the 1st and 8th battalions of Bombay Sepoys, afterwards made into a Grenadier corps, for their conspicuous gallantry during the siege, in the course of which Tipoo lost nearly half his enormous army. This was the last active service in which this regiment, as the second battalion of the 42nd, was engaged. At the conclusion of the war it was intimated to both battalions that instead of placing all the officers on half-pay; the juniors were to be reduced in the two corps, whereupon strong representations were made, and the services of the officers of each in distant regions pointed out. The matter was reconsidered by the authorities, and the second battalion being now complete in numbers by new recruits from the Highlands, the King ordered it to be formed into a separate corps, with green facings, to be designated the 73rd Highlanders, under the command of Sir George Osborne; and this was carried into effect on the 18th of April, 1786, at Dinapore, in Bengal, when it would appear General Macleod rejoined his old regiment.

In one of his despatches to the Sultan, General Macleod writes the following spirited passage. It explains itself:—"You, or your interpreter, have said, in your letter to me, that I have lied, or made a mensonge. Permit me to inform you, Prince, that this language is not good for you to give or me to receive; and if I were alone with you in the desert you would not dare to say these words to me. An Englishman scorns to lie; an English General who would dare to lie would be crushed to pieces by the just rage of our magnanimous King. You have said that I lied, or made a mensonge. This is an irreparable



affront to an English warrior. I tell you our customs; if you have courage enough to meet me, take a hundred of your bravest men on foot, meet me on the seashore, I will fight you, and a hundred men of mine will fight yours." What this bold challenge resulted in we have not been able to ascertain.

His son and successor, in a continuation of the General's Auto-biography, already quoted, and referring to his career in India, says:—"I know at this moment but little of the public history of my father at that period. From subsequent misfortunes that befel him my mother has never willingly talked of his career in India; all I know is, that he, a very young Lieutenant-Colonel in the King's service, commanded the army on the Malabar Coast, taking rank according to the regulation of those days of all Company's officers of the same rank, though of older standing; he served with great success, and made a good deal of money, about £100,000; but I believe, although not addicted to play, he suffered himself to comply with the custom of his associates, and lost all, or nearly all, of his earnings. In consequence of a new order, that Company's officers should hold rank according to the dates of their commissions, my father found himself under the necessity of resigning his command to those who had formerly obeyed him; and remaining in this situation not being consistent with his ideas of military propriety, he returned to England in the year 1789. My mother, with his children, followed him to Britain in 1790, and he was shortly afterwards [same year] unanimously returned at the General Election for the County of Inverness," which he continued to represent until the General Election of 1796. Having stated that in consequence of some misunderstanding with Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, General Macleod joined the Opposition and became one of the most strenuous opponents of Mr Pitt's administration, his son continues—"His military prospects were now closed for ever, and from the early age of thirty-five to forty-seven, when he died, was to him a constant scene of disappointment, misfortune, and remorse. His income was far from being competent to his rank in life. I suspect it did not amount to more than two thousand a year; and while he was in America and India his Commissioners had sold large tracts of his estate (Harris and Loch



Snizort Side) for less than half their value. As he was the first of his family who parted with his inheritance, he was doubly grieved to find that he had impoverished his heirs, without materially benefitting himself." He increased the family debt from £50,000, at which amount he succeeded to it, to £70,000 at his death, notwithstanding that he sold the greater portion of the ancient Macleod inheritance. Harris and St. Kilda were sold in 1779 to Captain Alexander Macleod, one of the Macleods of Bernera, late of the "Mansfield" Indiaman, for the small sum, even then, of £15,000. St. Kilda has, however, since returned to the family. Alexander Hume, Captain Macleod's son, on the 26th of April, 1804, sold it and the adjoining islands to Colonel Donald Macleod of Achagoyle for the sum of £1350, whose son, the late Sir John Macpherson Macleod of Glendale, K.C.S.I., sold it in 1871 to the present Macleod of Macleod for £3000.

In 1796, Macleod contested the Burgh of Milbourne Port, at the General Election of that year, against one of the Paget family, when he was defeated at an expense of £15,000. To meet this outlay, he was obliged to dispose of the Waternish portion of his estates, which only realised the amount of his election expenses, though a few years after the same lands sold for £30,000.

Shortly after his defeat, he removed to Edinburgh, and in 1801 he took up his residence in a small country house, which he rented at Newhaven. His health, which had for some time been giving way, now began to get much worse, and in this year he accepted an invitation from a friend, Captain Murray, of the "Prince of Wales" Excise yacht, to accompany him on a voyage to Guernsey, expecting that the trip and change of air might produce an improvement in the state of his health. He had, however, scarcely arrived in the island when his family received intimation of his death.

General Macleod married, first, Mary, eldest daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, third of Suddie, with issue—

1. Norman, who died young, and
2. Mary, who married Colonel Norman Ramsay, who fell at Waterloo. She died soon after her marriage, without issue.

Mrs. Macleod died in 1784 in France, whither she had gone with her two children during her husband's absence in India.



He married, secondly, in 1784, Sarah, daughter of N. Stackhouse, Second Member of Council at Bombay, then in her seventeenth year, with surviving issue—

3. John Norman, his heir and successor.
4. Sarah, who married her cousin, Robert Pringle of Stitchill, without issue. Both died soon after the marriage.
5. Amelia Anne, who married her cousin and brother-in-law, Sir John Pringle, Baronet, of Stitchill, with issue—James, his heir and successor.
6. Anne Eliza, who married, on the 3rd of July, 1821, Spencer Perceval, eldest son of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, Prime Minister of Great Britain. She still survives at the ripe old age of 91 or 92 years.

General Macleod died at Guernsey in August, 1801, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXI. JOHN NORMAN MACLEOD, born in 1788. He represented Sudbury in Parliament from 1828 to 1832. After the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 he contested the County of Inverness with Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg, but was defeated by a few votes.

He married, on the 16th of November, 1809, Anne, daughter of John Stephenson of Merstham, Kent, with issue—

1. Norman; his heir, now of Macleod.
2. Torquil James, who died young on the 28th of April, 1821.
3. Harold John Leod, who died unmarried in 1846.
4. Emily Sarah, now of Dunvegan Castle.
5. Anna Eliza, who, on the 2nd of June, 1840, married James Ogilvie Fairlie, of Williamfield, Ayrshire, with issue—(1) Henry James, born on the 9th of March, 1841; and (2) a daughter, who, in 1867, married Archibald Campbell, younger of Achandarrach, who died in September, 1885. Mrs. Fairlie died on the 9th of September, 1843.
6. Harriette Maria, who married John Campbell, of Glen-saddel, Argyleshire, with issue—(1) Charles, who, born in February, 1847, married, in 1873, Esther, daughter of Colonel Fairlie, by his second wife; (2) Walter Frederick, born in 1850, and died in 1882; (3) John



Norman, born in 1852; (4) Eleanor Ann; and (5) Harriette Roma, who died unmarried, in 1870. Mrs. Campbell died on the 14th of January, 1877.

7. Eleanor Anne, who died unmarried on the 3rd of December, 1830, aged 13 years.
8. Mary Lowther, who, in 1846, married Robert Fergusson, M.D., F.R.S. Physician to the Queen, with issue—(1) Robert Ronald; (2) Harold Stuart; (3) Robert Bruce; (4) Mary Roma, who married Major Farrant of the 81st Regiment; and (5) Marian Cecil.
9. Elizabeth Roma, who died unmarried on the 9th of March 1845.

John Norman Macleod died on 25th March, 1835, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXII. NORMAN MACLEOD, now of Macleod, who, born on the 18th of July, 1812, married on the 15th of July, 1837, the Hon. Louisa Barbara St. John, only daughter of St. Andrew, 13th Lord St. John of Bletshoe, with issue—

1. Norman Magnus, Captain, 74th Highlanders, who, born on the 27th of July, 1839, married on the 27th of April, 1881, Emily Caroline, second daughter of Sir Charles Isham, Baronet of Lamport Hall, Northampton, with issue—(1) Emily Caroline; and (2) Margaret.
2. Torquil Olave, born on the 10th of August, 1841, and died young on the 3rd September, 1857.
3. Reginald, born on the 1st February, 1847, and married, on the 17th of April, 1877, Lady Agnes Mary Cecilia, eldest daughter of the late Right Hon. Earl of Iddesleigh, with issue—(1) Flora Louisa Cecilia; and (2) Olive Susan Miranda.
4. Roderick Charles, a clergyman of the Church of England, vicar of Borley, in Kent. He was born on the 18th of April, 1852, and married, in 1885, Catharine, daughter of W. Jelf.
5. Louisa Cecilia, who, on the 18th of December, 1860, married John Moyer Heathcote of Conington Castle, County of Huntington, with issue—(1) John Norman, born on the 21st of June, 1863; (2) Arthur Ridley,



born on the 14th of February, 1877 ; (3) Emily Louisa, who died unmarried, in her nineteenth year, on the 25th of May, 1880 ; (4) Evelyn May.

Macleod married secondly on the 14th of July, 1881, the Baroness Hanna, eldest daughter of Baron Etingshausen of Graz, Austria, without issue.

[Before parting with the Macleods of Dunvegan, an article on the famous Fairy Flag and Rory Mor's horn ought perhaps to be given. After that the author will take up the history of the Skye branch families of Tallisker, Bernera, Gesto, Drynoch, and others. When these are disposed of, the Macleods of Lewis, Assynt, Cadboll, and other branches will be dealt with at length ; but whether the history of these families will appear in the *Celtic Magazine* or in the *Scottish Highlander* has not yet been finally settled.—A. M.]



IN the *Celtic Magazine* for April we completed the history of the main branch of the Macleods of Skye to date. It was intended before dealing with the other leading family of the name—the Macleods of Lewis—to give the history and genealogies of the principal branches of the house of Dunvegan, such as the Macleods of Talisker, Bernera, Gesto, Drynoch, and others, as well as an account and description of the famous Fairy Flag and Rory Mor's capacious drinking horn, both of which are carefully preserved in Dunvegan Castle. This plan has, however, been departed from for various reasons, the chief of which is that the author expects to obtain more valuable and extensive information concerning these important branches and ancient family relics than he now possesses. And he would take this opportunity of appealing to all the members of the clan, whatever branch of it they may belong to, to aid him by supplying such information, or directing him to the sources of such as will enable him to make the History of the Macleods—like his previous works on the Mackenzies, Macdonalds, and Camerons—worthy of that ancient Highland family.

The origin of the clan and the respective claims of the two leading families of Harris and the Lewis to seniority of descent and the chiefship were pretty fully discussed at the commencement of the work, in the November number of this magazine for 1885, and it is therefore unnecessary to reproduce the same facts and arguments here. It is admitted by both the leading families that

OLAVE THE BLACK, son of Godfred the Black, King of Man, who died about 1187, received the Island of Lewis for his heritage at the age of ten years, and that he afterwards succeeded, by the aid of Paul, Sheriff of Skye, about 1226, in repossessing himself of the then Sovereign Kingdom of Man and the Isles. He died about 1237, leaving, by his first wife, a daughter of one of the leading families of Kintyre, three sons—Harold, Reginald, and



Magnus, all of whom ruled in succession as Kings of Man and the Isles. Magnus died at the Castle of Ross in 1265, without issue, and the Island Kingdom came to an end in the following year, Man and the Isles having been surrendered by the King of Norway to Alexander the Third of Scotland, in terms of a treaty dated 1266.

Olave the Black had no issue by his second marriage, but by his third wife, Christina, daughter of Farquhar, Earl of Ross, he had three sons, the eldest of whom—

I. LEOD, LEODUS, or LLOYD became the progenitor of the Macleods of Harris and Lewis. A minor when his father died, he was brought up and fostered in the family of Paul, Son of Boke, Sheriff of Skye, who had been a supporter of his father, Olave the Black, and one of the most powerful men of his time in the Western Isles. Leod, already possessed of what we now know as the Island of Lewis, was presented by his foster-father, the Sheriff of Skye, with the lands of Harris, while his grandfather, the Earl of Ross, made over to him a part of the Barony of Glenelg, both of which afterwards became the heritage of his son Norman, progenitor of the Macleods of Dunvegan. Leod, who flourished in the reign of Alexander III. [1249-1285], acquired other vast possessions by his marriage to the only daughter and heiress of Macraild Armuinn, a Danish knight, who owned, and left to Leod's wife and to himself, the lands of Dunvegan, Minginish, Bracadale, Duirinish, Lyndale, and part of Troternish, in the Isle of Skye. By his marriage with the heiress of Dunvegan Leod had issue—TORMOD, progenitor of the Macleods of Harris, Glenelg, and Dunvegan, already dealt with at length in these articles, and TORQUIL, from whom descended the Macleods of Lewis, Waternish, Assynt, Coigeach, Gairloch, and Raasay. There would appear to be no doubt that the name Island of Lewis is simply the modern form of the "Island of Leodus"—in Gaelic, "Eilean Leodhais"—which originally included Harris, corroborating the unbroken tradition that this larger Lewis was the original heritage of Leod or Leodus, the common progenitor of both the leading families of the clan. And this is one of the main arguments used by the Macleods of Lewis and their branches in support of their claim to be the oldest



family and representing the ancient chiefs of their house. We have already given the reasons which have induced us to come to a different conclusion, but we shall here state the arguments used by the Macleods of Lewis and their descendants in support of their claim to the chiefship of the whole clan. They maintain, first, that their progenitor, Torquil, succeeded his father, Leod, in the Island of Lewis, which was the original and paternal estate of the family; secondly, that the descendants of Torquil always carried in their armorial bearings the arms of the Kings of Man and the Isles, their paternal ancestors; and, thirdly, that it has been the unvaried tradition in the family that Torquil was the eldest brother, and this is confirmed, they say, by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lord Lyon King-at-Arms, and by Buchanan's History of the Origin of the Clans, published in 1723. He did not, however, succeed to the whole of the Lewis of that date, which included Harris, and which was, as we have seen, presented to him afterwards by the Sheriff of Skye, who then owned it.

The island of Lewis, which with Harris formed the "Llodthus" of the Sagas, and the residence of whose lords was the Castle of Stornoway, appears on record in 1263, in which year Haco, King of Norway, came thither and met Earl Birger, and afterwards touched at it on his expedition in that year against Scotland. In 1292 the lands of "Lodoux" (Lewis) were included in the Sheriffdom of Skye, erected by King John Balliol. In 1335 Edward Balliol granted in heritage to John, first Lord of the Isles, for his allegiance, the isle of "Lewethy" (Lewis), and other lands, and in 1336 Edward III. of England confirmed the grant. In 1344 King David II. of Scotland granted the same lands to the same John, and they remained in his hands in 1367. In 1382 or 1383 King Robert II. granted to his own son, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, and Lady Euphemia, Countess of Ross, the baronies and Lordship of Skye and of the Lewis, which Lady Euphemia had previously resigned. Lewis and the other isles were forfeited by John, fourth Lord of the Isles, in 1475, to whom they were restored in 1476, confirmed to him by James III. in 1478, and in 1493 they were again forfeited by the same Lord of the Isles.\* From these facts it appears conclusive that

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\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 382.



the Lewis must have been held for several generations from the Lords of the Isles, who were the immediate Superiors under the Crown. According to Skene, the first charter on record from the Crown in favour of the Macleods of Lewis is one by David II. to Torquil Macleod, of the barony of Assynt, and in that charter he is not designated "of the Lewis" or of anywhere else. A charter by Donald of the Isles, grandson of Somerled, Thane of Argyle, and in which he styles himself King of the Isles, to Lord John Bisset, dated at his Castle of Dingwall, on the 19th of January, 1245, is, however, witnessed by his "beloved cousines and councillors," Macleod of Lewis and Macleod of Harris.

It will be observed that Harris was a portion of the "Llodthus," or Lewis, of those days, which appears to have been divided between the two sons of Leod, Norman and Torquil, thus very much weakening the argument on which the descendants of the latter base their claim to the chiefship—upon his having succeeded to what is known in modern times as the Lewis, but which only formed a portion of it in those days.

Leod was succeeded in the Lewis by his second son—

II. TORQUIL MAC LEOD, second of Lewis, of whose history nothing is known. From him the Macleods of Lewis derive their Gaelic patronymic of *Siol Thorcuil*, or Torquil's descendants. Born in the reign of Alexander the Third, he died in that of King Robert the Bruce.—[1306-1329]. He married Dorothea, daughter of his Superior in the lands of Lewis, William, Earl of Ross, with issue—

1. Norman, his heir, and successor,
2. Finguala, who married Kenneth Mackenzie, III. of Kintail, with issue, Murdoch, who carried on the succession and died in 1375.

Torquil was succeeded by his only son,

III. NORMAN MACLEOD, third of the Lewis, who did not long survive his father. He married and left one son, who succeeded him—

IV. TORQUIL MACLEOD, fourth of Lewis. Douglas says that he was granted a charter by King David II.—*Torquilo Macleod de Lewis, terrarum baronie de Assynt cum fortalicio*, etc., etc., giving as his authority the "Index to King David's Book of



Charters, in the Public Archives." Skene, however, states [*Highlanders of Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 247] that Macleod is not designated "de Lewis" in this charter, "nor has he any designation whatever" in it. From 1344, Gregory informs us "the Siol Torquil held Lewis as vassals of the house of Isla," and that in the same reign [David the Second's] Torquil Macleod, chief of the tribe, had a royal grant of the lands of Assint in Sutherland.\* This extensive barony he obtained by marriage with Margaret MacNicol, heiress of the lands in question, which afterwards, early in the fifteenth century, were given in vassalage by Roderick Macleod, V. of Lewis, to his younger son, Tormod, progenitor of the later Macleods of Assynt, Geanies, and Cadboll.

Torquil died in the reign of Robert II.—[1371-1390]—when he was succeeded by his only son by his wife, Margaret MacNicol of Assynt,

V. RODERICK MACLEOD, fifth of Lewis. "In 1449 a charter of John of Yle is witnessed by Roderick Macleoid of Leoghuis."† He married Margaret, daughter of the Lord of the Isles, with issue—

1. Torquil, his heir and successor.
2. Tormod, to whom his father gave the barony of Assynt, and who became progenitor of the Macleods of that extensive district and other places on the Mainland, and of whom hereafter.
3. Margaret, who, as his second wife, married William Mackintosh VII. of Mackintosh with issue; among others, Malcolm Beg, who succeeded his nephew, Ferquhard, as X. of Mackintosh, and carried on the succession, though his uncle Ferquhard left three sons, the eldest of whom was the legal heir.‡

Roderick died at an advanced age, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

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\* *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p.p. 72-73.

† *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, p. 382; and Register of the Great Seal, XIII., No. 186.

‡ According to the *History of the Mackintoshes and Clanchattan* by Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, 1880, Ferquhard the IXth chief "gave up a position which he had neither the ability to fill, nor the wish to retain," his three sons at the same time being cut off from the succession. It would thus appear that the subsequent *de facto* heads of the Mackintoshes are not the legitimate chiefs of their own clan, to say nothing of their claim to be the chiefs of Clanchattan. All Ferquhard's sons had issue, and they are said to have several descendants now living.



VI.—TORQUIL MACLEOD, sixth of Lewis. He is said to have made "a great figure" in the reign of James II. [1437-1460.] In 1461 a charter of the same John of Yle, whose charter was witnessed by Roderick Macleod in 1449, was "witnessed by Torquell Macleoid of Leoghos."\* He married with issue, his heir and successor.

VII.—RODERICK MACLEOD, seventh of Lewis, who is on record in 1476; also in 1478, 1493, and 1494. In the latter year, Roderick Macleod of the Lewis and John Macian of Ardnamurchan made their submission to King James IV.† Gregory says, p. 73, that this Roderick was grandson of a former chief of the same name. In a Latin charter, under the Great Seal, dated 10th November, 1495, in favour of Hugh Macdonald, first of the family of Sleat, we find him designated "Roderico Macleod de Leoghys," and Gregory says that this Roderick was "the head of the Siol Torquil" in 1493. He appears to have been a most cruel monster. This is placed beyond question by the cold-blooded assassination of his own relatives in the following horrible manner:—Allan Macleod of Gairloch had married as his second wife a daughter of this Roderick, by whom he had one son. Roderick determined to murder all the male issue of Macleod of Raasay, and those of Macleod of Gairloch by Mackenzie's daughter, that his own grandson, by Allan Macleod's second marriage, might succeed. With this view he invited all the members of the two families—with whom he was connected by marriage with the widow of Mackay of Reay, a daughter of Mackenzie of Kintail—to the Island of Isay, in Lochbay, Waternish, pretending that he had matters of great consequence to communicate to them. All the members of both families accepted the invitation. Roderick feasted them sumptuously, on their arrival, at a great banquet. In the middle of the festivities he informed them of his desire to have each man's advice separately, saying that he would afterwards make known to them the momentous business to be considered, and which closely concerned each of them. He then retired into a separate apartment, calling them in one by one, when each, as he entered, was stabbed with a dirk through the body

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\* Argyll Charters.

† Register of the Great Seal, June, 1494, VIII., 128, 123.



by a set of murderous villains whom Roderick had appointed for the purpose. Not one of the family of Raasay was left alive except a boy nine years of age, who was being fostered from home, and who had been sent privately, when the news of the massacre had gone abroad, to the Laird of Calder, who kept him in safety during his minority. Macleod of Gairloch's sons, by Hector Roy's sister, were all murdered. Roderick took his own grandson into an inner room, where the boy heard one of his brothers cry on being stabbed by the assassins, and said to his brutal grandfather, "Yon's my brother's cry." "Hold your peace," old Rory replied, "yonder cry is to make you laird of Gairloch; he is the son of one of Mackenzie's daughters." The boy, dreading that his own life might be sacrificed, held his tongue, "but afterwards he did what in him lay in revenging the cruel death of his brothers and kinsmen on the murderers." Our informant says that this was the first step that Hector Roy Mackenzie got to Garloch. "Allan Macleod (Hector's brother-in-law) gave him the custody of their rights, but when he (Hector) found his nephews were murdered, he took a new gift of it (Gairloch) to himself, and, going to Garloch with a number of Kintail men and others, he took a heirschip with him, but such as were alive of the Shiol 'ille Challum of Garloch, followed him and fought him at a place called Glasleoid, but they being beat, Hector carried away the heirschip. After this and several other skirmishes they were content to allow him the two-thirds of Garloch, providing he would let themselves possess the other third in peace, which he did, and they kept possession till Hector's great-grandchild put them from it." The Earl of Cromarty, and the other MS. historians of the family, corroborate this. The Earl says that Hector, "incited to revenge" by the foul murder of his nephews, made some attempt to oust the Macleods from Gairloch during John of Killin's minority, but was unwilling to engage in a war with such a powerful chief as Macleod of Lews, while he considered himself insecure in his other possessions, but after arranging matters amicably with his nephew of Kintail, and being now master of a fortune and possessions suitable to his mind and quality, he resolved to avenge the murder and to "make it productive of his own advantage." He summoned all those who were accessory to the assassination of his sister's



children before the Chief Justice. Their well-grounded fears made them absent themselves from Court. According to another authority, Hector produced the bloody shirts of the murdered boys, whereupon the murderers were declared fugitives and out-laws, and a commission granted in his favour for their pursuit, "which he did so resolutely manage that in a short tyme he killed many, preserved some to justice, and forced the remainder to a compositione advantagious to himselfe."

Roderick married Agnes, eldest daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, "a Bhlair," IX. of Kintail, by Agnes Fraser, daughter of Hugh, third Lord Lovat, with issue—

1. Torquil, his heir.
2. Malcolm, who, in 1511, succeeded his brother, Torquil, forfeited a few years before.

He died in 1498, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.

*(To be continued.)*



VIII.—TORQUIL MACLEOD, eight, of Lewis, has a charter under the Great Seal—“*Torquilo Macleod de Lewes, de officio balivatus omnium terrarum regi in Troternish, jacen. infra insulam de Skye, in forisfacturam Johannis, olim domini insularum, tenend. dicto Torquilo et hæredibus suis inter ipsum et Catharinam Campbell, fororem Archibaldi comitis de Argyll, legitime procreand quibus deficientibus, regi et hæredibus suis revertend datum apud novum castrum de Kilkerran in Kintyre. 28vo. Junii, 1498.*”

Torquil Macleod, by the death of his father, now Lord of Lewis, in the summer of 1498, accompanied by Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, paid his homage to James IV. at the head of Loch Kilkerran, where the king held a Court at a castle recently erected by him. In October, 1498, Torquil has a charter under the Great Seal granting him the office of Bailliary of Trotternish, with eight merks of the land, described as being then in the hands of the Crown by the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, though only in August, two months previously, a grant of the same Bailliary, with two unciates of the land now given to Macleod of Lewis, were made by a similar charter to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan.\*

On the liberation of Donald Dubh Macdonald of the Isles from his confinement in the Castle of Inchconnel, he repaired at once to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, who had married Catherine, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, and sister of Donald Dubh's mother. Macleod took him under his protection, warmly espoused his cause, and at once set about to secure for him the support of the other West Island chiefs in his efforts to establish himself as Lord of the Isles. Through the Earl of Argyll, Macian of Ardnamurchan, and Stewart of Appin, who were at the time in regular communication with the Court, the king soon heard of Donald Dubh's escape and Torquil Macleod's support

\* Reg. of the Great Seal, xiii., 305 and 377.



of his claims. Determined, if possible, to put an immediate stop to the movement, Torquil was charged, under the penalty of high treason, at once to deliver up the person of Donald Dubh, described in the charge as then at Macleod's "rule and governance." No attention was paid to the Royal demands; Torquil was formally denounced as a rebel, and all his possessions were forfeited. Directions were in 1552 given in a commission to the Earl of Huntly, Lord Lovat, and William Munro of Fowlis, to expel all "broken men" from the Lewis, which meant, in the disturbed state of affairs at the time, the expulsion of the whole population of the island. Macleod's answer was at once to proclaim Donald Dubh as Lord of the Isles. In the meantime he induced most of the Highland chiefs to join in the insurrection, among others Maclean of Duart and Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, both of whom were in 1504 declared traitors and had their estates forfeited to the Crown.

In 1505 most of the leaders of the insurrection made their submission to an expedition conducted by the King in person and the confederacy of the Island chiefs was dissolved. Torquil Macleod, however, with a few others, who had no hope of the Royal pardon being extended to them, still held out, and in 1506 a second expedition was rendered necessary. The Lord of Lewis was solemnly forfeited in his life and property in Parliament, and for the purpose of carrying the sentence into execution the Earl of Huntly, in 1506, proceeded at the head of a considerable force as far as the Lewis; the Castle of Stornoway was besieged and finally taken, and the whole of the island was subdued. But whether Torquil himself was killed or effected his escape it is impossible to say; for we find no further trace of him. His lands of Assynt and Coigeach were given in life-rent to Y Mackay of Strathnaver, who took a prominent part in the expedition against him. On the 29th of April, 1508, James IV. commanded the Bishop of Caithness, Ranald Alansoun of Clanranald, and Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, to let for five years to sufficient tenants the lands of the Lewis and Waternish in Skye, which were forfeited by Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, and on June 7th they received further instructions to proceed to Lewis on the same business, taking their directions from Alexander, Earl of Huntly.



Torquil Macleod married first Catherine Campbell, daughter of the first Earl of Argyll, named as his wife in the charter granted to Macleod in 1498 above quoted, apparently without issue. He married, secondly, a daughter of John Cathanach Macdonald of Islay and the Glynnns, and widow of Donald Gallach, third, and mother of Donald Gruamach, fourth of Sleat, with issue—

1. John Mac Torquil,\* who was excluded from the succession on his father's forfeiture, and again when the estates were restored in 1511 to Malcolm, Torquil's brother. He, however, succeeded on the death of his uncle in getting possession, which he held during the remainder of his life, as will be seen hereafter.

In 1511, Lewis and the other estates of the family were given, to the exclusion of the direct male heir, by charter under the great seal, to

IX.—MALCOLM MACLEOD, brother of the forfeited Torquil, who is described as *Malcolmo Makloid filio et hæredi quondam Roderico M·Cloid*. He is granted "the lands and castle of Lewis, and Waternish in the Lordship of the Isles, with other lands, erected in his favour into the barony and lordship of Lewis, the place and castle of Stornochway to be the chief messuage."† In 1515, when the Regent Duke of Albany commissioned John Macian of Ardnamurchan to reduce to obedience the inhabitants of parts of the Isles who had taken part with Sir Donald of Lochalsh in his attempt to gain the Lordship of the Isles, and to promise the less violent of them the favour of the Crown and remission for their past crimes, provided they made their submission, promised obedience in future, and made restitution to those who had suffered by their conduct, Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis was one of those specially exempted from the Royal clemency. He is again on record in 1517.

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\* Gregory [p. 131] speaks of Donald Gruanach as uterine brother of John Mac Torquil, son of Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, forfeited in 1506, and nephew of Malcolm, the present [1528] Lord of Lewis. In a footnote he adds that Donald Gallach's "mother was first married to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis." She must, however, have been his second wife, and Donald Gallach's widow, for the latter was killed in 1506, and Catherine of Argyll is named as Macleod's wife in the charter of 1498; she lived until after 1506, the date of Donald Gallach's death.

† Reg. of the Great Seal XVII., No. 16; and Reg. of the Privy Council IV., folio 126.



In 1518-19 Sir Donald of Lochalsh, accompanied by the Macleods of Lewis and Raasay, invaded Ardnamurchan, where, by pre-concerted arrangement, they met Alexander Macdonald of Islay, united their forces, and attacked Macian, whom they overtook at Craig-an-Airgid, in Morvern, where he was defeated and slain with two of his sons, John Suaineartach and Angus, and many of his followers. Sir Donald died very soon after this raid, and we can find nothing further regarding Malcolm Macleod, who appears to have died about 1528.

From the date of the raid to Ardnamurchan till about 1532 the lands and barony of Lewis were taken possession of and held by John, son and direct male representative of Torquil Macleod forfeited in 1506, and nephew of Malcolm. On the death of his uncle, whose son Roderick was a minor, John Mac Torquil, aided by Donald Gruamach of Sleat and his followers, seized the whole Island. The vassals of the barony followed his banner, and, though excluded from the succession by his father's forfeiture, they acknowledged him as their natural leader by right of birth, and he was able to keep possession of the lands and the command of the Siol Torquil during the remainder of his life. In 1538 his name appears among nine of the Highland chiefs who made offers of submission to the King through Hector Maclean of Duart.

John left no male issue, but after his death the claims of his daughter, who afterwards married Donald Gorm Macdonald, fifth of Sleat, were supported by his kindred, and the Clan Donald of Sleat.

Writing of this John Mac-Torquil, under date of 1532-39, Gregory says, "that chief, the representative of an elder, though forfeited branch of the family of Lewis, had obtained possession of the estates and leading of his tribe; and although he did not hold these by any legal title, the claims of his daughter, after his death, were far from contemptible, especially when supported by the influence of the Clandonald. A compromise seems to have been entered into between Donald Gorme and Ruari Macleod, the legal heir of the Lewis, as formerly held by Malcolm Macleod, his father, and the last lawful possessor."\*

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\* *Highlands and Isles*, p. 144.



Malcolm Macleod married Christian, daughter of Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, with issue—

1. Roderick, his heir.
2. Malcolm Garve, progenitor of the Macleods of Raasay.
3. Norman, from whom the Macleods of Eddrachilles.

In 1532, on the death of his nephew John MacTorquil, who had been in undisturbed possession since Malcolm's death,\*

X.—RODERICK MACLEOD succeeded to the lands and command of the Macleods of Lewis, in terms of an arrangement arrived at between him and Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, who had married Margaret, daughter of John Mac Torquil. In terms of this arrangement, Roderick undertook to assist Donald Gorm in driving the Macleods of Dunvegan, who again managed to gain possession of Troternish, from that contested district. It is also alleged that Roderick became bound to support Donald Gorm in his attempts to establish himself in the Lordship of the Isles and Earldom of Ross.

In May, 1539, Macdonald, accompanied by Macleod and his followers, invaded the lands of Troternish and laid them waste, after which, taking advantage of Mackenzie of Kintail's absence from home, they, with a large body of followers, made a raid upon Kinlochewe and Kintail, and attempted to take the Castle of Eilean Donain, on which occasion Donald Gorm was killed by an arrow shot from the walls of the stronghold.

On the 2nd of April, 1538, James V. granted to Roderick Macleod, the son and heir of the deceased Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis, the nonentry and other dues of the lands and barony of the Lewis, from the 30th of June, 1511, till a year after the date of the grant.† When the King, on his famous visit to the Isles in 1540, visited the Lewis, Roderick Macleod and his principal kinsmen met him, and they were commanded to accompany him in his progress southward. In 1541 King James V. granted Roderick and Barbara Stewart, his affianced spouse, the lands,

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\* Malcolm was buried in the Churchyard of Ui, in the immediate vicinity of Stornoway, where many of the Lewis chiefs are interred, "and particularly Malcolm, son of Roderick Macleod, Lord of Lewis, who died in the reign of James V. His tomb is still visible, and the inscription is entire, with the exception of the date."—*Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 4.

† Reg. of the Privy Council, Vol. XI. folio 66.



island and barony of Lewis, with the castle and other lands, resigned by Roderick, when the whole was erected anew into the free barony of Lewis.

We find Roderick's name, on the 28th of July, 1545, among the seventeen of the Barons and Council of the Isles appointed as plenipotentiaries for treating, under the directions of the Earl of Lennox, with the English King, to whom, at this time, they had been arranging to transfer their allegiance, and in consequence of which they had shortly before been charged by the Regent Arran with rebellious and treasonable proceedings, and threatened with utter ruin and destruction, from an invasion by "the whole body of the realm of Scotland, with the succours lately come from France," for their attempts to bring the whole Isles and a great part of the mainland under the obedience of the King of England, in contempt of the authority of the Crown of Scotland. On the 5th of August following these Barons were at Knockfergus, in Ireland, with a force of four thousand men and one hundred and eighty galleys, where, in presence of the Commissioners sent by the Earl of Lennox, and of the leading officials of the town, they took the oath of allegiance to the King of England, at the command of the Earl of Lennox, who was acknowledged by them all as the true Regent and second person of the Realm of Scotland. It was in this capacity and for this reason that they agreed to act under his directions in their treasonable and unpatriotic conduct on this and other occasions. On the 17th of August in the same year he had, with Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan and forty others, a remission from that date to the 1st of November following, that they might go to the Regent and Lords of the Privy Council for the purpose of arranging as to their affairs.

On the death of Donald Dubh, without lawful male issue, many of the Island chiefs adopted as their leader James Macdonald of Islay, though his pretensions to the Lordship of the Isles were far inferior to those of Donald Gorm Og of Sleat, who was then a minor. Among those who opposed Islay and who soon afterwards succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the Scottish Regent, we find Roderick Macleod of Lewis, Macleod of Harris, Macneill of Barra, Mackinnon of Strath, and Macquarrie of Ulva. Roderick is, however, in 1547, absent from the battle



of Pinkie, though several of the other Island lords responded to the call of the Regent Arran on that disastrous occasion, but Macleod appears to have been forgiven in 1548 on easy terms with several others outlawed along with him for not joining the Regent's forces in the previous year when commanded to do so. He is, however, again in trouble within a very short interval. In 1551 Archibald Earl of Argyll was commissioned to pursue with his men Roderick Macleod of the Lewis for "obteening" certain persons out of his lands, and in 1552 Arran determined, on the advice of Mary of Guise, the Queen Dowager, to establish order among the Highlanders. With this object he summoned all the chiefs to meet him at Aberdeen on the 17th of June. Most of them submitted to the conditions imposed, either there or in the following July at Inverness, but in consequence of the disputes which occurred at his time between Arran and the Queen Dowager, regarding the Regency, the Highlanders again broke out. The Queen Dowager assumed the Government in June, 1554, when she at once ordered the Earls of Huntly and Argyll to proceed by land and sea to the utter extermination of the Macdonalds of Clanranald and of Sleat, the Macleods of Lewis, and their associates, who had failed to present the hostages demanded of them for good conduct and loyalty in future. The expedition seems, from various causes, to have turned out a complete failure. The Queen Dowager was determined, however, to secure order among the Highlanders, and in April, 1555, a process of treason was commenced against Roderick Macleod of the Lewis. In the following June a commission was granted to the Earls of Argyll and Athole against the islanders, but soon after, in the same year, Macleod submitted and made certain offers to the Privy Council through Argyll, in consequence of which the Queen Regent granted him a remission "for his treasonable intercommuning with various rebels, and for other crimes."

After this he appears to have led a more peaceful life for several years, for we do not again find any trace of him in the public records until he is summoned with several others, by proclamation, on the 20th of September, 1565, to join the Earl of Athole in Lorn to put down the Earl of Murray's rebellion, arising out of



his opposition to the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, to Lord Darnley. This rebellion, however, collapsed, and there was no necessity to send the royal forces to Lorn after all. In 1572, during Roderick's life, James VI. granted to Torquil Conanach Macleod, described in the charter as "the son and apparent heir of Roderick Macleod of Lewis," and to the heirs male of his body, with remainder to Gillecillum Garbh Macleod of Raasay, and his male heirs, and to Torquil's male heirs whomsoever bearing the Macleod surname and arms, the lands and barony of Lewis, which Roderick had resigned, reserving the life-rent to himself on condition that he and Torquil should not again commit any crime against the King.\*

*(To be continued.)*



## THE MACLEODS OF LEWIS.

RODERICK MACLEOD'S rule proved disastrous to the Siol Torquil in the Lewis, and terminated the supremacy of his house in that island principality. How this was brought about now falls to be considered ; and, in doing so, we shall have to carry the reader at considerable length through one of the most barbarous and fratricidal conflicts of which there is any trace in clan history. The sources of information are very scant, but we hope to succeed in giving a more complete account of this period of the history of the Lewis and its inhabitants than has ever yet been done.

The feud between the Macdonalds of Sleat and the Mackenzies, already referred to, had been aggravated by Donald Gorm's raid on Kinlochewe and Kintail—where the chief of Sleat was killed—and was greatly intensified by the mixed relations which later on existed between these two powerful families, and the respective claimants for ascendancy in the Lewis. We shall first supply an account of the position of the leaders in the island and their supporters, from an independent and unprejudiced historical source, after which we shall, at greater length, give the more detailed account preserved in the oldest existing manuscript history of the Mackenzies, which, though not written by a clans-



man, may possibly be suspected of a slight bias in favour of that family. The Mackenzie version will, however, be found generally accurate, and, on the whole, fair.

Gregory informs us that Roderick Macleod was married, as his *first* wife, to Janet, daughter of John Mackenzie of Kintail. In all other accounts she is said to have been Macleod's second wife, but, as Gregory points out, Barbara Stewart, said by the other authorities to have been Roderick's first wife, was alive and styled Lady Lewis, in 1566, while Torquil Conanach, Macleod's son by Janet Mackenzie, is found engaged in active life, having arrived at manhood in 1554, twelve years before that date, and this Torquil had a son grown-up in 1585, nineteen years only after mention of Barbara Stewart is found in the public records and as being then alive. It is thus conclusively established that Janet Mackenzie, Torquil Conanach's mother, was Roderick's first wife. She appears to have been an illegitimate daughter of John Mackenzie of Killin, IX. of Kintail, and to have married as her first husband Mackay of Reay. Her mother seems to have been a Strathconan woman, by whose relations her son, Torquil Conanach, was fostered, which accounts for this sobriquet, by which he is afterwards known. In several of the Mackenzie family manuscripts this is affirmed. This clearly shows that Torquil was not the son of Mackenzie's daughter by his wife, who we know to have been Elizabeth, daughter of John, tenth Laird of Grant, a family that never had any connection whatever with Strathconan.

The issue of Macleod's marriage with this Janet Mackenzie, and widow of Mackay of Reay, was Torquil, "afterwards, from his residence among his mother's relations in Strathconan, surnamed Connanach." His mother, according to Gregory, having subsequently eloped with John MacGillechallum of Raasay, was divorced by Macleod, who at the same time disowned and disinherited her son, alleging that he was not his son, but the son of Hucheon Morrison, the *Breitheamh*, or hereditary Celtic Judge of the Island.\*

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\* It appears from the Treasurer's Accounts that on the 23rd of July, 1551, Patrick Davidson is paid the sum of £10 by the King's Treasurer that he may go to the Lewis to charge "M'Claude of the Lewis and Hucheon of the Lewis to come to my Lord Governor [Arran] at the aire of Inverness." Hucheon was thus Roderick's contemporary, and indirectly was the cause of the final ruin of the Lewis Macleods.



After this divorce, Macleod, in 1541, married Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew, Lord Avandale, by whom he had a son, also named Torquil, and surnamed *Oighre*, or the heir, to distinguish him from his eldest and alleged illegitimate brother, Torquil *Conanach*. Torquil Oighre, described as "a young chief of great promise," was in or before 1566, with many of his attendants, drowned in a storm while on his way from Lewis to Waternish, in the Isle of Skye. This is the Torquil, and not Torquil Conanach, as suggested by the editor of *The Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, to whom Queen Mary addressed the following letter in 1563:— "Torquil Macleod: We greet you well. We are informed that some of the Isles are desirous to have you allied to them by marriage; and because you have that honour to be of the Stewart blood, we thought expedient to give you advertisement that it is our will and pleasure that you ally yourself to no party in marriage without our advice, and until we declare our opinion to yourself therein. Subscribed with our hand at Inveraray, the 23rd of July, 1563."\*

Roderick's son, Torquil, by Barbara Stewart, left no male issue. This gave fresh spirit and hope to Torquil Conanach's supporters, the most powerful of whom were his mother's relations, the Mackenzies of Kintail. He had also the aid of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, he having married a daughter of their chief. She afterwards, in 1590, has six davachs of land in the Lordship of the Lewis, and other lands on the mainland, granted to her in life-rent by her husband, and in the same year confirmed by James VI. In the charter she is described as "Margaret Nyne Angus Makalexander," or Margaret, daughter of Angus, son of Alexander of Glengarry. This lady married, either before or after she married Torquil Macleod, one of the Cuthberts of Castle Hill, Inverness, by whom she became the progenetrix of Charles Colbert, Marquis of Seignelay, the famous Minister of Louis XIV. of France.

Various events occurred at this time which intensified the feud between the contending parties. In or about 1568, Roderick Macleod of the Lewis was seized by Torquil Conanach, and was detained by him in prison for a period of four years. Being

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\* *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v., p. 396.



brought while in captivity before the Earl of Mar, then Regent, and the Privy Council, he was obliged to resign all his estate to the Crown, and to take a new destination of it in 1572 to himself in life-rent, and after his death to Torquil Conanach, who is designed in the charter as his son and heir. Immediately on Roderick's release, however, he revoked all that he had agreed to when a prisoner, on the ground of coercion and the undutiful conduct of Torquil, by an instrument of revocation dated the 2nd of June in the same year, and preserved in the Dunvegan character chest. Fresh dissensions followed, and "at length father and son were summoned to Edinburgh, where, in presence of the Regent Morton and the Privy Council, they agreed to bury in oblivion their mutual animosities. Torquil Conanach was again recognised as heir-apparent of the Lewis; and, in that character, received from his father the district of Coigeach and various other lands for his support during the life of the latter." This reconciliation, however, was only of short duration.

On the 26th of April, 1573, Roderick comes under an obligation to John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, to bring in the Bishop's fruits, rents, and emoluments, and cause all over whom he has authority to do the same. He is to make to his lordship and his Commissioners and factors thankful payment of all things owing within his country, and to be obedient "anent all good ordinances, laws, and constitutions and corrections concerning the Kirk, as the acts and constitution of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland bears and was used in the last Bishop's time." The document is subscribed on his behalf by Ranald Anguson, parson of Uig, "at the command of ane honourable man Roderick McCloid of the Lewis, because he culd not writt himself, his hand led on the pen."\* He appears about this time to have got into trouble for his treatment of the fishermen who visited the Lewis, and in 1576 he and his son Torquil Conanach come under the following obligation:—

Edinburgh, 26th of June, 1576.—The which day Rory Macleod of the Lewis and Torquil Macleod, his son and apparent heir, become acted and obliged that they by themselves,

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\* The document will be found printed at length in the *Transactions of the Iona Club*, pp. 6-8.



and taking burden upon them for their kin, friends, servants, tenants, assistants, and partakers, shall behave themselves as dutiful and obedient subjects to our Sovereign Lord and his authority; that they shall observe and keep His Highness's peace and good order in the country in time coming; and on no wise molest, stop, trouble, or make impediment to any [of] his Majesty's subjects in their lawful trade of fishing in the lochs of the Lewis, or others in the North Isles of this realm; nor otherwise raise any "towist," extortion or imposition upon them, but to use them as our Sovereign Lord's good subjects, causing them [to] be assured of meat and drink, and other their necessaries upon their reasonable expenses in all times hereafter, as they will answer upon their obedience and under all highest pain, etc.

In 1585 the dispute between Roderick and Torquil was renewed with even greater violence than ever. The old chief had recently married, as his third wife, a sister of Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, by whom he became the father of two sons, Torquil Dubh and Tormod. He had also in the meantime five bastard sons, all of whom arrived at man's estate, and three of whom supported their father, who now once more disinherited Torquil Conanach, at the same time naming Torquil Dubh, his eldest son by Hector Maclean of Duart's daughter, as his heir. The other two bastards—Tormod *Uigeash* and Murdoch supported Torquil Conanach. Tormod was soon after slain by his brother Donald, who was in turn seized by Murdoch and delivered to Torquil for punishment. Donald, however, managed to escape, and shortly after captured Murdoch, who was at once imprisoned by Old Rory in the Castle of Stornoway. Torquil Conanach thereupon took up arms for Murdoch's relief, besieged the castle, took it after a short siege, liberated his brother, again made his father, Old Rory, prisoner, and killed a large number of his men. He, at the same time, secured and carried away all the writs and charters of the family, ultimately giving them over to his own relative, Colin Mackenzie of Kintail. Before leaving the island, he sent for his eldest son, then being brought up under the Earl of Huntly, and appointed him keeper of Stornoway Castle, in which the youth's grandfather, Old Rory, was confined and left under his charge. John continued in possession for some time, but was ultimately killed by his bastard uncle, Rory Og, when the old man once more regained his liberty, and obtained



possession of his estates, which he is said to have retained for the rest of his life.

Immediately on hearing of his son's death, Torquil Conanach apprehended, and executed at Dingwall, his bastard brother, Donald, who, it was alleged, was a party to the doings of Rory Og, and to have had a hand in the death of Torquil's son.

Soon after this Roderick Macleod of the Lewis, with Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, Donald Gormeson of Sleat, and Tormod Macleod of Harris are summoned before the King and Council to give their advice regarding the good rule and quietness of the Highlands and Isles. From this it would appear that he was at the time on good terms with the Government, though that uncommon and happy relationship does not seem to have long continued.

On the 11th of November, 1586, a complaint by the Burghs of the Realm against several of the Highland and Island chiefs for molesting Burgesses engaged in the fisheries in the North Isles and mainland, is brought before the Privy Council. Among those mentioned in the complaint are Roderick Macleod of the Lewis and Torquil Macleod of Coigeach, who, with all the others, not one of whom answered the summons charging them to appear, were denounced as rebels and put to the horn.

In May, 1596, a royal proclamation was issued commanding all the Earls, Lords, Barons, and freeholders worth three hundred and upwards of yearly rent, and all the Burgesses of the Realm, to meet the King at Dumbarton, on the 1st of August following, well armed, with forty days' provisions, and with vessels to carry them to the Isles to reduce the Island lords to obedience. Maclean of Duart and Macdonald of Sleat at once repaired to Court and made their submission. Roderick Macleod of Harris, and Donald Macdonald of Glengarry, surrendered themselves about the same time and secured terms.

At this time Torquil Dubh Macleod, Roderick's eldest son by his third wife, held possession of the Lewis, but his right to do so was disputed by Torquil Conanach and his friends more violently than ever. Both, however, agreed to abide by certain terms of arbitration proposed by the Exchequer, each hoping to have his own title recognised as heir to the estate—and they were in



consequence on this occasion excluded from the list of disobedient clans to be proceeded against.

All this time the mainland estates remained with Torquil Conanach, and the result of the mutually agreed upon reference to the Exchequer was that he was now recognised by the Government as the legal heir to all the lands belonging to the family in the Lewis as well.

Both Torquil's sons were now dead, and his eldest daughter and co-heiress, Margaret, married Roderick Mackenzie, brother and tutor of Kenneth, afterwards first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, into whose arms he now threw himself, and to whom he ultimately conveyed the whole barony of Lewis so far as charters enabled him to do so.

Torquil Conanach's brother and competitor, Torquil Dubh, had married a sister of Rory Mor Macleod, XII. of Harris and Dunvegan, and, strengthened by his powerful alliance, he ravaged the lands of Coigeach and Lochbroom, on the mainland, belonging respectively to Torquil Conanach and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who had succeeded his father, Colin, in 1594, Torquil Dubh at the same time openly intimating his determination to keep by force what he thus acquired. He became very popular with the clan, and was in this raid joined by seven or eight hundred followers, who enabled him, in spite of the great power of the Mackenzies, to set his rival, Torquil Conanach, at defiance. Soon after, however, Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail made a formal complaint against him to the Privy Council, dated at the Chanonry of Ross, on the 3rd of January, 1596-7, in which he makes a charge against Torquil Dubh of prosecuting with fire and sword, on the 25th of the previous December, "the Strath Coigeach, pertaining to Macleod, his eldest brother; likewise my Strath of Lochbroom," to the King's great dishonour, without fear of God, and "in such barbarous and cruel manner, that neither man, wife, bairn, horse, cattle, corns, nor bigging has been spared, but all barbarously slain, burnt, and destroyed," by the aid of his neighbouring Islesmen. As the immediate result of this complaint, Torquil Dubh was summoned to appear before the Privy Council to answer the serious charges made against him; but he naturally hesitated to present himself before



a body, of which his accuser, Mackenzie, formed one, and who at the time had great influence with his brother members. Torquil Dubh was in consequence formally denounced a rebel; and, having shortly after been seized, with many of his principal followers, at the instigation of Mackenzie and Torquil Conanach, by Huchon Morrison, the Celtic Judge of the Lewis, they were delivered over to Torquil Conanach, by whom, in July, 1597, they were executed at Coigeach without further ceremony. This severity only irritated Torquil's surviving followers and adherents, amongst whom the most conspicuous and able was his bastard brother, Neil, who at once, supported by the Macleans of Duart and the Macleods of Harris, determined to maintain what he considered the legitimate rights of his nephews, Torquil Dubh's three youthful sons. In their name and interest Neil assumed command of the Lewis, and by his prowess and determination Torquil Conanach's ultimate success, though he was stoutly supported by the Mackenzies, was, to all appearance, as far off as ever.

In this year, 1597, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which every one claiming lands in the Highlands and Isles had to produce their titles on or before the 15th of May following, at Edinburgh, or wherever the Lords of the Exchequer might be sitting, or suffer the penalty of forfeiture. Torquil Dubh was one of those who did not put in an appearance; and it does not seem that he had any written titles to produce, the Lewis charters having some time before been removed by his rival, Torquil Conanach, and given to Mackenzie of Kintail. The island was in consequence declared to be at the King's disposal.

On the 16th of December, 1597, an Act was passed for the erection of three royal burghs in the Highlands, one of which was to be in the Lewis. This Act, modernised, is in the following terms:—

Our Sovereign Lord, with advice of the Estates of this present Parliament, for the better entertaining and continuing of civility and policy within the Highlands and Isles, has statute and ordained, that there be erected and built within the bounds thereof three burghs and burgh towns, in the most convenient and commodious parts meet for the same; to wit, one in Kintyre, another in Lochaber, and the third in the Lewis: to the which burghs



and the inhabitants thereof our Sovereign Lord and the Estates foresaid, shall grant, and by these presents grant, all privileges which His Highness and his predecessors have granted to any other burghs or inhabitants thereof within the realm: And that it shall be lawful to our Sovereign Lord, by the advice of the Lords of His Majesty's Exchequer, to give, grant, and dispoise to every one of the said burghs so much land and ground, furth of His Highness's annexed property, as may serve to build the said towns upon the same, with so much land and fishings next adjacent thereto, in Common Good, to every one of the said three towns as may sustain the common charges thereof, to be held in free burgage of His Highness, in such form and manner as His Majesty's most noble progenitors of worthy memories have granted of old for the erection of other burghs of this Realm.

This Act was never carried into effect—but it led eventually to the erection of the three towns of Campbeltown, Fort-William, and Stornoway, but the first named only secured the privileges of a Royal Burgh.

*(To be continued.)*



THE Lands of Lewis having been forfeited to the Crown by Torquil Dubh's refusal or inability to produce his family titles to the lands in 1597, they were, in the following year, granted to a number of Lowland gentlemen for the purpose of colonising and improving them on a plan suggested by the King himself. In addition to the Lewis, these gentlemen had also granted to them the district of Troternish, in Skye, then occupied under a lease by Macdonald of Sleat, and also the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, belonging to Sir Rory Mor Macleod of that ilk. The leading adventurers among the Lowland colonists were; The Duke of Lennox; Patrick, Commendator of Lindores; William, Commendator of Pittenweem; Sir James Anstruther, younger of that ilk; Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno; James Leirmonth of Balcolmly; James Spens of Wormistoun; John Ferrel of Fingask; David Home, younger of Wedderburn; and Captain Wm. Murray.



By contract, dated the 28th of June, 1598, between them and the Government, ratified by Parliament, they were, so as to make up for the expense and trouble incurred by them and for the improvements which they undertook to make, relieved for seven years from the payment of any rent. They further entered into an agreement to pay on the expiration of that period an annual grain-rent of forty chalders of bere for the lands of Lewis, Rona of Lewis, and the Island of Handa ; and for the lands of Troternish, in Skye, a money rent of four hundred merks per annum—twenty merks more than that agreed to be paid by Macdonald of Sleat for the lease of the same lands when secured by him in 1596, two years before.

The party having proved unsuccessful in colonising the Lewis, they do not appear to have ever interfered with the other lands granted to them in Harris and Skye, so that the old proprietors were never disturbed in their possession of them, and they finally succeeded in securing their titles anew from the Crown. The mere fact, however, that lands belonging to Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat were granted to the Lowlanders at the same time made it impossible that they should succeed in the Lewis, a result which might easily have been foreseen by any wise Government.

On this point Mr. Gregory says that had the Lewis alone been granted the dissensions of the natives among themselves would have made success highly probable, the only serious opposition to be reckoned upon being that which Mackenzie of Kintail might be expected to make. "But when grants were likewise made to these Lowlanders of the estates belonging to Macleod of Harris, and of a large district occupied, under a recent lease, by Macdonald of Sleat, a powerful party was at once created in the North Isles, whose interest it clearly was to frustrate and discourage the adventurers by every means in their power. These chiefs could not fail to perceive that the success of the adventurers in the Lewis would enable the latter to seize, with great facility, all the other lands to which Parliament had given them a claim. That they should deprecate such an event was perfectly natural ; and it will appear, accordingly, that the enterprise of the Lowlanders at length failed, owing to the obstacles secretly but perseveringly



thrown in their way by the three great northern chiefs, Macleod of Harris, Macdonald of Sleat, and Mackenzie of Kintail." This result is so natural that the wonder is that neither the Government nor the colonists themselves did not at once realise what it involved, and act accordingly.

In July, 1599, a Commission of Lieutenandry was granted to the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Huntly over the whole of Inverness-shire and the Isles, when a special charge was given to them, by every means in their power, and with all their forces, to assist "the gentlemen venturers and enterprisers of the conquest of the Lewis, towards the perfect settling and establishing of that Island under their obedience." A repulsive picture is given of the natives in the preamble to this Commission, in which they are charged with "the grossest impiety and the most atrocious barbarities," though the most heinous offence in the king's eyes seems to be the non-payment of his rents. One of the clauses declares that, "besides all other crimes, they rebelliously withhold from His Majesty a great part of the patrimony and proper rent of the Crown." Express power was given to the Commissioners to punish with military execution not only the open and avowed opponents of the adventurers, but any others who might be found opposing them by indirect means.

The Lowlanders had meantime been preparing for the actual commencement of their enterprise, and, fortified by this Commission to Lennox and Huntly, they, in October, 1599, proceeded to the Lewis with a force of between five and six hundred hired soldiers, accompanied by several gentlemen volunteers and artificers of all kinds considered necessary for such an expedition. That they should have started so late in the season is attributed to the reports of hostility circulated by Mackenzie of Kintail and other northern chiefs to the effect that the enterprise would be strenuously opposed by a formidable force. In any case, the late arrival of the colonists in the Island proved so injurious from the cold and want of shelter and provisions, that a great many of them died of the flux soon after their arrival, and of other complaints brought on by their situation and circumstances. "They began apace," according to Sir Robert Gordon, "to build and erect houses in a proper and



convenient place fit for the purpose ; in end they made up a pretty town," where they encamped. The Lewismen, led by Roderick's two surviving bastard sons, Neil and Murdoch, opposed the adventurers, incited thereto, it is highly probable, by the Mackenzies. James Leirmonth of Balcolmly had in the meantime left the Lewis for Fife in his own vessel. He was intercepted near the Orkneys by Murdoch Macleod, instigated by Kintail, when most of his crew and companions were killed, and he was himself taken back to the Lewis, where he was kept in prison for six months, after which he was liberated on his promising to pay the Macleods a heavy ransom. He, however, died on his way home, in the Orkneys, from, it is said, a disease contracted in consequence of the treatment he had received during his imprisonment in the Lewis, and the ransom was never paid.

This occurred in 1600. At this time Neil Macleod had a dispute with his brother Murdoch, who a few years before had the principal share in the execution of Torquil Dubh. He also aided the Brieve and his tribe, the Clann Mhic Gillemhuire, by whom Torquil Dubh had been apprehended and delivered into the hands of Mackenzie of Kintail, who, in 1597, had him put to death. In the course of this new quarrel, Neil captured Murdoch and several of the Morrisons, every one of whom, except his own brother, he immediately executed. The colonists from Fife, learning what had occurred, offered Neil, if he delivered his brother Murdoch up to them, as the most prominent of their opponents, that they would give Neil a portion of the Island for himself, and render him all the aid in their power to be avenged on the Mackenzies for the death of Torquil Dubh. Neil accepted the terms offered, delivered his brother Murdoch to the adventurers, and accompanied them to Edinburgh, carrying along with him the heads of the Morrisons, ten or twelve of whom he had so recently slain. Having received a pardon from the Crown, he, in company with the colonists, returned to the Lewis. Murdoch was soon after, in 1600, executed at St. Andrews. Before his death he made certain disclosures, in consequence of which and of complaints by the colonists, Mackenzie of Kintail was apprehended and lodged in Edinburgh Castle, but he soon managed to escape by the assistance of his friend, the Earl of



Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, without standing his trial. Nor did he in the slightest degree relax his efforts to gain possession of the Lewis, notwithstanding the risk which he had incurred and from the consequences of which he had so narrowly escaped.

In 1601 new Commissions were granted to Lennox and Huntly for reducing to obedience the Isles and adjacent Highlands. The North Isles were given in charge of Huntly, but the Lewis was exempted from his Commission, probably because the Government expected that the Fife adventurers would be able to cope with the difficulties of the situation themselves, without any extraneous aid. If such was the expectation, they soon found out their mistake. They were almost immediately embroiled in another quarrel with Neil Macleod, the leader of the Island natives.

Gregory on this point informs us that "the leaders of the adventurers who returned to the Island with Neil Macleod, after procuring his pardon and delivering up his brother, Murdoch, to justice, were the Commendator of Pittenweem, the lairds of Wormistoun, Fingask, Balcolmly, and Airdrie. Their situation at this time was so promising that they were induced to limit the exemption from rent, which, by their contract, was to last for seven years, to two years from the commencement of their undertaking. Soon after their return, however, some injury done by Spens of Wormistoun to Neil Macleod, embroiled them once more with the latter. Wormistoun laid a plot to entrap Macleod; but that leader, having a similar design against Wormistoun, was upon his guard; and, as soon as a party sent to apprehend him were at a sufficient distance from their camp, he attacked and routed them, with the loss of sixty of their number. Mackenzie of Kintail, who, since the agreement made between Neil Macleod and the colonists, had almost despaired of frustrating the enterprise, was no sooner informed of this quarrel than he hastened to profit by it. He had detained in captivity, for several years, Tormod, the younger brother of Torquil Dubh, and only surviving legitimate son of old Ruari Macleod of the Lewis. Although ordered by the Privy Council, in April, 1600, to produce his prisoner before them, he had evaded compliance, and still detained Tormod



Macleod in custody without a warrant. Suddenly changing his plan, on hearing of the quarrel between Neil and the adventurers, Mackenzie restored this young man to liberty, and sent him into the Lewis, promising him, secretly, great assistance if he would attack the settlers in concert with his uncle [? brother.] On his arrival in the Island, Tormod was received with open arms by Neil Macleod and all the old followers of the family of Lewis, by whom he was at once acknowledged as their lord and master. Encouraged by the support he received from his clan and the other natives of Lewis, and guided by the advice and experience of Neil Macleod, who had so long been their leader, the young chief attacked the camp of the adventurers, forced it, burnt the fort, killed many of their men, and at length forced the principal gentlemen to capitulate with him on the following conditions:— first, they were to obtain from the king a remission to the Macleods for all their bypast offences; secondly, they promised never to return to the Lewis, and agreed to give up their title to that Island to Tormod Macleod; lastly, for the performance of these conditions, they were obliged to leave Sir James Spens and his son-in-law, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell, as hostages. In order to obtain the liberation of the hostages, who were detained for eight months by the islanders, a remission was readily granted; and it is probable that the adventurers pretended to surrender their legal rights by a formal deed; but, when their object was attained by the release of these gentlemen, no further attention was paid to the capitulation. Notwithstanding their promise never to return, they seem only to have waited till their hostages were out of danger before taking immediate steps for a reconquest of the Island and its restless inhabitants. Accordingly, in the month of July [1602] proclamation was made, summoning the fighting men in most of the northern counties to meet a Royal lieutenant, probably the Marquis of Huntly, at Inverness, on the 20th of September, then to proceed against the rebels of the Lewis. On the approach of harvest, however, this proclamation was recalled, and 'the raid of the Lewis' was delayed till the spring of the following year." This delay to 1603 appears from the Records of the Privy Council to have been arranged on the 15th of September, 1602, but it would seem that nothing further was done until the



summer of 1605, when the adventurers, armed with Commissions of fire and sword, and assisted by some of the King's ships, made another attempt to gain possession of the Lewis, out of which they had been kept by Tormod Macleod and his supporters since 1601.

It was now ordered that all the castles and other strongholds in the North Isles should be delivered up to any heralds or officers sent to receive possession of them, and, failing delivery by the chiefs, the colonists were empowered by warrant to besiege and take all the castles by force. All the vessels and galleys owned in the North Isles and the adjacent mainland were to be delivered up by their proprietors at Lochbroom to the Fife adventurers, who were at the same time empowered to seize all vessels and boats belonging to any who should continue disobedient. All other Highlanders were enjoined, under severe penalties, to hold no communication whatever with the inhabitants of the Lewis, who were described as rebels against the King. The colonists, in virtue of the powers conferred upon them, having gathered together a considerable force from the adjoining districts, proceeded to the Lewis, and on their arrival despatched a messenger to Tormod Macleod, intimating to him that if he submitted to them they would send him safely to London, where they would not only secure for him His Majesty's pardon for all past offences, but also allow him to sue through his friends for the King's favour, and for some provision which would enable him to live in comfort afterwards. His brother Neil was much against the proposal, and urged upon Tormod to gather his followers and fight the adventurers as on previous occasions, rather than submit to the terms they proposed. This, Tormod would not agree to. He submitted to the conditions imposed, was sent to London by the colonists as promised by them, and, after a time, he made such progress in impressing upon the King the great wrong which had been inflicted upon his family by granting the lawful inheritance of his house to the Fife adventurers, that these gentlemen, some of whom were at the time members of His Majesty's household, began to fear that the King might recall his grant to them of the Lewis. Their alarm in this respect led them to use all their influence against Tormod, and they succeeded so far,



that, by order of His Majesty, the islander was sent back to Scotland and confined in the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained a prisoner for the next ten years. Neil, who still held out, was supported by the natives of the Lewis, and continued a source of great annoyance and trouble to the adventurers, who now secured a firm settlement in the island, where they remained until they were finally driven out of it by Mackenzie of Kintail in 1609.

From a Commission granted to the Marquis of Huntly in 1607 for the reduction of the North Isles, Skye and the Lewis were excluded. The reduction on this occasion was to be "by extirpation of the barbarous people of the Isles within a year." Huntly, however, got into trouble himself, and the reign of James VI. was, in consequence, saved "from being stained by a massacre which, for atrocity and the deliberation with which it was planned would have left that of Glencoe far in the shade." They were thus only saved by a mere accident, and the islanders owed nothing to their King, "whose character must forever bear the stain of having, for the most sordid motives, consigned to destruction thousands of his subjects," in the North Isles, with the exception of Skye and the Lewis.

In 1607 the colonists, who had been incessantly annoyed by Neil Macleod assisted by the Macneills of Barra, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and the Macleods of Harris, began to give up all hope of maintaining their hold of the Lewis. "Of the original partners, many had, for some time, withdrawn, some had died, others had spent all their property, and of the remainder, some had more important affairs to call them elsewhere. Thus reduced and dispirited by the constant attacks made upon them, they forsook the Island and returned to their homes. The Lord of Kintail, who had all along wrought to this end, now began to stir in the matter. By means of his friend, the Lord Chancellor, he passed under the Great Seal a gift of the Lewis to himself, in virtue of the resignation made formerly in his favour by Torquil Conanach Macleod. The surviving adventurers, however, were not so unmindful of their own interest as to suffer this transaction to pass unchallenged. They complained to the King, who was highly incensed at the conduct of Mackenzie, and forced him to resign his right thus surreptitiously obtained. The Island being



once more, by this step and the consent of the adventurers, at the disposal of His Majesty, he granted it anew to three persons only, viz.—James, Lord Balmerino, Sir George Hay of Nethercliff, and Sir James Spens of Wormistoun.” On the occasion of Lord Ochiltree’s famous expedition, in 1608, when he entrapped the Island chiefs aboard the King’s ship *Moon*, at Aros, in Mull, and carried them prisoners to Edinburgh, his Lordship, in the report of his proceedings made to the Privy Council, assigned the lateness of the season as his reason for not having proceeded against Macleod of Lewis and Macneill of Barra, at the same time stating that the latter was a dependder upon Maclean of Duart, who had come to terms, and who would answer for Macneill’s behaviour.

*(To be continued.)*



In March, 1609, Lord Balmerino was convicted of high treason. This effectually debarred his lordship from taking any active share with Sir George Hay and Sir James Spens in colonising the Lewis, neither of whom spared trouble nor expense to carry into effect the terms of the royal grant recently made to them. They were most active, made great preparations, and, assisted by the neighbouring tribes, invaded the Lewis for the double purpose of planting a colony in it and of subduing and apprehending Neil Macleod, who now alone defended it. Mackenzie despatched his brother, Roderick, afterwards Tutor of Kintail, and Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, with a party of followers numbering 400, ostensibly to aid the colonists, now acting under the king's commission, to whom he promised active support. At the same time he despatched a vessel from Ross loaded with provisions, but privately sent word to Neil Macleod to intercept her on the way, so that the settlers, being disappointed of the supply of provisions to which they looked for maintenance, should be obliged to abandon the Island for want of the necessaries of life. Matters turned out just as Kintail anticipated: Sir George Hay and Spens abandoned the Lewis, leaving a party behind them to hold the fort, and intending to send a fresh supply of men and provisions back to the Island on their arrival in Fife. But Neil Macleod and his followers took and burnt the fort, apprehended the garrison, and sent them safely to their homes on giving their oath that they would never come on that pretence again, which they never did. Finding this, the Fife adventurers gave up all hope of establishing themselves in the Island, and sold their acquired rights therein, as also their share of the forfeited districts of Troternish and Waternish in Skye, to Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who at the same time obtained a grant from the King of Balmerino's forfeited share of the Lewis, thus legally acquiring what he had so long and so anxiously desired. In addi-



tion to a fixed sum of money, Mackenzie granted the adventurers a lease of the woods of Letterewe, where there was an iron mine, which they wrought by English miners, casting guns and other implements till their fuel was exhausted and their lease expired. The King confirmed this agreement, and "to encourage Kintail and his brother, Roderick, in their work of civilising the people of the Lewis," he elevated the former to the peerage, as Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, at the same time, on the 19th of November, 1609, conferring the honour of knighthood on his brother, Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach.

In 1610 his lordship returned to the Lewis with 700 men, and finally brought the whole island to submission, with the exception of Neil Macleod and a few of his followers, who retired to the rock of Berrisay, and took possession of it. At this time religion appears to have been at a very low ebb—almost extinct among the inhabitants; and to revive Christianity among them, his lordship selected and took along with him the Rev. Farquhar Macrae, a native of Kintail and minister of Gairloch, who had been recommended to that charge by the Bishop of Ross. Mr. Macrae found quite enough to do on his arrival in the Lewis, but he appears to have been very successful among the uncivilised natives; for he reports having gained many over to Christianity, baptised a large number in the fortieth year of their age, and, to legitimise their children, married many others to the women with whom they had been for years cohabiting. Leaving the rev. gentleman in the prosecution of his mission, Kintail returned home, having established good order in the island, and promising to return the following year.

Sir Roderick Mackenzie, acting as Tutor for his nephew, Lord Colin, was determined to bring the remainder of the Macleods under subjection. Neil Macleod, as already stated, on Mackenzie's arrival retired to the impregnable rock of Berrisay, at the back of the Lewis, to which, as a measure of prudence, he had for some years previously been sending a stock of provisions and other necessaries, so as to be available in the event of his having to retire to the rock as a last resort. He was accompanied thither by his three nephews—the sons of Rory Og—Malcolm, William, and Roderick; the four sons of Torquil Blair, and thirty of their



more desperate and determined followers. In this impregnable position they held out for three years, during which they were a constant source of annoyance and insecurity to the Tutor and his followers. Sir Roderick at last, in 1612, found his opportunity, and, by a most desperate stratagem, he succeeded in bringing about Neil's surrender and that of all his companions.

While one of the Tutor's followers, named Donald MacDhonnchaidh Mhic Ian Ghlais, was stationed on a little rock within shot of Berrisay, he was killed by Neil, who at the same time, wounded another called Tearlach MacDhomh'uill Roy Mhic Fhionnlaidh Ghlais. This exasperated the Tutor so much, after all other means had failed to oust Neil Macleod from his position, that he conceived the inhuman scheme of gathering together the wives and children of all those who were in Berrisay, as also all the people in the island in any way related to them by blood or marriage affinity, and having placed them on a rock in the sea during low water, so near Berrisay that Neil and his companions could see and hear them, Sir Roderick avowed that they would leave those women and children on the rock until they were overwhelmed by the sea and drowned, on the return of the flood tide, if Neil and his companions did not instantly surrender and leave the rock of Berrisay. Neil knew by stern experience that the promise of the Tutor, once given, was as good as his bond, and he immediately yielded up the rock on condition that he and his followers should be allowed to leave the Lewis. After he had given up the rock Neil proceeded privately during the night to Macleod of Harris. The Tutor learning this caused Macleod to be charged, under pain of treason and forfeiture, to deliver Neil up to the Council. Sir Roderick finding himself in such a position prevailed upon Neil to accompany him, taking his son along with them, to Edinburgh to seek forgiveness from the King; but under pretence of this he delivered them up on arriving in that city, where Neil, in April, 1613, was at once executed, while his son was banished out of the kingdom.

Neil was shortly before guilty of similar treachery towards another. He had met with the captain of a pirate vessel named the *Priam* while on Berrisay, with whom he entered into a mutual bond that they should help each other, both being outlaws



at the time. The captain was to defend the rock from the seaward side while Neil made incursions on shore, and they promised faithfully to live and die together; and to make the agreement more secure the captain was to marry a daughter of Torquil Blair. The day fixed for the marriage having arrived, and Neil having discovered that the captain possessed several articles of value aboard his ship, he and his adherents, the captain being naturally off his guard, treacherously seized the ship and all on board, and sent off captain and crew to Edinburgh, thus hoping to secure his own peace as well as whatever was in the ship, and they were tried and executed at Leith by order of the Council. Much of the silver and gold Neil, it is said, carried to Harris, where probably it may have helped to tempt Macleod, as it had already tempted himself in the case of the captain, to break faith with his visitor.

The following extract from a letter, dated Edinburgh, 3rd September, 1610, from Sir Alexander Hay, Clerk Register of Scotland, to a friend in London, gives another version of the seizure of the *Priam*. Sir Alexander writes to his friend:—

You have heard no doubt of the pirate ship taken by Neil Macleod of the Lewis. The case is altered when the broken Highlanders become the persecutors of pirates. Yet they still observe our form, albeit it carries not much honesty, yet it is with not less hazard. This English captain, wanting men, desired some supply from Neil, and he willingly yielded to it; Neil is feasted aboard of him, and will not be so unthankful but will repay him with a banquet on land. The captain and his company for most part being all invited, whatever their fare was, the dessert was sure. Whether it was that they refused to pay their reckoning, or that Neil held them to be heretics, and so thought them not worthy to be kept promise to, for Neil is thought to be of the Romish faith, or that now by their delivery he thought to get his pardon, he detains them, has put [some] of his own men in the ship, and hath sent advertisement to the Council, whereupon my Lord Dunbar hath directed Patrick Grieve with a ship to bring her about. By the report of the messenger who come from Neil it is affirmed that the pirate had that same intention against Neil, but the other has taken the first start. It was right, 'sick lippes sick lattuce?' I think the Clan Gregor could wish Bishop and Wairde and all the rest of the pirates in Breadalbane, that so they might find means of a pardon. It is reported that the ship hath



some cochineal, sugar, and Barbary hides, and 26 pieces of iron, and many muskets. If His Majesty would be pleased, in regard of the service done, to direct Neil to the parts of Virginia, and to direct a state of inheritance to be given to him there, I think our country here should be best rid of him. There should be no such danger there as of his being in Ireland, for albeit both the speeches be barbarous, yet I hope he shall need an interpreter betwixt him and the savages."

On the arrival of Grieve, Neil at once gave up his prisoners, and, at the same time, addressed a letter to the Privy Council, in which he gives a different account of the capture to that given by Sir Alexander Hay, and also from the other given in the text, from a contemporary manuscript. The following is Neil's letter to the Privy Council:—

" Lewis, the 16th of October, 1610.

" My Lords of Council,—My duty [and] service being remembered, I received your letter from this bearer, Patrick Grieve, desiring me to deliver him the English pirate which was taken by my men, with all her equipage and apparelling. Surely, my Lords, I was not at the taking thereof, for had I been there, I should have sent the pirate, as she was taken, to his Majesty and Council; for surely I delivered her to the said Patrick, with all her munition, as I received her myself; to wit, with all her sails, tows, and two anchors, with XIV. 'peel of grite cairte peeles,' with her captain and nine of his [men]. As for the rest, they were slain at the taking of the said pirate; and four Dutchmen that were taken by the captain, eight days before the hulk passed to the mainland, for I would not hold them as prisoners, in respect they were taken by force by the captain, with two that deceased, and I did keep one Scotchman in my own company till further advice. So I rest. (Signed) NEILL M'CLOUD."

It is not very probable that Neil would have communicated to the Privy Council too much, and his letter is not at all inconsistent with either the information in Sir Alexander Hay's letter, or with the other version given in the text. If his object was to secure a pardon for past crimes, Neil did not succeed; for he was afterwards condemned to death, and executed at Edinburgh, in the month of March, 1613, for murder, fire-raising, and other crimes, committed chiefly against the Fife adventurers in the Lewis. His trial is recorded in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. III., p. 244. Sir Thomas Hamilton, the Lord Advocate of the day, writes to the King, under date 7th April, 1613, that



“Neill Makcloyde died at his execution verie Christianlie.” And why not? He only acted against the law in defending what he believed to be the rights and hereditary property of his family.

In 1614, Kintail was excused from accompanying the Earl of Huntly and the other Highland chiefs to suppress a violent feud which in that year broke out among the Camerons in Lochaber. The Tutor pleaded the difficulties the Mackenzies had and the services they had rendered in the Lewis as a reason why they should be exempted from service on this occasion, and King James issued a proclamation, dated the 14th of September, 1614, in the course of which he says—

There rests none of the Isles rebellious, but only the Lewis, which being inhabited by a number of godless and lawless people, trained up from their youth in all kinds of ungodliness. They can hardly be reclaimed from their impurities and barbarities, and induced to embrace a quiet and peacable form of living; so that we have been constrained from time to time to employ our cousin, the Lord Kintail, who rests with God, and since his decease the Tutor of Kintail, his brother, and other friends of that House, in our service against the rebels of the Lewis, with ample commission and authority to suppress their insolence and to reduce that island to our obedience, which service has been prosecuted and followed this divers years by the power, friendship, and proper service of the House of Kintail, without any kind of trouble and charge or expense to us, or any support or relief from their neighbours; and, in the prosecution of that service, they have had such good and happy success, as divers of the rebels have been apprehended and executed by justice. But, seeing our said service is not yet fully accomplished, nor the Isle of the Lewis settled in a solid and perfect obedience, we have of late renewed our former commission to our cousin Colin, now Lord of Kintail, and to his Tutor and some other friends of his house, and they are to employ the hale power and service in the execution of the said commission, which being a service importing highly our honour, and being so necessary and expedient for the peace and quiet of the whole islands, and for the good of our subjects, haunting the trade of fishing in the Isles, the same ought not to be interrupted upon any other intervening occasion, and our commissioners and their friends ought not to be distracted therefrom for giving of their concurrence in our services. Therefore, we, with advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, have given and granted our licence to our said cousin Colin, Lord of Kintail, and to his friends, men, tenants, and servants, to remain and bide at home from all osts, raids, wars, as-



semblings, and gatherings to be made by George, Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Enzie, his son, or any other our Lieutenants, Justices or Commissioners, by sea or land, either for the pursuit of Allan Cameron of Lochiel and his rebellious complices, or for any other cause or occasion whatsoever, during or within the time of our commission foresaid granted against the Lewis, without pain or danger to be incurred by our said cousin the Lord of Kintail and his friends in their persons, lands, or goods, etc.

In consequence of this proclamation the Mackenzies found themselves able to devote their whole attention to the pacification of the Lewis, and the strengthening of their position among its people. How they succeeded, and continued in possession of this island principality for two centuries and a half—until Mrs. Stewart Mackenzie sold it in 1844 for £190,000 to the late Sir James Matheson—is matter of history, and to deal with it in lengthened detail does not come within our present plan in connection with a history mainly confined to the Macleods and their family chiefs.

*(To be continued.)*



GREGORY'S account of the close of the long dispute between the Mackenzies and the Macleods, and the ultimate extinction of Roderick Macleod's heirs male must be given at length. He says that being at length forced to evacuate the stronghold of Berrisay, by the Mackenzies, "Neil retired to Harris, where he remained for a while in secret, but at length surrendered himself to Ruari Macleod of Harris, whom he entreated to take him to the King of England. This the Chief of Harris undertook to do ; but when at Glasgow with his prisoner, preparing to embark for England, he was charged, under the pain of treason, to deliver Neil Macleod to the Privy Council at Edinburgh, which he accordingly did ; and, at the same time, Neil's son, Donald. Neil was brought to trial, convicted, and executed, and died 'very christianlie' in April, 1613. Donald, his son, been banished out of Scotland, went to England and remained there three years, under the protection of Sir Robert Gordon, Tutor of Sutherland. From England he afterwards went to Holland, where he died. After the death of Neil Macleod, the Tutor of Kintail apprehended and executed Ruari and William, two of the sons of Ruari Oig Macleod. Malcolm, the third son, was apprehended at the same time, but made his escape, and continued to harass the Mackenzies with frequent incursions, having allied himself to the Clandonald of Isla and Kintyre, in whose rebellion, under Sir James Macdonald, in 1615, Malcolm MacRuari Macleod took a prominent part. On the suppression of this rebellion, he retired to Flanders, whence, in 1616, he made a visit to the Lewis, and there killed two gentlemen of the Clankenzie. He then joined Sir James Macdonald in Spain, and remained there till the return of that Chief to Britain in 1620. On this occasion, Malcolm Macleod accompanied Sir James ; and of his further history we only know, that, in 1622, commissions of fire and sword were granted to Lord Kintail and his clan against Malcolm



MacRuari Macleod.\* Tormot Macleod, the last surviving *legitimate* son of Ruari Macleod of the Lewis, was imprisoned, as we have seen, at Edinburgh Castle, in 1605. Here he remained for ten years, when the King gave him liberty to go to Holland, to the service of Maurice, Prince of Orange; and he died in that country. His elder brother-german, Torquil Dubh, executed by the Mackenzies in 1579, left issue by his wife, a sister of Ruari Macleod of Harris, three sons, Ruari, William, and Torquil. The second of these seems to have died soon; and although the others are mentioned by Sir Robert Gordon as youths of great promise at the time he wrote his account of the Siol Torquil, they appeared to have both died without lawful issue to inherit their claims to the Lewis, which has now remained for upwards of two centuries, without challenge, in the possession of the Mackenzies. The representation of the ancient and powerful family of Macleod of Lewis devolved, on the extinction of the main stem, on Gillechallum Oig Macleod, or MacGillechallum of Raasay, whose father, MacGillechallum, Garve, is mentioned in a charter, dated 1572, as heir male of the family of Lewis, failing issue male of the body of Ruari Macleod, then Chief of the Siol Torquil." This is the same MacGillechallum, who escaped from the massacre on the Island of Isay, when all the other members of his family, as already detailed, were murdered by his own relative, Ruari Nimhneach Macleod.

During several months in the beginning of 1615, Malcolm, the only surviving son of Ruari Og Macleod of Lewis, is found committing various acts of piracy on the West Coast and in the Isles, in company with Coll Macgillespick, and others of the clan Donald of Islay, and in April of the same year he is, along with his associates, included in a commission of fire and sword issued in favour of eight of the principal Western Isles chiefs. Malcolm, however, escaped capture, though one of the King's ships, with a pinnace, had been engaged to support the island chiefs in their attempts to capture him, and although a reward of three thousand merks was afterwards offered for his apprehension, for his share in the piracies and the active part which, during the latter half of

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\* *Record of the Privy Council*, 14th November, 1622, and 28th November, 1626.



the same year, he took in Sir James Macdonald of Isla's rebellion. Sir James, having made his escape to Antrim, in the north of Ireland, afterwards crossed to Spain, and got clear of his pursuers, while Malcolm Macleod and others of his supporters found shelter on the Glynnns and Route estates of the Macdonalds in the same Irish county.

In March, 1616, the Privy Council ordered Campbell of Lundy, brother of the Earl of Argyll, to appear before them to receive instructions for putting down certain rebels who continued to infest the Western Isles under the leadership of Malcolm MacRuari Oig Macleod of the Lewis. Lundy, however, refused to take any action under the Commission, in consequence of which Malcolm again escaped, and retired to Flanders. He subsequently returned for a short time to the Lewis, where he killed two leading men of the Mackenzies, and afterwards managed to escape, joined Sir James Macdonald of Isla in Spain, and in 1620 returned with that chief to Scotland. It is not known what was the outcome of the Commission of fire and sword granted to the Mackenzies in 1622, to pursue and capture him, but he is said to have escaped again to Ireland, where he died.

Sir Robert Gordon, Tutor of Sutherland, with whom Donald, Neil Macleod's eldest son, lived for three years in London, after he was banished furth of Scotland in 1613, gives the following interesting details regarding other members of the chief's descendants living when he wrote his *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*. He says—"Rory Macleod, the eldest son of Torquil Dubh, is at the University of Glasgow. Torquil Macleod, the third son of Torquil Dubh, was bred with his uncle, Sir Rory Macleod of Harris, and is a youth of great expectations." Sir Robert concludes his account of the Macleods of Lewis and their misfortunes, which he details at considerable length, in the following terms—"The Tutor of Kintail did repent himself of his proceedings against the Siol Torquil; his aim was always to have gotten the Lewis unto himself, from his nephew, the Lord of Kintail, now Earl of Seaforth, in exchange for the Coigeach, and the rest of the lands that he purchased in Ross and Moray; which exchange was refused by his nephew, who was ready to fall by the ears with his uncle, when he died the year of God 1626. Thus have



I run over the lamentable history of Macleod of Lewis, together with the tribe of the Siol Torquil ; which punishment was justly inflicted upon them for killing and destroying one another with intestine and civil war.\* Lord Kintail was created Earl of Seaforth in 1623, and Sir Robert Gordon's work, from which we quote, is dated 1630. It will thus be seen that Roderick and Torquil, two of the sons of Torquil Dubh Macleod, and grandsons of Old Rory of the Lewis, lived far down into the seventeenth century, though we can find no further trace of them.

Roderick Macleod married, first, Janet, an illegitimate daughter of John Mackenzie IX. of Kintail, and widow of Mackay of Reay. By this marriage he had issue—

1. Torquil "Conanach," so-called from his having been brought up with his mother's relations in Strathconan. He married Margaret, daughter of Angus Macdonald of Glengarry, widow of Cuthbert of Castlehill, Inverness, by whom she became progenitrix of the famous Charles Colbert, Marquis of Seignelay, Minister of Lewis XIV. of France. By her Torquil had issue—(1) John, who died before his father, he having been killed by his bastard uncle, Rory Og; (2) another son, who also died before his father; and (3) Margaret, who, on the death of her brothers, became his sole heiress. She married Sir Roderick Mackenzie (second son of Colin Cam XI. of Kintail), afterwards known as the famous Tutor of Kintail, progenitor of the Mackenzie Earls of Cromarty, now represented by the Duchess of Sutherland. It will thus be seen that Torquil Conanach, Roderick's only son by the first marriage, left no male issue. His mother, Janet Mackenzie, eloped with John MacGillechallum of Raasay, whereupon she was divorced by her husband.

Old Rory married secondly, in 1541, Barbara Stewart, daughter of Andrew, Lord Avandale, with issue—

2. Torquil "Oighre," to distinguish him from his elder brother, who had now been disinherited by his father, on the ground of his mother's alleged misconduct with Morri-

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\* *Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 276.



son, the *Breitheamh*, or Celtic Judge of the Island. Torquil Oighre, after he arrived at manhood, was, about 1566, drowned, during his father's life, while on a voyage in his birlinn from the Lewis to the Isle of Skye. He also died without any male issue.

Roderick Macleod married, thirdly, a sister of Lauchlan Maclean of Duart, with issue, two sons—

3. Torquil Dubh, whom he declared his heir, and who, for a time, maintained possession of the Lewis. He married a sister of Sir Rory Mor Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan, with issue, three sons—Roderick, William, and Torquil, all of whom are said to have died without legitimate issue. Torquil Dubh himself was, as we have seen, killed by his elder brother, Torquil Conanach, in July, 1597.

4. Tormod, who entered the service of Maurice, Prince of Orange, where he died without legitimate male issue, when the male representation of the Macleods of Lewis devolved upon the family of Raasay.

It would have been observed that Old Roderick, the date of whose death we are unable positively to fix, had also five bastard sons—Tormod *Uigeach*, Murdoch, Neil, Donald, and Rory Og, all of whom took a leading part in the final struggle of the Macleods for their ancient rights to the great Island principality of the Lewis.

We shall next give the account of these proceedings, preserved in the oldest manuscript history of the Mackenzies in existence. Though it may possibly be considered a little partial in some of its details, it will be found exceedingly interesting, and well worth quoting in this connection.



HAVING completed the history of the Macleods of Lewis so far as that can be done at present from authentic historical sources, we now proceed, as promised, to give the account of Old Rory's life and the extinction of his line, from the "Ancient" manuscript history of the Mackenzies. Having given a full description of Lord Kenneth Mackenzie's long-continued quarrels with, and final victory over, the family of Glengarry in connection with the lands of Lochcarron and Castle of Strome, the author of this, the oldest known manuscript history of the Mackenzies in existence, says—  
"This Lord Kenneth was no sooner free of Glengarry's troubles, but he fell in the next in conquering the Lewis. But, for the reader's better understanding how the Lewis came to this Lord Kintail and his successors (whose rights thereto are always misrepresented by such as are alive of Macleod of Lewis's race, commonly called Siol Torquil, and the envious neighbouring clans), therefore I resolved to set down here all the circumstances of it and all the mischances that befel that family, as I was certainly informed, not only by some of that clan, but by several others who were eye-witnesses to their fatal fortune." The author having described the elopement of Old Rory's first wife with MacGillechallum of Raasay, the massacre of the Macleods of Gairloch and Raasay at Island Islay by Rory Nimhneach Macleod, and the sea battle in front of Raasay House, in which Alexander Mackenzie, younger of Gairloch, Macleod of Raasay, and many of their followers lost their lives, proceeds with his narrative of what followed. All the change we make on the original is to modernise the spelling. He says :—

Rory Macleod of Lewis after that Mackenzie's daughter was ravished from him by his kinsman (as I told) he took to wife Maclean's daughter. She was mother to Torquil Dubh Macleod and to Norman Macleod ; he had also several bastards, such as Norman Uigeach, Murdo, Donald, Neil, and Rory Og, and he



and they became such outlaws and oppressors that there was few or no ships in the Lewis but they seized on and took them all as free gear to himself. This wronged so many of the inhabitants of the coast side of Fife that they used diligence of law against him and his. His eldest son, Torquil Oighre, gotten with the Lord Methven's daughter, sailing from the Lewis to Troternish with three score young men in company were all drowned. After his death, his second son, Torquil Cononach, gotten with Mackenzie's daughter in marriage, who was during his oldest brother's lifetime Laird of Coigeach, sought to be heir, but his father would not, but must needs have Torquil Dubh, gotten with Maclean's daughter, to be his heir, so that there fell out many debates betwixt them, and after debates there were several skirmishes betwixt the father and the son, two of the bastards, Norman Uigeach and Murdo, taking part with Torquil Cononach. Donald, Rory, and Neil took part with their father.

Shortly after it fell out that Donald killed Norman Uigeach, which occasioned Torquil Cononach, being assisted by his brother Murdo, to take Donald prisoner with him to Coigeach, which incensed his father the more against him. Donald, making his escape from Coigeach, came to his father Rory, who caused Donald presently apprehend his brother Murdo, which he did and carried him prisoner to Stornoway, where his father was. They moved Torquil Cononach to go to the Lewis, where he invaded the castle of Stornoway, and, after a short siege, took it and relieved his brother Murdo. Withal he apprehended his father and killed several of his followers. He took also all the writs and evidents they had of the Lewis, sent for his son, John Macleod (a brave young gentleman who was in the Marquis of Huntly's Court all this time shunning his father's and grandfather's debates), gave him the castle of Stornoway and the command of all the Lewis.

This John humoured his grandfather so well that they lived together, and being in peaceable possession of all the Lewis, and acknowledged as master, he went about to banish his bastard uncles, Donald and Rory, from possessing any part thereof, which they understanding plotted his death, and to that effect connives with one ill race of people who lived there called Clan Illoyhenan. When Rory Donald, and this clan had agreed, they came to a



water loch, a little towards the hill from Stornoway, where they saw seven ambushes betwixt the loch and the town, and sent one of their company to the castle to tell John that there were seven swans on that loch under a good advantage. The innocent gentleman, being desirous of sport (notwithstanding that his grandfather dissuaded him, and still told him that there was never a swan seen on that loch, and told him that he feared a plot), his destiny drawing near, he would not stay but went his way, accompanied with two Kinlochewe men only, whom he kept still in his company, and the traitor that led him by all the ambushes to the loch side. No sooner was he come there but the first ambush broke out, which he perceiving took to his heels, and runs back towards the castle. The second raised the third, fourth, fifth, and all of them (as he ran by) still shooting arrows. They killed his two men, but for all they could do he won the castle, and several arrows in him, whereof he immediately died, to the great misfortune of all his friends, and the utter ruin of that whole family.

We may remark here the fruits of fornication and adultery which was (as they say) the predominate sin of that family, and how providence ordered these fruits to be their only ruin (and not the hand of man), and brought upon them all the disasters, distractions, and all the murders that ever was amongst them, notwithstanding of the fabulous and envious reports which is still pretended, yea confirmed, by ill-set neighbours. But I will not insist on this shame, which was ever in that family (as the report goes), though the judgment fell in this misfortunate man's time, but I pray God it may not follow these (who have in any manner of way) descended of them.

Shortly after this his father, Torquil Cononach, apprehends (one of the murderers) his bastard brother, Donald, and caused execute him at Dingwall, in Ross. The writs and evidents that this Torquil brought out of the Lewis he gave the custody of them to Mackenzie, and withal tailzied the estate to him in case of no heirs male.

After the foresaid John's death, old Rory, by the persuasion of others (as was said), fell in his old disaffection, and would not acknowledge Torquil Cononach to be his heir; but would give



the estate to Torquil Dubh, gotten with Maclean's daughter, who was now come to perfect age, and began to rule the estate with his father. But Torquil Cononach daily skirmished with them, being assisted by as many as pleased to follow him from the in-countries. My lord Kintail, of whom he expected help (as was said), was at that time in war with Glengarry. In the meantime there fell out a discord betwixt Torquil Dubh and Rory Og, the bastard (the other of John's murderers). He apprehends him and sends him prisoner to his uncle Maclean; but making his escape (being in winter) he perished in snow and storm, leaving behind him three sons, Malcolm that killed John Mac Mhurchaidh Mhic Uilleam—a gentleman of the Clan Mhurchaidh that lived in Rainish, in the Lewis; after that he killed John Mac Domh'uill Phiopaire, my lord Kintail's piper. Afterwards he went to Germany, but, hearing Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine was there, he returned to Ireland where he died. His two other brothers, William and Rory, were taken afterwards by the Tutor of Kintail, and were executed as rebels.

Torquil Cononach and Torquil Dubh having their several factions, the one plotting the other's destruction, so that it fell out that the Brieve (that is to say Judge) in the Lewis who was chief of the Clan 'Illemhoire there, being sailing from the Isle of Lewis to the Isle of Rona, in a great galley, met with a Dutch ship, loaded with wine, which he took, and advising with his friends (who were all with him there) what he would do with the ship lest Torquil Dubh should take her from him, they resolved to return to Stornoway and call for Torquil Dubh to receive the wine, and if he came to the ship, to sail away with him where Torquil Cononach was, and then they might be sure of the ship and the wine to be their own; and, besides, he would grant them tacks in the best "roums" in Lewis; which accordingly they did, and call for Torquil to come and receive the wine. Torquil Dubh, nowise mistrusting them that were formerly so obedient, entered the ship, with seven others in company, when he was welcomed, and he commended them as good fellows that brought him such a prize. They invite him to the cabin to take his pleasure of the toast of their wine; he goes, but instead of wine they brought cords to tie him, telling him he best to render himself and his



wrongly possessed estate to his older brother ; that they resolved to put him in his mercy, which he was forced to yield to ; so they presently sail for Coigeach and delivered him to his brother, whom he had no sooner got but he made him short by the head, in the month of July, 1597. Immediately as he was beheaded there arose a great earthquake which astonished the actors and all the inhabitants about them, as a sign of God's judgment.

When the rumour of this unnatural murder was divulged everywhere, then all the chief heads of the neighbouring clans (that were anyways related to Torquil Dubh, such as Macleod of Harris, Maclean, Macdonald, The Captain of Clanranald, and Mac Dhomh'uill Duibh, met in the Isle of Skye to consult about the affair, where it was thought that Torquil Cononach would not take away his brother's head were it not my Lord Kintail's persuasion ; whereupon they resolved to join unanimously together, and ruin them both, and to begin on my Lord Kintail ; but he, hearing this resolution of theirs, being a man of undaunted spirit, did not value much their brag, but being advised by his friends and some well-wishers, he caused apprehend Norman Macleod, brother to Torquil Dubh, and kept him honourably as a pledge and as an overband against his friends' resolution. Withal he sent out a strong watch to guard the borders of his countries privately, who met with twenty men—the connivers sent for a heirschip to breed the quarrel. The watch having met them in Strathloynie put them all to the sword. The connivers finding this to be the first fruits of their undertaking, and that he had apprehended Norman, thought there was no dealing with him, and that he would ruin them all with diligence and power. But some were of thought (as was said) they had followed their project, but that Maclean, though he was nearest related to Torquil Dubh, had a reluctancy to enter in blood with him ; whereupon fearing the worst they broke their unity.

In the meantime the Brieve and his followers were hated of all men by reason of his treachery and breach of faith to Torquil Dubh. He finding himself thus hated took himself to the parish of Ness, in the Lewis, which he was forced to leave also by reason of Neil Macleod's pursuit, who killed several of his followers and leaders. At last John Mac Dhomh'uill Mhic Uistean met with



him in the country of Assynt, killed himself and six of his followers. In revenge hereof one Gillicallum Mor went in search of John Mac Dhomh'uill Mhic Uistean, but John, by good fortune, takes him in Coigeach, and brought him to the Lewis, where they made him short by the head.

About this time the Barons and gentlemen in Fife, hearing of the troubles and miseries which were in the Lewis, were enticed by persuasion of some who had come from there of late, who gave them a full account thereof. They being desirous to take any opportunity whereby they might redress their losses, besides the account they had of the fertility of the island, so, having the laws against Rory Macleod of Lewis and all his followers, they went where the King was and got a right of the Lewis from him, in the year 1598, being then at the King's disposal, all of them being denounced rebels, and they undertook to His Majesty (a hard task in those days) to civilise the island and to plant a colony there, which proved a loss to them, for instead of that they broke themselves and their interests, as you shall see.

The adventurers (for so must we call them) having met in Fife, where they gathered a company of soldiers and officers of all sorts, and such other things as they thought necessary for a plantation, so, transporting themselves to the Lewis, they built houses and "skonses" about Stornoway. In end they made a bonny village of it.

Neil Macleod and Murdo Macleod (the bastards) remain now only in that island of the family of Clan Torquil, which two gainstood the undertakers. Murdo Macleod apprehends the laird of Balcolmly together with his ship, killed all his men, and detained himself prisoner four months; but, on promise of a ransom, he released him. Balcolmly dying in his return homewards to Fife, Murdo was disappointed of the ransom.

About the same time Neil fell out with his brother Murdo for owning the Clan 'Illemhoire, so that Neil apprehended Murdo, with divers of this clan, whom he put to death, and kept his brother Murdo alive.

The adventurers hearing that Neil apprehended Murdo, sends him a message that if he would deliver them his brother Murdo, they would agree with himself and give him a portion in the



Lewis, and also assist him in revenging his brother Torquil Dubh's murder; whereunto he hearkened and gave them his brother Murdo, whom they presently sent to St. Andrews, and beheaded him.

After this, Neil went with them to Edinburgh and got his pardon, and went back with them to the Lewis; but shortly after he fell at variance with them for some injury Sir James Spence of Ormistoun offered to him, whereupon he left them. Then they began to lay snares for him, the laird of Ormistoun having sent a party in a dark night to apprehend him. Neil being guarded thereof, sees them coming, falls upon them unexpectedly, kills threescore of them, chased the rest till they were rescued from the town.

The Lord Kintail, considering that the Lewis was like to pass from Torquil Cononach, and altogether from the right line, commiserating the clan Torquil's condition, he sets Norman Macleod (after he kept him at school), Torquil Dubh's brother, gotten with Maclean's daughter, at liberty, to do for himself. No sooner was Norman arrived in the Lewis, but Neil Macleod, Donald Dubh MacRory, and their adherents, with the inhabitants, came to him and acknowledged him their lord and master. So Norman invades the adventurers, burns their Fort, kills the most of their men, and took their commanders prisoners, keeps them four months; but upon promise they should never come again to the Lewis, and that they would procure him and his followers a pardon from His Majesty of all their by-gone offences, he inconsiderately lets them all go.

Thus, Norman for a while possessed the Lewis, during which time John MacDhomh'uill Mhic Uistean that killed the Brieve apprehends Torquil Cononach, carried him prisoner to his younger brother, Norman, to the Lewis, who desired him to give up the writs and evidents he took from his father, Rory. Torquil said that he had given them in custody to my Lord Kintail. Norman, considering that these evidents were in Mackenzie's hands, he released his brother on conditions he would never claim any right to the Lewis, but to have Coigeach to himself and successors as his proportion of his father's estate. The releasing of Torquil was far against Neil and his adherents' advice, who would have



him to be executed, as he did his former brother ; but Norman said he would not enter in his own blood, nor had he will to disoblige the Mackenzies, who had their rights in their hands, and that he knew they were not well pleased with him for that unnatural murder (whose revenge he would refer to God), and although he was a prisoner with them on several accounts, that they gave him breeding as one of their own, and, when they were all like to lose their interest through their own miscarriage, they let him go to act for himself in their greatest straits.

In the meantime, my Lord Kintail (by the grievances of the adventurers) was put in question by the King, His Majesty being informed by them that the Lord Kintail was their only crosser, and to that effect he let Norman loose to undo their designs, for which my Lord Kintail was put in prison at Edinburgh, and thereafter to his trial, from which he escaped, the King being informed that it was the Undertakers' own negligence and mismanagement that wronged them, and nothing else.

Whereupon the adventurers (contrary to their promise) turn again to the Lewis, and by virtue of the King's Commission were assisted with forces from the neighbouring countries against Norman and his followers. How soon the adjoining forces, with the adventurers, were landed in the Lewis they sent message to Norman that if he would yield to them in the King's name that they would (on their own charges) freely transport him to London, where the King was, and obtain him his pardon ; and, not only that, but deal for the King's favour and procure some livelihood for him, whereupon he might live in peace. Norman condescends hereto against the opinion of Neil and all his well-wishers, who stood out, and would not yield. So the adventurers send Norman to London, where he caused His Majesty be informed how the Lewis was the inheritance of his predecessors, that His Majesty was sinisterously informed by the adventurers, who made His Majesty believe that he might legally dispose of it, whereupon proceeded much unnecessary trouble and bloodshed, therefore humbly begged His Majesty to do him justice in restoring him to his own in peace, which the King was like to do ; but the adventurers understanding that the King began to give hearing to Norman's complaints, they used all their "moyan" and industry to



cross him. In end (some of them being the King's domestic servants) prevailed so far as to cause apprehend him and send him prisoner to Scotland, where he remained at Edinburgh till the year 1608, when the King gave him liberty to pass to Holland, to Maurice, Prince of Orange, where he ended his days.

The adventurers having got Norman out of their way, they settled again in the Lewis; but they had not stayed long there when divers of them began to weary. Some of them drawing back from the enterprise, others were not able for lack of money to hold out, having both broken their credit and interest; many of them also dying in that plantation; some having other business to abstract them, and always daily vexed by Neil's skirmishes; in end all of them gave over, left the Lewis, and retired to Fife.

My Lord Kintail finding that the right line male of the Siol Torquil were now all gone, and that the adventurers also failed in their enterprise to the Lewis, he, by virtue of the fore-mentioned tailzie granted to him by Torquil Cononach, passed a gift of it to his Lady, under the King's seal. But how soon the Undertakers understood this, some of them went and complained to the King (though they were not able to manage it for themselves); they incensed him against my Lord Kintail, and made him resign that right in His Majesty's hand by means of my Lord Balmerino, then Secretary for Scotland, and President of the Session, which right, being now at His Majesty's disposal, he gave the same to three persons, to wit, this Lord Balmerino, Sir George Hay (afterwards Chancellor of Scotland) and to Sir James Spence of Ormistoun, who, having now the right of the Lewis in their persons, they undertook the planting of it, whereunto they made great preparations, being, by order of His Majesty, assisted by all the neighbouring clans, the order being especially for the Mackenzies (they being the marrers of the former adventurers), so that my Lord Kintail was forced to send 400 men to their assistance, under the command of Sir Rory Mackenzie, afterwards Tutor of Kintail, and Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, to plant a garrison there, and to apprehend Neil if possible. But Neil, seeing such preparations, withdrew himself and kept him secret till better opportunity. The Undertakers, being fallen short of provision for so great an army, in end, they were forced to dismiss the neigh-



bouring clans. Sir George Hay and Ormistoun returned to Fife, leaving a garrison in Stornoway to keep the fort till they would send a supply of men and victuals. But no sooner were they gone but Neil and Gillicallum Mor MacRory, his nephew, with some others of the inhabitants, burnt the fort, killed several of them, and apprehended the rest, whom they let go upon their oath that they would never come on that pretence again, which they never did; nor could the Adventurers get any thereafter on any account ever to come and conquer the Lewis. So the Lord Balmerino, Sir George Hay, and Sir James Spence, finding they were not able to manage the affair, and could not get men to follow them, they sent for my Lord Kintail, and (as God would have it, whom they put from his former right) sold to him their own right and title thereof, with the forfeitry of Troternish and Waternish, for a sum of money, wherein they took the woods of Letterewe in part payment, so that Providence ordered the Lewis this way, contrary all such as did strive to cross him, so that notwithstanding of his neighbours' malicious and various reports, this is the whole progress of his attaining to the Lewis.\*

[ON the extinction of the male line of the Macleods of Lewis, the representation devolved upon the Macleods of Raasay. We shall therefore begin an account of them—the “*Siol Mhic Gillicallum*” of Raasay and Gairloch—in our next. In the meantime, Mr. Mackenzie will be glad to hear and receive any particulars—historical or genealogical—from any descendants of that family now living.]

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\* From the “*Ancient*” Manuscript History of the Mackenzies, written in the seventeenth century.



## THE MACLEODS OF RAASAY.

THE first notice we find of the Island of Raasay is in the account of King Haco of Norway's expedition to Scotland in 1262. Here it is mentioned as a point in his Majesty's route on his way south to meet the Scots at Largs, where he was completely defeated, and his power in Scotland finally crushed on the third of October in that year. At a very early period in their history the "Siol Torquil" had, in addition to the Lewis, very extensive possessions, comprehending not only the islands of Raasay and Rona, but also Waternish in Skye, and the wide districts of Assynt, Coigeach, and Gairloch on the mainland. It is thought that the same sept of the clan, descended from the House of Lewis, inherited both Gairloch and Raasay, long before Malcolm Garbh MacGillechallum received the latter as his patrimony from his father, Malcolm Macleod, IX. of the Lewis early in the sixteenth century. It is quite clear that both the lands of Gairloch on the mainland and the Islands of Raasay and Rona were held by Macleod offshoots from the Lewis stem very much earlier than this, though scarcely any record—beyond mere tradition—remains to throw light on their first settlement or their history in Gairloch during the fifteenth century. The only fact we can find on record regarding this early period is that, in 1430, James I. of Scotland granted "to Nele Nelesoun [Neil son



of Neil Macleod] for his homage and service in the capture of his deceased brother Thomas Nelesoun, a rebel, the lands of Gerloch and others in the Earldom of Ross and Sutherland and Sherifffdom of Innernys."\* This Neil is supposed to have conquered and driven out most of the MacBeaths, the earlier possessors of the district, having captured their strongholds of Island Grudaidh, on Loch Maree ; the small island then occupied on Loch Tolly ; and the Dun, at the east end of the Big Sand on an elevated and easily-defended rock, near the present Established Church, of which the foundation can still be traced. The size of this latter stronghold must have been somewhat imposing in those days, for the circumference of the remains measures about 200 feet. Later on, the Macleods, in the sixteenth century, held places of strength at "Uamh nam Freiceadan," between Opinan and Porthenderson, on the south side of the Loch, and almost opposite Rona, said to be the last occupied by them in Gairloch, and another on Eilean Ruairidh Bhig on Loch Maree, afterwards one of the residences of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch. The walls of the house and garden can still be traced, and one of the gooseberry bushes which adorned John Roy's garden remained when we last visited the Island.

Neil Macleod would seem to have been succeeded by a Roderick Macleod, for about 1480 we find that the head of the Gairloch Macleods was named Allan "Mac Ruairidh"—Allan the son of Roderick—who was sufficiently important and powerful to have obtained as his first wife a daughter of Alexander Mackenzie, VI. of Kintail, and sister of Hector Roy, who ultimately secured two-thirds of Allan's lands, and became the founder of the present Gairloch family. Allan married, secondly, a daughter of Roderick Macleod, VII. of Lewis, by whom he had one son, Roderick, afterwards known as Ruairidh Mac Ailein, *alias* Ruairidh "Nimhneach," author of the atrocious massacre of the Macleods of Raasay at Island Islay, near Waternish, in the Isle of Skye, and of which in its proper place.† Allan himself was also closely related to the family of his chief in the Lewis, but what the actual

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\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Vol. II. p. 406.

† The author of this massacre is erroneously stated elsewhere to have been Roderick Macleod, X. of the Lewis.



relationship was it is now impossible to fix. Two of his brothers are said, according to tradition (but they are much more likely to have been his brothers-in-law), to have been residing with their relatives in the Lewis; and they resolved that no Mackenzie blood should flow in the veins of the future head of the Gairloch Macleods. Allan Mac Ruairidh, who was himself a peacefully disposed man, lived at the "Crannag," of which traces are still to be found on Tolly Island, with his wife, two sons, and a daughter. His brothers (or brothers-in-law) determined to murder Allan and his two boys, so that the estate should revert to themselves and their relations. For this purpose they came across the Minch to Gairloch, and took up their abode at the old *Tigh Dige*, a wattled house surrounded by a ditch, the site of which is still pointed out in one of the Flowerdale parks, some few hundred yards above the stone bridge which crosses the Ceann-an-t-Sail river in front of the old hotel buildings at the head of Gairloch Bay. Next day the murderous villains proceeded to Loch Tolly. On their way they learnt that Allan was not then on the island, but had gone a-fishing on the river Ewe; so they passed on in that direction and found him sound asleep on the banks of the river, at "Cnoc na mi-chomhairle," and there and then "made him short by the head." They then retraced their steps, and crossing to the island where his wife, with her children resided, they, in the most cold-blooded manner, informed her of her husband's fate, tore her two boys from her knees, took them ashore, and carried them along the hills to the small glen through which the Poolewe road passes, about a mile to the south of the loch, and there, at a place still called "Creag Bhadan an Aisc," or the "Rock at the place of Burial," stabbed them to the heart with their daggers, carrying their blood-stained shirts or tunics along with them to the Tigh Dige. These the mother ultimately secured by the strategy of one of her husband's faithful retainers, and at once proceeded with them to her father, Alexander Mackenzie of Kintail, at Brahan Castle. Hector Roy immediately started, carrying the blood-stained shirts along with him as evidence of the atrocious deed, to report the matter to the King at Edinburgh. His Majesty, on hearing of the inhuman crime, at once granted Hector a commission of fire and sword



against the murderers of his nephews, and received a grant of the lands of Gairloch in his own favour, by charter dated 1494, from the Crown. The assassins were soon afterwards slain, at a hollow still pointed out between South Erradale and Point, almost opposite the Island of Raasay, where there graves are even yet to be seen.

So much of the early history of the Macleod proprietors of Gairloch is necessary to clear up their after relations with the Macleods of Raasay, who so stoutly aided their namesakes of the mainland for more than a century in their struggle to hold the portion still left to them, and their futile attempts to recover possession of the two-thirds of the lands of Gairloch, now granted to Hector Roy by Crown charter, until they were finally driven out of it about 1600. The leading incidents in the sanguinary contest which ensued will appear later on. Meanwhile we shall proceed with an account of the origin and history of the Macleods of Raasay proper.

TORQUIL MACLEOD of the Lewis, who had a charter under the Great Seal, dated the 28th of June, 1498, had a son, Torquil, who on his father's forfeiture in 1506 was excluded from the succession. Malcolm, Torquil's brother, had the estates restored to him in 1511, to the exclusion of Torquil's son, known as John Mac-Torquil. This John, however, died in 1532 without male issue, so that his cousin, Malcolm's son Roderick, became the head of the family by right of birth as well as proprietor of the lands in terms of the Royal charter. Malcolm, or GilleCallum Macleod IX. of Lewis had married Christian, daughter of Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, with issue, first, Roderick, his heir, who succeeded him in the Lewis, and second,

I. MALCOLM GARBH MACGILLECHALLUM, the first of the Macleods of Raasay known to history.

*(To be continued.)*



I.—MALCOLM GARBH MACGILLECHALLUM MACLEOD, second son of Malcolm Macleod IX. of Lewis, by his wife, Christian, daughter of Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, succeeded to Raasay as first of this family early in the sixteenth century. The earliest glimpse which we get of the Macleods of Raasay as an independent sept is when, in 1518-19, along with the Macleods of Lewis, they accompanied Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh in an invasion of Ardnamurchan, on which occasion they defeated the Macdonalds and slew their chief Macian, with two of his sons. For some time prior to this, as we have already seen, a branch of the Macleods of Lewis held possession of the lands of Gairloch on the mainland, and they seem to have been intimately related to those who occupied Raasay before Malcolm Garbh became possessor of it. From what has been said, it will appear that the island was occupied by Macleods long before the progenitor of the well-known house of Raasay obtained it in patrimony from his father, Malcolm Macleod, IX. of the Lewis.

We find that Farquhar, Bishop of the Isles, has an action in 1532-33 against MacNeill of Barra, and "MacGillechallum callit of Raasay."\* At that time, and for two hundred years later, the

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\* *Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis* ; 14 March, 1532-33.



Islands of Raasay, Rona, and Flodda, formed part of the parish of Snizort, of which Archdeacon Monro, author of the well-known *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, written in 1549, was at one time Vicar. The parish of Portree in those days had no existence; for it was only in 1726 that the old parish of Snizort was disjoined, when a portion of it, with Raasay and the adjacent islands—in the olden times a parish by themselves—was erected into the modern parish of Portree. In 1501 James IV. presented to Sir Nichol Berchame to the vicarage of Kilmolowok, in Raasay, one of the “annexis of Snesfurd.” In 1526 James VI. presented Sir Donald Monro, afterwards the well-known Archdeacon and High Dean of the Isles, to the vicarage of “Sneisport and Rairsay” vacant by the decease of Sir Tormot MacFarsane. In 1561 the parsonage of Snizort belonged to the Bishop of the Isles. A considerable part of the Skye portion of the parish at that time and long after belonged to the Macleods of Raasay, who continued to possess the latter by the sword, notwithstanding that by heritage it belonged to the Bishop. Dean Monro, who had such good opportunities of knowing the place, describes Raasay, as an island “with part of birch woods, many deer, part of profitable lands, inhabited and manured.” Raasay had two castles, the castle of Kilmorocht or Kilmaluag, and the castle of Brolokit or Brochel, with “two fair orchards at the said two castles, with one parish kirk called Killmolowocke, a rough country, but full of freestones and good quarries. It is excellent for fishing, pertaining to MacGillechallum of Raasay by the sword, and to the bishop of the Isles by heritage.” Rona, which he describes as “half a mile of sea from Raasay,” is “more than a mile in length, full of wood and heather, with one haven for Highland galleys in the middle of it; and the same haven is good for fostering of thieves, riggers, and rievvers, ‘till a nail upon the peilling’ and spuilying of poor people.” The present mansion-house of Raasay stands on the site of the old castle of Kilmaluag, which was taken down in 1746. The position of castle Brochel is well known, situated near the north end of the island, on a rock of conglomerate, accessible only on the side next the sea. It consisted of two small towers of two storeys each, built on two



different ledges of the rock. Traces of these towers still remain.

MacGillechallum Garve, married and had issue, at least two sons.

I. Alexander his heir and successor.

2. John, known as "Ian na Tuaighe," erroneously said to have been one of the heads of the family. It was he who carried off, and afterwards married, Janet Mackenzie, the wife of his uncle, Roderick Macleod, X. of Lewis, by whom she was in consequence divorced. This unfortunate act of John "Na Tuaighe" ended in the ruin of the family of Lewis, and brought about the massacre at Island Isay, where the Macleods of Gairloch, and all the male children of Alexander second of Raasay were cut off, with the exception of one boy, another Macgillechallum Garbh, who ultimately succeeded to the estates, and of whom hereafter.

MacGillechallum Garbh is said to have died in the reign of Queen Mary (1542-1567), when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. ALEXANDER MACGILLECHALLUM MACLEOD. Of his life, marriage, or death we can scarcely find any trace, except that he is said in *Douglas's Baronage* to have died in the reign of James VI. (1567-1603). He is probably the MacGillechallum referred to in 1549 by Dean Monro of the Isles.

From a retour of service in favour of Janet and Giles Macleod, heirs of line of the family of Raasay in 1688, it is quite clear that this Alexander Mac Gillechallum—son of Malcolm—succeeded his father, and that "Ian na Tuaighe" was never one of the chiefs or heads of the house. In this retour the ladies, as heirs of line, conquest, and provision, are described as the daughters of their father, Alexander Macleod, *alias* Mac Alastair Mhic Gillechallum. This Alastair is declared to be the grandfather of these ladies, and he is again described as "the son and heir of Malcolm Macleod, *alias* Mac Gillechallum of Raasay, the great-grandfather of the said Janet and Giles," and is himself named as "Mac Alastair, Mhic Gillechallum of Raasay." This exhausts the genealogy of the family backwards



from 1688, to its source, and corresponds exactly with that given in *Douglas's Baronage*, which, in this case, is correct, though as a rule Douglas cannot be trusted. It is therefore clear that the notorious "Ian na Tuaighe," the author of so much family misfortune, was not himself chief but the chief's brother. The object of the massacre of Island Isay thus becomes apparent. Its author, Ruairi Nimhneach Macleod of Gairloch, not only determined to get rid of John's children by his first wife, Janet Mackenzie, but also to remove the direct line of the Macleods of Raasay, so that John na Tuaighe's son by his second wife, Rory Nimhneach's sister, or his own son Allan, should succeed to the lands of Raasay, and help him afterwards to regain possession of the whole of Gairloch. Roderick's name appears as "Rory Mac Allan, *alias* Nevynnauch," in a Decree-arbitral by the Regent Earl of Murray between Donald Macdonald, fifth of Sleat, and Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, dated at Perth, 1st of August, 1569. Macdonald of Sleat becomes responsible for Rory, and undertakes that he and his kin shall "desist and cease from all troubling, molesting, harming, or invasion of the said Laird of Gairloch's lands, rowmes, possessions, tenants, servants, and goods, while Mackenzie on the other hand is to see to it that Torquil Conanach shall cease to do the same to Macdonald's lands.\* We also find Rory Nimhneach's name mentioned in a document, dated 11th November, 1586, as one against whom an action had been raised, with several others, including "Rawsay of that Ilk," for molesting those burgesses engaged in the fisheries in the North Isles and adjacent mainland. In this action he is described as Rory Mac Allan "of Lochgair." We have also "M'Leud, heretour of the landis of Lochgair," mentioned in the same Act of Council, a fact which proves that Rory was not then the lawful heritor of the Macleod portion of the Gairloch lands.

It was about this period that the horrid massacre of the Macleods of Raasay by Rory Nimhneach Macleod, who was a son of Allan Macleod of Gairloch, by his second wife—a daughter of Roderick Macleod, VII. of Lewis—took place. This massacre

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\* For this Decree-arbitral at length, see Mackenzie's *History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles*.—pp 185-188.



has been erroneously attributed to the last-named, Rory MacAllan's grandfather and namesake of the Lewis, and also confused with another Macleod massacre very similar, both in its cold-blooded atrocity and aims, which was perpetrated at Loch Tolly, in Gairloch, and already described. Rory Nimhneach appears not to have been the eldest son and lawful successor to the Macleods of Gairloch; for he would seem to have determined not only upon opening up the succession of Raasay to his own son, but also that of Gairloch, by cutting off the representation of the only child of his father by his first marriage to Mackenzie's daughter, who survived the previous massacre at Loch Tolly Island.

The cruel tyrant having determined upon his murderous object—to assassinate all the direct male representatives of Macleod of Raasay, and the lawful heirs of the Gairloch Macleods—his own brother's children—he invited all the members of both families to a great feast at the Island of Isay, in Waternish, professing to each of them that he had matters of great importance to communicate to them. They were led into the trap laid for them, all accepting the invitation, except a boy only nine years of age, who was being fostered from home. Roderick feasted his visitors sumptuously at a great banquet. In the middle of the festivities, he communicated to them his desire to have each man's advice separately, and that he would afterwards make known to them the business for which he had called them together, and which concerned each of them most closely. He then retired into a separate apartment, and called them in one by one, when they were each, as they entered, stabbed with dirks through the body by a set of murderous villains whom he had engaged for the purpose. Not one of the family of Raasay was left alive, except the boy, already mentioned, who was sent privately, when the massacre became known, to the Laird of Calder, who kept him in safety during his minority. He afterwards, by the assistance of the Mackenzies, obtained possession of his estates, and became Gillechallum Garbh MacGillechallum, III. of Raasay. In the meantime, Rory Nimhneach's son, Allan, took possession of Raasay, Roderick himself apparently appropriating the Macleod lands in Gairloch. Allan took up his residence at Castle Brochel,



the ancient residence of the Macleods of Raasay. Donald Mac Neill, who had previously saved the life of young Malcolm, the rightful heir, by sending him to the Laird of Calder, now brought him back, and kept him in hiding until he could obtain possession of the stronghold in which the usurper resided. This he managed by arrangement with the keeper of the castle, who preferred the native heir to the representative of the Macleods of Gairloch. An agreement was entered into that when MacNeill presented himself with young Malcolm he should receive access to the castle. The commander kept his word; and the future MacGillechallum Garbh was duly proclaimed, and, by the assistance of the Mackenzies of Gairloch, maintained against all his enemies, as Laird of Raasay.

In 1597 a fierce feud had broken out between the Mackenzies and the Munros. John MacGillechallum, a son of "Ian na Tuaighe," a brother of Alexander, Laird of Raasay, by his first wife, annoyed the people of Torridon, which place then belonged to the Baynes of Tulloch. He alleged that Tulloch, in whose house he was fostered, had promised him these lands as a gift of fosterage; but Tulloch, whether he had made a previous promise to John MacGillechallum or not, left the lands of Torridon to his own second son, Alexander Mor MacDhonnchaidh Mhic Alastair, *alias* Bayne. Tulloch afterwards obtained a decree against MacGillechallum for interfering with his lands, and molesting the inhabitants, and, on a Candlemas market, with a large following of armed men, composed of most of the Baynes, and a large number of Munros, he came to the market stance, at that time held at Logie. John MacGillechallum, quite ignorant of Tulloch having got "the laws against him," and in no fear of his life or liberty, came to the market as usual, and, while standing buying some article at a chapman's stall, Alastair Mor and his followers came up behind him unperceived, and, without any warning, struck him on the head with a two-edged sword—instantly killing him. A gentleman of the Clann Mhurchaidh Riabhaich Mackenzies, Ian Mac Mhurchaidh Mhic Uilleam, a very active and powerful man, was standing beside MacGillechallum when he fell, and asked who had dared to have spilt Mackenzie blood in that dastardly manner. He had no sooner said the



words than he was himself run through the body with one of the swords of the enemy ; and thus, without an opportunity of drawing their weapons, fell two of the best swordsmen in the North of Scotland. The alarm and the news of their death immediately spread through the market. "Tulloch Ard," the war cry of the Mackenzies, was instantly raised ; whereupon the Baynes and the Munros took to their heels—the Munros eastward to the Ferry of Fowlis, and the Baynes northward to the hills, both followed by a band of the infuriated Mackenzies, who slaughtered every one they overtook. Iain Dubh MacChoinnich Mhic Mhurchaidh of the Clann Mhurchaidh Riabhaich, and Ian Gallda Mac Fhionnla Dhuibh, two gentlemen of the Mackenzies, the latter of whom was a Kintail man, were on their way from Chanonry to the market, when they met in with a batch of the Munros flying in confusion, and, learning the cause to be the murder of their friends at Logie market, they instantly pursued the fugitives, killing no less than thirteen of them between Logie and the wood of Millechaich. All the townships in the neighbourhood of the market joined the Mackenzies in the pursuit, and Alastair Mor Bayne of Tulloch only saved himself, after all his men were killed, by taking shelter and hiding for a time in a kiln logie. Two of his followers, who managed to escape from the market people, met with some Lewismen on their way to the fair, who, noticing the Baynes flying half naked, immediately stopped them, and insisted upon their giving a proper account of themselves. This proving unsatisfactory, they came to high words, and from words to blows, when the Lewismen attacked and killed them at Achann-eilich, near Contin. The Baynes and the Munros had good cause to regret the conduct of their leaders at Logie market ; for they lost no less than fifty able-bodied men in return for the two whom they had so basely murdered at the fair.

When night came on, Alastair Mor Bayne escaped from the kiln, and went to his uncle, Lovat, who at once despatched James Fraser of Phopachy south with all speed, to prevent information from the other side reaching the king before he had an opportunity of relating his version of the quarrel. His Majesty was at the time at Falkland, and a messenger from Mackenzie of Kintail reached him before Alastair Mor's arrival, pursuing for the



slaughter of Mackenzie's kinsmen. Mackenzie got the ear of the king, and would have been successful had not John Dubh Mac Choinnich Mhic Mhurchaidh meanwhile taken the law into his own hands by burning, in revenge, all Bayne's corn-yard and barns at Lemlair, thus giving Tulloch an opportunity of presenting another and counter claim; but the matter was ultimately arranged by the King and Council obliging the two chiefs mutually to subscribe a contract of agreement and peaceful behaviour towards each other in all time coming.\*

John Mac Gillechallum, *alias* "Ian na Tuaighe," as we have already seen, first carried away Janet Mackenzie, daughter of John Mackenzie of Kintail, and first wife of Roderick Macleod, X. of Lewis, and afterwards, on being divorced by her first husband, married her. By her "Ian na Tuaighe" had issue, several sons, and one daughter who married Alastair Roy, eldest son of Hector Cam, son of Hector Roy Mackenzie, first of the family of Gairloch, with issue. John married, secondly, a daughter of Allan MacRory of Gairloch and sister of Ruairi Nimhneach, by whom also he had issue—several sons.

Alexander Macleod, second of Raasay, married, with issue among others, his heir and successor, of whom in our next.

*(To be continued.)*



III. MALCOLM OR MACGILLECHALLUM GARBH MACLEOD succeeded his father, Alexander. He is mentioned in a charter granted under the Great Seal, by James VI., dated the 14th of February, 1571-72, in favour of Torquil Conanach Macleod, son and heir of Roderick Macleod X. of the Lewis—*Torquilo Macleod filio et hæredi Roderici Macleod de Lewes, et hæredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreat, seu procreānd. Suibus deficiens Gillicalmo Vis Gillicallum Garve Macleod de Rasay, hæredibus suis, etc. terrarum baronie de Assynt, etc. infra vicecomitat. de Ross, et terras de insula de Lewes in vicecomitat. de Inverness, super resignatione dict. quondam Roderici sui patris, in libera baronia de Lewes, unit. etc.* From this charter it is clear that on the failure of heirs male of Roderick Macleod of the Lewis MacGillechallum Garbh of Raasay and his descendants became the nearest male representatives of that ancient family.

In an Act of the Lords of Session and Council under date 3rd December, 1580, in an action by the Bishop of the Isles against several of the Island chiefs, Malcolm Garbh is mentioned as “Gilleschallum M’Gilleschallum of Rasay” immediately before Roderick Macleod of Lewis, John Macian of



Ardnamurchan, Lachlan MacLean of Duart, Tormot Macleod of Harris, and Donald Macdonald Gorm of Sleat. The action is "to have it found and decreed that the said persons, and each one of them, has intromitted with the mails, 'fermis,' teinds, and duties pertaining and belonging to the lands and kirks pertaining to the said reverend father within the Bishopric of the Isles and Abbey of Icolmkill, each one of them for their own parts of the crops and years of God 1572-73, and divers other years; extending to divers avail, quantity and prices like as at more length is contained in the said summons, acts, and letters made thereupon before." The Bishop appeared by his procurator, but the foresaid chiefs, among whom are many others beside those whose names we give, "being lawfully summoned to this action, oftentimes called and not compearing," the Lords of Council continued it without prejudice of parties to the 12th of April following, when all the witnesses, who are ordered to be summoned anew, had to appear under more severe penalties.\* On the 8th of December, 1580, Lachlan Maclean of Duart enters into a contract with the Bishop on the subject of his Lordship's claims, but on the 26th of July, 1581, the Bishop receives the escheat of Duart's goods "moveable and unmoveable" which may fall the King's hands, and those of several other of the western chiefs, who had been declared rebels and put to the horn, at the instance of the bishop for nonpayment of their formes mails, teinds, and duties, pertaining to the Bishopric of the Isles and the Abbacy of Icolmkill for the crops of 1575, 1576, 1577, and 1578.† We cannot, however, find any further trace of the action against MacGillechallum Garbh and the other island chiefs for the dues in connection with the crops of 1572-73.

Malcolm's name appears as "Makgillichallum of Raarsay" in the Roll of landlords appended to the Act of Parliament, known as the "General Band," passed in 1587 for quieting and keeping in obedience the disorderly subjects of the portions of the Borders,

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\* Act of the Lords of Council and Session *in causa* Bishop of the Isles against the Islesmen, 1580, quoted at length at pp. 13 and 14 *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

† The Contract is recorded on the 26th of December. *General Register of Deeds*, Vol. 19, and *Register of the Privy Council*, Vol. 48, p. 29.



Highlands, and Isles, "quhair brokin men hes duelt and presentlie duellis." It is worthy of note that while in the Roll of broken clans named in an Act of Parliament, passed in 1594, "for punishment of thift, reiff, oppressioun, and soirning," the Macleods of Lewis and Harris are separately mentioned, those of Raasay are not.

In February, 1588 a strong force, under the chiefs of Mackintosh, Mackay, Munro, Macleod of Assynt, and "Gilcalme," Macleod of Raasay, joined the Earl of Sutherland in an expedition to Caithness to enforce a commission of fire and sword which he obtained against the Earl of Caithness, with the view of punishing the latter for killing George Gordon of Marle, who had some time before insulted the Earl of Caithness by cutting off the tails of his Lordship's horses. On the approach of this strong force, under the Earl of Sutherland, the people of Caithness became much alarmed and fled in all directions. Many were killed, and a great spoil of goods and cattle was carried away, in consequence of which the event has since been known in local chronology as *Latha na Creach Mhor*, or "The day of the great spoil." Sir Robert Gordon names Gillecillum and John MacGillechallum as being personally present on this occasion. Sir Robert says that the ruthless invaders "burnt and wasted the town of Wick, but they saved the Church, where the last Earl of Caithness's heart was found in a case of lead; the ashes of which heart was thrown with the wind by John MacGillechallum, Raasay," who was no doubt the redoubted "Ian na Tuaighe," this chieftain's uncle.

In 1596 Malcolm has a charter on his assignation under the Great Seal, dated 10th of July, in which he is described as "*Macgilliscillum filio et hæredi Alistæ Vic-Gillicillum de Rasay, hæredibus masculis et assignatis quibuscunque, terrarum de Rasay, Ire, etc., in Inverness-shire.*" The lands are described as having been held formerly of the Bishop of the Isles, but now of the King by the Act of Annexation. Early in the seventeenth century, Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, acquired great power in the Western Isles, through the great ability and influence of his brother, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, afterwards Tutor of Colin, first Earl of Seaforth. He acquired for his brother



and nephew the superiority of Troternish, with the heritable stewardry of the Isle of Skye, and the superiority of Raasay and neighbouring islands. Referring to this matter, Douglas says that "this Malcolm, in consequence of a transaction with Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, resigned his lands of Raasay, etc., in his favour, took them holden of him, and accordingly got a charter from the said Kenneth, then created Lord of Kintail, dated anno, 1610." It will be remembered that in 1572 Torquil Conanach, son of Roderick Macleod, X. of the Lewis, received a charter of all the family possessions, in terms of which, failing heirs male of Old Roderick, MacGillechallum Garbh of Raasay would succeed. Torquil Conanach having made over all his rights to Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, it would probably be found necessary for Macleod of Raasay to acknowledge his Lordship's superiority over his lands. Malcolm was indebted to the Mackenzies for having aided in reinstating him in the family estates after the Massacre of Island Isay, and for maintaining him in possession of them against the Gairloch Macleods until he was able to do so for himself. It was probably in this way that the Mackenzies of Kintail acquired the superiority of Raasay and of the other lands belonging to that family. The fact is further corroborated by Thomas Knox, Bishop of the Isles, who, writing of the state and revenues of his diocese in 1626, says that "Rasa, belonging to the Abbot of Icolmikill, is possessit be the Erle of Seafort. He hes na tak nor acknowlegeis anie rent."\* This, it will be observed, was written in the time of Malcolm Garbh's successor.

In 1610 a severe skirmish was fought at Lochan-an-fheidh, above Glen Torridon, between the Mackenzies of Gairloch—led by Alastair Breac, at that date eldest surviving son and apparent heir of John Roy—and the Macleods, under John Mac Allan Mhic Rory, then the only direct male representative of Allan Macleod of Gairloch, and grandson, probably, of Rory Nimhneach. John Tolmach MacRuairidh, John's uncle, was also present, but he managed to effect his escape. John Mac Allan and seventeen or eighteen of his followers were taken prisoners. Many were killed; and the few who escaped alive, with John Tolmach, were pursued out of the district. The slain were buried where they

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\* *Demmylne MSS.* in the Advocates' Library.



fell, and the graves can still be seen, the nettles which continue to grow over them at the present day indicating their position on the field of battle, at the west side of the Sgura-Dubh, above Glen Torridon, a little beyond the Gairloch march.

Shortly after this another attempt was made by the Macleods to regain the lands of Gairloch, the history of which is still a prominent and interesting feature in the local traditions of the parish. The affair is called "Latha Leac-na-Saighead." Mr. John Dixon gives a capital version of it, as related to him by Roderick Mackenzie, locally known as Ruairidh 'n Torra—an intelligent old man of about ninety years of age, still alive—in his most interesting book on the history and traditions of Gairloch. According to Roderick's version, as recorded by Mr. Dixon, many of the Macleods, after they had been driven from Gairloch, had settled in Skye. A considerable number of the younger men of the clan were invited by their Chief to pass Hogmanay night in the Castle at Dunvegan. In the kitchen there was an old woman, known as Mor Bhàn, who was usually occupied in carding wool, and who was supposed to be a witch. After dinner the men began to drink, and when they had passed some time thus, they sent into the kitchen for the Mor Bhàn. She at once joined them in the hall, and having drunk one or two glasses, she remarked that it was a very poor thing for the Macleods to be deprived of their own lands in Gairloch, and to have to live in comparative poverty in Raasay and the Isles of Skye. "But," says she, addressing them, "prepare yourselves and start tomorrow for Gairloch, sail in the black birlinn, and you shall regain Gairloch. I shall be a witness of your success when you return." The men trusted her, believing she had the power of divination. In the morning they set sail for Gairloch—the black galley was full of the Macleods. It was evening when they entered the loch. They were afraid to land on the mainland, for they remembered that the descendants of Domhnall Greannach (a celebrated Macrae) were still there, and they knew their prowess only too well. They therefore turned to the South side of the loch, and fastened their birlinn to the Fraoch Eilean, in the well-sheltered bay opposite Leac-nan-Saighead, between Shieldaig and Badachro. Here they decided



to wait until morning, and then disembark and walk round the head of the loch. But all the movements of the Macleods had been well watched. Domhnall Odhar Mac Iain Leith and his brother Iain, the celebrated Macrae archers, recognised the birlinn of the Macleods, and determined to oppose their landing. They walked round the head of the loch by Shieltaig, and posted themselves before daylight at the back of the Leac, a protecting rock overlooking the Fraoch Eilean. The steps on which they stood at the back of the rock are still pointed out. Donald Odhar, being of small stature, took the higher of the two steps, and Iain took the other. Standing on these they crouched down behind the rock, completely sheltered from the enemy but commanding a full view of the island, while they were quite invisible to the Macleods lying here and there on the island. Both the brothers were celebrated archers. As soon as the day dawned they directed their weapons on the Macleods, of whom a number were killed before their comrades were even aware of the direction from which the fatal messengers of death proceeded. The Macleods endeavoured to answer their arrows, but not being able to see the foe, their efforts were of no effect. In the heat of the fight one of the Macleods climbed the mast of the birlinn to discover the position of the enemy. Iain Odhar, observing him, took deadly aim at him when near the top. The shaft pierced his body and pinned him to the mast. "Oh," says Donald to his brother John, "you have sent a pin through his broth." The slaughter continued, and the remnant of the Macleods hurried aboard the birlinn. Cutting the rope, they turned her head seawards. By this time only two of them were left alive. In their hurry to escape they left all the bodies of their slain companions unburied on the island. A rumour of the arrival of the Macleods had spread through the district during the night, and other warriors, such as Fionnla Dubh na Saighead and Fear Shieltaig, were soon at the scene of action, but all they had to do on their arrival was to assist in the burial of the dead Macleods. Pits were dug, into each of which a number of the dead bodies were thrown, and mounds were raised over them which remain to this day, as any one may see.\*

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\* *Gairloch, its Records, Traditions, and Natural History*: By John H. Dixon, F.S.A. Scot., 1886.



In the following year (1611) Murdoch Mackenzie, second surviving son of John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, accompanied by Alexander Bayne, apparent heir of Tulloch, and several brave men from Gairloch, sailed to the Isle of Skye in a vessel loaded with wine and provisions. It is said by some that Murdoch's intention was to apprehend John Tolmach, while others maintain that his object was to secure in marriage the daughter and heir of line of Donald Dubh MacRory. This is the most probable, and is the unbroken tradition in Gairloch. John was a prisoner in Gairloch, was unmarried, and likely to be secured where he was, in the event of the proposed marriage taking place. By such a union, failing issue by John, secured in captivity by John Roy, the ancient rights of the Macleods would revert to the Gairloch family, and a troublesome dispute would be for ever settled, especially if John Tolmach were secured at the same time. It may easily be conceived how both objects would become combined; but whatever may have been the real object of the trip to Skye, it proved disastrous. The ship found its way—intentionally on the part of the crew, or forced by a severe storm—to a sheltered bay off Kirkton of Raasay, opposite the present mansion house, where young Macgillechallum at the time resided. Here anchor was cast; and young Raasay, hearing that Murdoch Mackenzie was on board, discussed the situation with his friend, Macgillechallum Mòr MacDhomhnuill Mhic Neill, who persuaded him to visit the ship as a friend, and secure Mackenzie by stratagem, with the view of getting him afterwards exchanged for his own relative, John MacAllan Mhic Rory, still a prisoner in Gairloch. Acting on this advice, young Raasay, with Gillechallum Mòr and twelve of their men, started for the ship, leaving word with his bastard brother, Murdoch, to get all the men he could ready to go to their assistance in small boats as soon as the alarm was given.

Mackenzie received his visitors in the most hospitable and unsuspecting manner, supplying them with as much wine and other viands as they could consume. Four of his men, however, feeling somewhat suspicious, and fearing the worst, abstained from drink. Alexander Bayne of Tulloch, and the remainder of Murdoch's men partook of the good cheer to excess, and ulti-



mately became so drunk that they had all to retire below deck. Mackenzie, who sat between Raasay and Macgillechallum Mor, had not the slightest suspicion; but Macleod seeing him alone, started up, turned suddenly round, and told Mackenzie that he must become his prisoner. Murdoch instantly started to his feet in a violent passion, laid hold of Raasay by the waist, and threw him down, exclaiming, "I would scorn to be your prisoner." One of Raasay's followers seeing his young chief treated thus, stabbed Mackenzie with his dirk through the body, who, finding himself wounded, stepped back to draw his sword, and, his foot coming against some obstruction, he stumbled over it and fell overboard.

Those on shore having now observed the row, came out in their small boats, and seeing Mackenzie, who was a dexterous swimmer, manfully making for Sconsar on the opposite shore, in Skye, they pelted him with stones, smashed in his brains, and drowned him. The few of his men who kept sober, seeing their leader thus perish, resolved to sell their lives dearly; and fighting like heroes, they killed the young laird of Raasay, with Macgillechallum Mòr, author of all the mischief, and his two sons. Young Bayne of Tulloch and his six inebriated companions, who had followed him below, hearing the uproar overhead, attempted to come on deck, but they were all killed by the Macleods as they presented themselves through the hold. Not a soul of the Raasay men escaped alive from the swords of the four who had kept free from drink, and who were ably supported by the ship's crew.

The small boats now began to gather round the vessel, and the Raasay men attempted to get on board; but they were thrown back, slain, and pitched into the sea without mercy. The shot and ammunition having become exhausted, all the pots and pans, and other articles of furniture on board, were hurled at the Macleods, while our four abstainers plied their warlike weapons with deadly effect. Having procured a lull from the attempts of the enemy, they began to pull in their anchor, when a shot from one of the boats killed one of the four—Hector MacKenneth, "a pretty young gentleman." The other three seeing him slain, and being themselves more or less seriously wounded, they cut



their cable, hoisted canvas, and sailed before a fresh breeze, with all the dead bodies still lying about the deck. As soon as they got out of danger, they threw the bodies of young Raasay and his men into the sea, that they might receive the same interment which their own leader had received, and whose body they were not able to search for.

It is said that none of the bodies were ever found, except that of MacGillechallum Mòr, which afterwards came ashore, and was buried in Raasay. The Gairloch men carried the bodies of Bayne of Tulloch and of his companions to Lochcarron, where they were properly buried.

The only three survivors of the fight were John MacEachainn Chaoil, John MacKenneth Mhic Eachainn, and Kenneth Mac-Sheumais. The first named lived for thirty years after, dying in 1641; the second died in 1662; and the third in 1663—all very old men. Amongst the slain was a son of Mackenzie of Badachro, a cadet of the House of Gairloch, who is said to have signally distinguished himself.\* The conduct of the Mackenzies of Gairloch has been such on this and previous occasions that they deemed it prudent to obtain a remission from the Crown for their conduct, which was duly granted, in 1614, by James VI.†

Douglas says that "this Malcolm was a man of parts and spirit, but finding the family of Lewis, of whom he was descended, upon the decline, he thought proper to cultivate a friendship with his nearest and most powerful neighbour; he therefore entered into a bond of manrent and friendship, offensive and defensive, with Donald Macdonald of Slate, etc., etc., which hath continued inviolate to this day."‡ He appears to have been alive in August, 1611, when his eldest son and heir, Gillecillum Og, was killed by the Mackenzies of Gairloch on board their vessel opposite his house, in the Bay of Clachan, but he must have been frail and unable to lead his men in person, and is believed to have died before the end of that year.

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\* Allangrange, Ardintoul, and Letterfearn MSS., and Sir Robert Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland. For traditional Gaelic account, taken down from the recitation of Kenneth Fraser, in Gairloch, see *Celtic Magazine*, vol. ii., pp. 192-4.

† For this document in full see pp. 321-2—Mackenzie's *History and Genealogies of the Mackenzies*.

‡ *Baronage of Scotland*, p. 386.



Malcolm Garbh was married, with issue—

1. Malcolm, or Gillecillum Og, who died before his father, without issue—killed by the Mackenzies of Gairloch in a sea fight at Raasay in August, 1611.
2. Alexander, who succeeded his father.

He had also Murdoch, an illegitimate son, prominent in the fight in which his eldest brother, Malcolm, was killed.

Malcolm Garbh is supposed to have died in 1611, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son.

*(To be continued.)*



THE history of this branch of the Macleods is throughout more than usually difficult to trace. It is specially so at this period. Being a subordinate sept, any references to the family in the public records are few and meagre, and the references to be found refer more to relatives—brothers, uncles, and sons—than to the heads of the house. It would appear that there was always a notorious, wild, mischief-making “John Macgillechallum” among the most immediate connexions of the family, but no one named John seems to have been among the chiefs. When and how “Ian na Tuaighe”—John of the Axe—ended his days we have not been able to ascertain, but there is no doubt that he was succeeded by a son or a near relative who inherited his blood-thirsty and most daring characteristics. What the exact relationship of his successor in evil—this second John—had to the head of the house in 1612 it is impossible at present to say. That he was in no respect better than his namesake of the Axe is clear from the picture presented of him in the following references, which we extract from the Register of the Scottish Privy Council:—

On the 16th of March, 1592-93, “Macgillecallum of Raarsay’s”



name appears among those of several other chiefs, Lowland and Highland, in the Register of the Privy Council, on which occasion the King, with the advice of his Council, ordained letters to be issued to relax the persons named therein from the horn for any cause bygone, to receive them to the King's peace, "and gif them the wand thereof." In 1594-95 we find an entry on the 6th of February denouncing Macleod of Raasay and others for not appearing to answer a charge of reif. The complaint is at the instance of Alexander Bane of Tulloch, and it says that "Upon 7th September last Gillichallum Rasa, laird of Rasa; John Mac-Gillichallum Rasa, his son; Alexander Ley, Andro Ley, Angus Pyper, Hucheon McInglas, Alexander McEan McRory, John McWilliam Dow, with their accomplices, broken men and sorners, came to the complainer's lands of        and Auchnaglerauch and reft and awaytuke furth thair of tuelff scoir ky, fyve hundreth sheep, tua hundreth gait, and tuentie horse and meiris;" and that they had often before committed sundry acts of oppression and degradation upon him. The pursuer was represented by Duncan Bane, apparent heir of Tulloch and Mr. Ranald Bane, his heirs and procurators. The defenders did not appear, and were ordered to be denounced as rebels.

On the 25th of December, 1595, there is a complaint at the instance of Tulloch and Alexander Bane, Fiar of Loggie, against the Rev. John Mackenzie, minister of Urray, who, "forgetful of that calling and profession whereunto he is received, and of the good example which, by his good life and conversation, he should give to others," has been guilty of many "insolencies and open and manifest oppressions" against the complainers, "as namely by reset and herding within his house of John Macgillichallum Rasa, a common and notorious thief, and limmer, and denounced rebel, for open and avowed theft in the month of May last," and who had come to the said Mr. John's house "upon set purpose and provision to lie derne and quiet there" till he might find the opportunity to murder Mr. Hucheon McConeill Bane and Duncan Bane, son of the said Alexander Bane, younger of Tulloch. After he had remained with the Rev. Mr. John the space of 48 hours, "upon sure knowledge had by the said Mr. John of his barbarous and wicked intention," he had come out of the said house at night



to the dwelling-place of the said Hucheon of set purpose to slay him, which he would have done if Hucheon, getting information of his intention, "had not convoyed himself and the said barne away." Since that time the said Mr. John had come to the complainer's lands of Urray, "cut his ploughs and 'rigwiddeis,' and thereby, and by others the like open and manifest oppressions, has laid and holds the said lands waste." The Rev. Mr. John did not appear, and was denounced a rebel.

It would seem that a Mr. John "Irwing of Kynnock" became cautioner on the 29th December, 1595, for the Rev. John Mackenzie, of Urray, to the amount of 300 merks, that he would appear on the 3rd of February following to answer the complaint made against him by the Banes respecting "the reset" and protection of this John Macgillechallum, Raasay. The bond is deleted by warrant, subscribed by the King's hand at Edinburgh on the 17th of January, 1595-96.\*

There is another complaint by the same parties in connection with this matter, on the 6th of February, 1595-96, from which it appears that John Macgillechallum, Rasa, had been put to the horn on the 7th of March, 1594, but, notwithstanding this, "he not only remains unreleased from the horn, but continues in his wicked and accustomed trade of reif, theft, sorning, and oppression, seeking all indirect and shameful means to wreck and destroy him (Bane of Tulloch) and his bairns. Thus, lately he sent to the complainer, desiring him to give over to him his old heritage called Torrertane [Torridon], with assurance, if he do not the same, to burn his whole corns and goods." In these insolencies he is "encouraged and set forward by the consort, reset, and supply which he receives of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail and his friends, he being near kinsman to the said Kenneth, viz., his father's sister's son, who, in that respect, shows him all good offices of friendship and courtesy, indirectly assisting him with his men, and moyan in all his enterprises against the said complainer and his bairns, without whose oversight and allowance, and protection it were not able to have a reset in any part of the country." The complainer, Bane of Tulloch, is then described as a decrepit aged man past eighty years of age; and being blind for several years,

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\*Register of the Privy Council, folio 316, b.



“he mon meane himself to his Majestie for remeid.” He is represented by Alexander Bane, Fiar of Loggie, and Mr. Ranald Bane. Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail appears personally, and the King and Council remits the matter before the judges competent to deal with it.

On the 21st of March, 1596-97, there is an entry in the Register of the Privy Council that Roderick Mor Macleod of Dunvegan appeared, and became bound in 10,000 (?merks), “be the faith and treuth of his body,” to acknowledge his Highness as his only Sovereign Lord, to make his men obey the King’s lieutenants “in repressing of the insolence” of the inhabitants of the Isles and Highlands; also that Donald Macleud, son of Johnne Macleud of Rosok (? Raasay), appointed to remain in Edinburgh as pledge for the obedience of Rory Mor, shall remain till the return of and entry of the said Roderick upon the 30th of November following. The Clerk of Council subscribed this obligation on Rory Mor’s behalf.

On the death of Malcolm Garbh MacGillechallum in 1611, he was succeeded by his second and eldest surviving son,

IV. ALEXANDER MACLEOD of Raasay, then apparently a minor, for he was not served heir to his father until the 18th of February, 1617. It is clear that he succeeded to the Chiefship in 1611, from a letter of King James’s, dated at Whitehall on the 5th of November in that year, whereby his Majesty granted to Andrew, Bishop of the Isles, “all and whatsomever sums of money shall be found resting and owing to his Majesty by Donald Gorm of Sleat, Rory Macleod of Harris, Lachlan Mackinnon of Strathardle, Alexander MacGillechallum of Raasay,” and other Highland chiefs named, for any taxes due to the King by these chiefs or their predecessors prior to the 1st of July, 1606.

In 1626 Thomas Knox, Bishop of the Isles, makes a report of his diocese, its lands, incumbents, ministers, and rents. Having described the Isle of Skye, he says:—“Near this country lies the small island of Scalpa, and to the north of Scalpa lieth Rasa, belonging to the Abbot of Icolmkill, is possessed by the Earl of Seaforth. He has no tack nor acknowledges any rent” for it. According to the Laird of Applecross’ manuscript History of the Mackenzies, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, tutor to Colin,



first Earl of Seaforth, employed himself in settling his pupil's estate, "which he did to that advantage that ere his minority passed he freed his estate, leaving him master of an opulent fortune and of great superiorities, for he acquired the superiority of Troternish, with the heritable Stewartry of the Isle of Skye, the superiority of Raasay," and several other islands.\*

On the 19th of September, 1628, Macleod entered into an agreement, at the Castle of Duntulm, with Colin Earl of Seaforth, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, John Macleod of Dunvegan, John Macranald of Islandtirim, and Sir Lachlan Mackinnon of Strath, for the preservation of deer and roe on their respective properties, and the punishment of trespassers in pursuit of game on any part of their estates. This document, a most curious and interesting one, has been already quoted in full, under "The Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan," *Celtic Magazine*, Vol. XI., pp. 340-42, and therefore need not be further referred to here.† In the body of this contract Macleod is described as "Alexander McGillichallum of Rasa."

Alexander married with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.
2. John, whose son, also John, ultimately succeeded to the chiefship, and carried on the representation of the family.

He died before 1643, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, served heir to his father, described as "Alexander MacGillechallum Mhic Gillechallum," on the 20th of August, 1643. The rental of Raasay, as entered in the Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness in 1644, was £666 13s. 4d., Scots.

Alexander married Sibella, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie, I. of Applecross, by his wife, Florence, daughter of Murdoch Mackenzie, II. of Redcastle, with issue—

1. John Garbh, his heir and successor.
2. Janet ; 3, Giles, who were afterwards, in 1688, on the death of their brother, without issue, served heirs of line, conquest, and provision to their father.

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\* Mackenzie's *History of the Mackenzies*, pp. 168-69.

† The contract is recorded in the General Register of Deeds, Vol. 408, on the 3rd of November, 1628.



He died before 1648, and was succeeded by his only son,

VI. JOHN GARBH MACLEOD, who was served heir to his father on the 22nd of September, 1648. This chief was distinguished for his great strength. He was universally admitted to be the most powerful and best built Highlander of his time, and the gallantry of his personal exploits was a household word among his contemporaries. He met his death at the early age of twenty-one, while returning from the Lewis, where he was on a visit to his relative, George, second Earl of Seaforth. The vessel in which he was on his way home went down in a great storm on the north coast of Skye, when John Garbh and all on board perished. He was very highly esteemed, and his untimely fate was deeply mourned, not only by his young wife and family connexions, but by all who knew him. The famous Skye poetess, *Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh*, composed a touching lament in his memory, which is given at length in Mackenzie's "*Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*." His own sister also composed an elegy of considerable merit, in which his praises and personal prowess are set forth. The celebrated Patrick Mor MacCrimmon, Macleod of Dunvegan's family piper, commemorated the sad event by composing the famous *Piobaireachd*, "John Garbh Macleod of Raasay's Lament," one of the most pathetic, and greatest favourites among crack pipers on appropriate occasions to the present day.

He married, shortly before his death, Janet, third daughter of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod of Dunvegan, and, dying without issue, the male representation of the family devolved upon his cousin-german,

VII. ALEXANDER MACLEOD, son of John, second son of Alexander, fourth, and brother of Alexander fifth chief of the family. He seems to have been quite young when he succeeded to the representation of the family, and for a time the estates did not follow the chiefship. "In 1688 Janet and Giles Macleods, *alias* McAlaster Vic Gillechallum were served heirs of line, conquest, and provision to their father, Alexander McLeod *alias* McAlaster Vic Gillechallum of Raasay, who was the son and heir of the deceased Alexander McLeod, *alias* McGillechallum, the grandfather of the said Janet and Giles McLeods *alias* McAlaster Vic Gillichallum, who was the son and heir of Malcolm McLeod



*alias* McGillicallum of Rasay, the great-grandfather of the said Janet and Giles McLeods, *alias* McAlaster Vic Gillicallum of Rasay, in the lands of Rasay, including the towns, lands, islands, lie grassings of Kilmaluack, Ausach, Balliechurne, Balliemeanoch, Inveruig, Glam, Moisnes, Brochill, with the pertinents of Sciepa-deall, Hallag, Leaghk, Kamiorick, Lieboast, Slagandine, Slachro, Fearne, Stair, Ire, Shuashnesmore, Shuasnesbeg, Inneraross, Boradell, Glen, and Kylehan, and the two islands commonly called Rona and Fladda.\*

It is curious to find that in 1630 Alexander Maclean had been served heir to his father, "Donald M'Leane M'Ferquhard M'Eachen in the same lands.

Alexander Macleod obtained a resignation of the whole estate from his cousins, Janet and Giles, the heirs of line, and secured a charter of all the lands of Raasay in his own favour, dated the 19th of August, 1692, whereupon he was duly infeft in the family estates.

He married Catherine second daughter of Sir Norman Macleod first of Bernera (third son of Sir Roderick Mor Macleod of Dunvegan) by his second wife, Catherine, eldest daughter of Sir James Macdonald, second baronet of Sleat, with issue—a son and successor.

She married secondly Angus Macdonald of Scotus, brother of the celebrated warrior, Alastair Dubh of Glengarry, whose direct male representatives died out in 1868, when the descendant of Alexander Macleod of Raasay's widow, by her second marriage, became chief of Glengarry.

Alexander was succeeded by his son,

VIII. MALCOLM MACLEOD, eighth of Raasay. Though the Chief of Dunvegan finally decided not to join Prince Charles in 1745, Malcolm of Raasay, accompanied by his third son, Dr. Murdoch Macleod of Eyre, and Captain Malcolm Macleod, his nephew, joined the Prince at the head of a hundred of the Macleods of Raasay. Like many other Highland proprietors of that stirring period, Malcolm kept his eldest son out of the Rising, and before he joined the Prince himself he took the precaution to convey the estate to John, his heir and successor, so that, what-

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\* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, Vol. II., Part I, p. 348.



ever might happen, the property should be safe. In the Account of Charge and Discharge by Mr. Murray of Broughton, published in the appendix to Chambers' History of the Rebellion of 1745-6, there is an entry of £20, which had been forwarded to Macleod of Raasay, and another sum of £40, "sent from the wood on the side of Locharkik, by Macleod of Bernera to Macleod of Raza, upon receipt of a letter from him complaining that the former was too small." It would appear, from a note appended to the account, that the complaint was somewhat pointed, for Macleod "wrote with a little too much warmth." So warm was his protest that Mr. Alexander Macleod, younger of Neuck, afterwards of Muiravonside, made an apology to Mr. Murray for him "and begged that it might not prevent from sending a [second] supply." After the battle of Culloden, old Macleod found his way back in safety to Raasay, where for a time he continued in hiding. The Government search was, however, getting so close, and the danger of capture by the enemy becoming more likely every day, that he determined upon removing for greater security to a more inaccessible place on the mainland. For this purpose he escaped to the wilds of Knoydart, the property of his friend John Macdonell of Glangarry, whose second son, Angus, was "out," though he remained at home himself on the same principle upon which Raasay kept his own eldest son out of personal participation in the struggle—to protect the estate.

Malcolm married Mary, daughter of Alexander Macleod, III. of Applecross, by his first wife, Anne, daughter of Alexander Fraser, Tutor of Lovat by his wife, Sibella, daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, and widow of John Macleod XIV. of Harris and Dunvegan. By this lady Macleod of Raasay had issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. Norman, an officer in the service of the States General.
3. Dr. Murdoch of Eyre, in Skye, who married and had issue, Malcolm Macleod of Eyre and others.
4. Janet who, in 1743, married, as his second wife, John Mackinnon of Mackinnon with issue—(1) Charles who, born in 1753,



became Chief of Mackinnon ; (2) Lauchlan, who died, unmarried, in Jamaica ; and (3) a daughter, Margaret.

5. Florence, who married Roderick Macdonald of Sandaig ; and secondly Archibald Macqueen of Totterome, Isle of Skye.

Malcolm was succeeded by his eldest son.

*(To be continued.)*



IX. JOHN MACLEOD of Raasay, who acquired his greatest distinction for his entertainment of Dr Johnson, during his tour through the Western Isles in 1773. It will be remembered that his father, Malcolm joined Prince Charles in 1745 with a hundred of his followers (all of whom except fourteen returned to Raasay), leaving John at home, after having conveyed the estates to him, so that whatever might be the result of the Rising the property might remain in possession of the family. John was, however, a thorough Jacobite at heart, and he afterwards took an active part in securing the escape of the Prince, whom he entertained in Raasay after his father, Malcolm, had left the Island and gone to Knoydart, then belonging to Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry, whose brother, Angus of Scotus, Malcolm's mother, Catherine of Bernera, married as her second husband. Prince Charles, after leaving Kingsburgh, accompanied by Captain Roy Macdonald, met "Rona,"—young Macleods designation during his father's life time, at Portree. John at once volunteered to conduct the Prince to Raasay, where he would have him concealed, while he sent a messenger to his father, whom, he said, he was quite sure would be glad to run any risk, and would welcome any opportunity to serve His Royal Highness in his distress. Murdoch Macleod, who was at the time residing with his sister at Totterome, was communicated with. He entered with alacrity into his brother's proposals to get the Prince across to Raasay, declaring that he would once more risk his life to serve him. A small boat was soon got ready, and rowed by the



two brothers across to the Island, where they found their cousin, Malcolm, who had been out with them in the recent Rising. Malcolm strongly urged upon young Raasay to keep clear of the Prince, as he had done hitherto, and that he and Murdoch, both of whom had already publicly drawn the sword in the Jacobite cause, should take charge of the Royal fugitive and secure his escape. John, however, insisted upon rendering all the assistance in his power, should it, he said, even cost him his head.

The party then crossed, and landing about half a mile from Portree, Malcolm and another went in search of the Prince, and soon found him. Captain Roy Macdonald, who was along with him, introduced Malcolm as one who had served and held the rank of Captain in the Jacobite army. Proceeding to the boat, John and his brother Murdoch were introduced, whereupon His Royal Highness would not permit the usual ceremonies of respect, but saluted them as his equals. They soon crossed the channel between Skye and Raasay, and landed at a place called Glam, opposite the village of Portree. They led the Prince to a shepherd's hut, where he was regaled on roast kid, butter, cream, and oat cake, after which he slept soundly on a bed of heather specially prepared for him in old Highland fashion—the stalks being placed upright with the bloom uppermost.

The party remained here for two days and a half, during which time two men were always kept on the watch, while John, Murdoch, and Malcolm made matters as pleasant for the Royal fugitive as it was possible for them in the circumstances to do. The party again crossed, on the third day, to Skye, where young Raasay and his brother parted with him. Murdoch, who was still suffering from a wound by a musket ball, which had passed under the skin from one shoulder to the other, at Culloden, did not proceed any farther with the Prince, but his cousin, Malcolm, accompanied His Royal Highness to Strath, Charles being disguised on the route as Macleod's servant. From Strath, where he parted with Captain Malcolm, the Prince crossed to Knoydart, and there we, for the present, part with him, his after history being too well known to need recapitulation here. A few days after parting company with His Royal Highness, Malcolm was apprehended in Raasay, taken to Portree and con-



veyed to Applecross, where he was placed on board the "Furnace" sloop of war. He was ultimately, on the 1st of November, 1746, conveyed to London, where he was detained, along with Donald Macleod of Gualtrigill, in the custody of William Dick, a messenger, until July, 1747. He was ultimately able to show that he had surrendered, with his men, in terms of the Duke of Cumberland's proclamation after the battle of Culloden, and he was then permitted to return home, in the same post-chaise as Flora Macdonald and Neil MacEachainn.

On the death of his father, John Macleod succeeded to the estates and became head of his house. In 1773, during the famous tour to the Hebrides, Raasay was visited by Dr. Johnson and his friend Boswell. Leaving Mackinnon's house at Corri-chatachan, they were met by the Rev. Donald Macqueen, minister of Snizort, and our old friend Captain Malcolm Macleod with "MacGillechallum's carriage"—a good, strong Norwegian-built open boat, manned by four stout rowers, who soon landed them in Raasay. Boswell describes Malcolm as, "now sixty-two years of age, hale and well proportioned,—with a manly countenance, tanned by the weather; yet having a ruddiness in his cheeks, over a great part of which his beard extended. His eye was quick and lively, yet his look was not fierce, but he appeared at once firm and good humoured. He wore a pair of brogues; tartan hose which came up nearly to his knees and left them bare; a purple camblet kilt; a black waistcoat; a short green cloth coat bound with gold cord; a yellowish bushy wig; a large blue bonnet with a gold thread button. I never" he continues, "saw a figure that gave a more perfect representation of a Highland gentleman. I wished much to have a picture of him just as he was. I found him frank and polite, in the true sense of the word." To this excellent pen picture, Boswell adds that while he and Dr. Johnson rode to the boat Malcolm walked with graceful agility. On the journey several Gaelic songs were sung, Malcolm singing "Tha tighinn fodham eirigh," the Rev. Mr. Macqueen and the whole crew joining in the chorus. The boatmen also sang with great spirit, and when they landed the singing of the rowers was taken up by the reapers on shore, who were working with a bounding activity. Dr. Johnson was struck



with the beauty of the Bay, by the appearance "of a good family mansion," which was built soon after 1746, and its surroundings. They were met as they walked up to the house, by Raasay himself, his brother Dr. Murdoch Macleod, Norman (afterwards General) Macleod of Macleod, Colonel Macleod of Talisker, Alexander Macleod of Muiravonside, and several other persons of quality.

Boswell, describing the reception, says—"We were welcomed upon the green, and conducted into the house, where we were introduced to Lady Raasay, who was surrounded by a numerous family, consisting of three sons and ten daughters. The Laird of Raasay is a sensible, polite, and most hospitable gentleman. I was told that his Island of Raasay, and that of Rona (from which the eldest son of the family has his title), and a considerable extent of land which he has in Skye, do not altogether yield him a very large revenue; and yet he lives in great splendour; and so far is he from distressing his people, that in the present rage for emigration, not a man has left his estate." Immediately on their arrival, Johnson, his friend, and the company were served with brandy, "according to the custom of the Highlands, where a dram is generally taken every day." They were then provided with a substantial dinner and a variety of wines, finishing up with tea and coffee. A ball followed, at which Raasay danced with great spirit, and Malcolm bounded like a roe; while Macleod of Muiravonside exhibited an excessive flow of spirits. The Doctor was delighted with the whole scene. Thirty-six persons sat down to supper at which "all was good humour and gaiety, without intemperance." Boswell describes Raasay as having the true spirit of a Chief and as being, without exaggeration, a father to his people.

Raasay's eldest daughter, who married Colonel Muir Campbell, afterwards Earl of Loudon, Boswell describes as "the queen of our ball," and as "an elegant well-bred woman, celebrated for her beauty over all those regions by the name of Miss Flory Raasay."

The island at the period of Dr. Johnson's visit had abundance of black cattle, and a good many horses which were used for ploughing and other works of husbandry. There were no roads;



most of the houses were on the shore; the people had small boats and caught fish, and there were plenty of potatoes. Blackcock were in "extraordinary abundance," as also grouse, plover, and wild pigeons. There were no hares or rabbits. "It is a place where one may live in plenty, and even luxury. There are no deer;" but Macleod was to import some.

A curious arrangement existed between the Macleods of Raasay and the Macdonalds of Sleat for generations, by which when the head of either house died his sword went to the head of the other family. John Macleod of Raasay had the sword which belonged to Sir James Macdonald when Dr. Johnson was in the Island. The two families were always on the most friendly terms.

John Macleod of Raasay was appointed by the Court of Session, tutor-dative to his nephews, Charles and Lachlan Mackinnon, and succeeded in securing the restitution of Mishnish in Mull, and Strathaird in Skye, from the heir of provision for young Charles, eldest son and heir of John Mackinnon, attainted for his share in the Rising of 1715 and 1745. Strath had been sold privately by Mackinnon of Mishnish to Sir James Macdonald in 1751. Raasay attempted to get this sale set aside, but failed; and the principal estate of Mackinnon went out of the family. The inventory taken by Macleod, on assuming his tutory, is dated 1757.

The great Dr. Johnson himself, with all his philosophy, was completely carried away by the generous and elegant hospitality which he experienced at Raasay House, and he describes it in the following glowing terms:—

"Our reception exceeded our expectation. We found nothing but civility, elegance, and plenty. After the usual refreshments, and the usual conversation, the evening came upon us. The carpet was then rolled off the floor, the musician was called in, and the whole company was invited to dance; nor did ever fairies trip it with greater alacrity. The general air of festivity which predominated in this place, so far remote from all those regions which the mind has been used to contemplate as the mansions of pleasure, struck the imagination with a delightful surprise, analogous to that which is felt at an unexpected emersion from darkness into light. When it was time to sup, the dance ceased, and six-and-thirty persons sat down to two tables in the same



room. After supper the ladies sung Erse [Gaelic] songs, to which I listened as an English audience to an Italian opera, delighted with the sound of words which I did not understand. The family of Raasay consists of the laird, the lady, three sons, and ten daughters. More gentleness of manners, or a more pleasing appearance of domestic society, is not found in the most polished countries."

John Macleod during a visit to London, afterwards called upon Dr. Johnson, who gave a fashionable entertainment in his honour.

He married Jane, daughter of Mr Macqueen with issue—

1. James his heir and successor.

2. John.

3. Malcolm, a Captain in the Indian army.

4. Flora, who, in 1777, married Colonel James Muir Campbell of Lawers, afterwards fifth Earl of Loudon, with issue—an only daughter, Flora-Muir, who, on his death, on the 26th of April, 1786, succeeded her father as Countess of Loudon in her own right. She was born in August, 1780, and on the 12th of July, 1804, married Francis, Earl of Moira, afterwards on the 7th of December, 1816, created first Marquis of Hastings, and Governor General of India. She died on the 8th of January, 1840, leaving issue—(1) George-Augustus-Francis, second Marquis of Hastings, born in 1808. (2) Flora-Elizabeth, lady of the bed-chamber to the duchess of Kent, who died on the 5th of July, 1839, unmarried. (3) Sophia-Frederica-Christina, who, on the 10th of April, 1845, married the late John, second Marquis of Bute, who died on the 28th of December, 1859, leaving issue—John Patrick, the present and third Marquis of Bute, who was born on the 12th of September, 1847, succeeded to the title on the death of his father on the 18th of March, 1848, and on the 16th of April, 1872, married the hon. Gwendoline-Mary-Anne, Fitz-Alan-Howard, eldest daughter of Lord Howard of Glossop, with issue. (4) Selina Constance, who on the 25th of June, 1838, married Captain C. J. Henry, and died in November, 1867. (5) Adelaide-Augusta-Lavinia, who on the 8th of July, 1854, married Sir William Keith Murray, 7th Baronet of Achtertyre, and died on the 6th of December, 1860.

5. Isabella, who married Major Thomas Ross, R.A., with



issue — two daughters, the eldest of whom, Elizabeth-Jane, married, as his second wife, Sir Charles D'Oyly, the celebrated amateur artist, and died, without issue, on the 1st of June, 1875. Lady D'Oyly was brought up in Raasay, and afterwards accompanied her aunt, the Marchioness of Hastings, to India, where she made the acquaintance of her future husband and there married him. While in India, she had an elegant set of pipes, "of peculiar workmanship," made for Mackay, the famous Raasay piper. These she presented to him, and, in acknowledgment, he composed in her honour, "Lady D'Oyly's Salute,"—so well known to the best pipers of our own day. Isabella, the second daughter of Major Ross, married Captain, afterwards Sir Walter R. Gilbert, of the H.E.I.C.S., when she became Lady Gilbert, with issue—a son and two daughters—one of whom married a son of Admiral Codrington.

6. Janet, who married Archibald Macra, Ardintoul, with issue—three sons and six daughters—(1) Sir John Macra, K.C.H., Lieutenant-Colonel of the 79th Cameron Highlanders. He served through the Peninsular War and eventually became Military Secretary to his relative, the Marquis of Hastings, when Governor-General of India. (2) The late Alexander Macra of Hushinish, with issue. (3) James, a surgeon in the army; died without issue. (4) Isabella, married Major Macrae of the 78th Highlanders. (5) Jane married John Macrae of Achtertyre. (6) Anne married Captain Valentine Chisholm. (7), Mary, who married Dr. Stewart Chisholm, of the Royal Artillery, who died at Inverness, in 1862, having attained the rank of Deputy-Inspector General of Army Hospitals. He was present at Waterloo, at the capture of Paris, and took part in the suppression of the Canadian Rebellion in 1837. Two of the sons got Commissions in the army as a reward for their father's services, namely Captain Archibald Macra Chisholm of Glassburn, in the 42nd Royal Highlanders Black Watch; and Loudon, in the 43rd H.E.I.C.S. The latter was killed on active service in the Burmese War in 1853. (8) Flora Macra of Ardintoul; and, (9) Christina, both of whom died unmarried.

7. A daughter, who married Colonel John Macleod of Colbecks, son of an eminent Jamaica planter, also John of



Colbecks, who died on the 12th of May, 1775. Colonel John, who is described as "married, with several children," registered arms in the Lyon Office in 1783. In 1809, Barlow, only son of Colonel John Macleod of Colbecks died.

8. A daughter, who married Rev. Dr. Patrick Campbell of Kilninver, with issue—(1) The Rev. John Macleod Campbell, so well known in ecclesiastical circles as the hero of the Row Heresy Case in connection with which he was deprived of his parish by the General Assembly. He died in February, 1872. (2) Archibald, an eminent mathematician, who wrote extensively on scientific subjects, and died early from over study. (3) A daughter, who married Mr. MacNab, a wealthy civilian in India, and afterwards resided in London, with issue. (4) Isabella, who married the Hon. Colonel Dalzell, son of the Earl of Carnwath.

9. A daughter, who married Olaus Macleod of Bharkasaig, with issue—four daughters, Jane, Margaret, Flora, and Mary, who married respectively, Colonel Farrington, Charles MacSween, Dr Baillie, and Dr. Martin.

10. A daughter, who married her first cousin, John Macleod of Eyre, a Captain in the Royal Navy, and son of Dr. Murdoch Macleod of the 'Forty-five, without issue.

11. A daughter, who married Charles MacSween.

12. A daughter, who married Mr Martin, Renetra, with issue—Bell, who married Martin Martin, Tote, brother of the late Dr Nicol Martin, without issue; and Jane, who married General Morin, one of Napoleon's General Officers, with issue—one daughter.

13. Anna, who married Donald Mackenzie of Hartfield, a Captain in the 100th Regiment of Foot, fourth son of Thomas Mackenzie VI. of Applecross and IV. of Highland with issue—John, Thomas, and Elizabeth, who died unmarried; Flora Loudon, who married General Sir Alexander Lindsay, H.E.I.C.S; Jane, who married James Macdonald of Balranald, with issue—Alexander Macdonald, now of Balranald, and Edenwood, Fife-shire, and five daughters; Anne, who married Christopher Webb Smith, B.C.S.; Isabella Mary, who married Dr. Lachlan Maclean; and Maria, who married the late famous piper, John Mackenzie, the "Piobaire Bàn," with issue. She died



only a few years ago at her son's house, in Liverpool.

On the 16th July, 1779, John registered arms, in the Lyon Office, Edinburgh, when he describes himself, with slight genealogical inaccuracies, as "John Macleod of Raasay, Esquire, eldest son and heir of Malcolm Macleod of Raasay, by Mary, daughter of Alexander Mackenzie of Applecross, which Malcolm was only son of Alexander Macleod of Raasay and Florence [should be Catherine], daughter of Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, which last Alexander succeeded his uncle [should be his cousin], John Garve Macleod of Raasay, who died without issue ; which John Garve, who succeeded his brother [should be his father], Alexander Macleod of Raasay, was son of Alexander Macleod of Raasay, which last Alexander succeeded his father Malcolm [Garbh] Macleod of Raasay, who was son and heir of Alexander Macleod of Raasay, who was son and heir of Malcolm Garve Macleod of Raasay, in whose favour [the reversion was in favour, not of this Malcolm, but of his grandson, Malcolm Garbh], the lands and barony of Assynt, the lands, island and barony of Lewis, and the lands and island of Waterness were granted by Royal Charter under the Great Seal, dated 14th February 1571, failing the heirs male of Torquil Macleod, to whom the Charter was granted, son and apparent heir of Roderick Macleod of Lewis which Roderick was descended in a direct male line from Leodius of Lewis, a younger brother of Magnus, the last Norwegian King of Man."

John Macleod was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. JAMES MACLEOD, who made several improvements on the estate and rebuilt the Mansion House in its present extensive and elegant proportions. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the first Isle of Skye Regiment of Volunteers, one of two regiments raised in the island in 1803, and numbering 517 men. He married Flora Ann Maclean, with issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. James, who died without issue.
3. Loudon, married with issue—one daughter, Charlotte, who married Duncan Macrae, Faracabad, New South Wales, with issue—one son and two daughters.
4. Francis, who married, with issue—two sons in Australia, the



eldest of whom, on the death of his uncle John XI of Raasay without male issue, became representative of the family.

5. The Rev. Malcolm Macleod, minister of Snizort, father of the late Rev. Roderick Macleod, Free Church minister of the same parish, who was Moderator of the Free Assembly in 1863.

6. Hannah-Elizabeth who on the 21st of November 1833, married Sir John Campbell of Ardnamurchan (who died on the 18th of January 1853) with issue—Sir John William Campbell and present Baronet, and several others. She married, secondly, Henry Maule of Twickenham, and died on the 4th of November 1873.

James died in 1824, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. JOHN MACLEOD, an officer in the 78th Highlanders. He married Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macleod, a distinguished military officer in the Indian Army, and son of Macleod of Bharkasaig, with issue—an only daughter. Having got into difficulties, the estate was in 1846 sold by his creditors to George Rainy.

On John's death, the eldest son of Francis, youngest son of James Macleod X. of Raasay, residing in Adelaide, Australia, became representative of the family.

[THE articles on The Macleods, which have been appearing in the *Celtic Magazine* during the last three years, have been revised, and very much extended, and are now being printed in the form of a handsome volume, of between four and five hundred pages, uniform with the author's Histories of the Mackenzies, the Macdonalds, and the Camerons. To the contributions which from time appeared in this periodical will be added the Sketches which have of late been published by the same author in the *Scottish Highlander*, such as those of the old MacLeods of Meidle and Glendale; the MacLeods of Gesto; the MacLeods of Bernera and Muiravonside; of Hamer; and of Greshornish. Interesting historical and genealogical accounts of the Macleods of Talisker, Rigg, Drynoch, Assynt, Geanies, Cadboll, and other branch families will appear in the *Scottish Highlander* from week to week, all of which, when finally corrected and completed, will form part of the forthcoming "History of the MacLeods," to be published by subscription, by A. & W. Mackenzie, High Street, Inverness, who should be early communicated with by parties desiring to possess copies, or who wish to have their families noticed in the work. It will be observed that the names of several of John MacLeod, IX. of Raasay's daughters are wanting in the preceding article; but we hope to be able to procure them before the account of the Raasay family is reached in the separate volume. Any information on this point, or others, connected with any other branch of the Macleods, will be much esteemed and thankfully acknowledged by the author.—A. M.]